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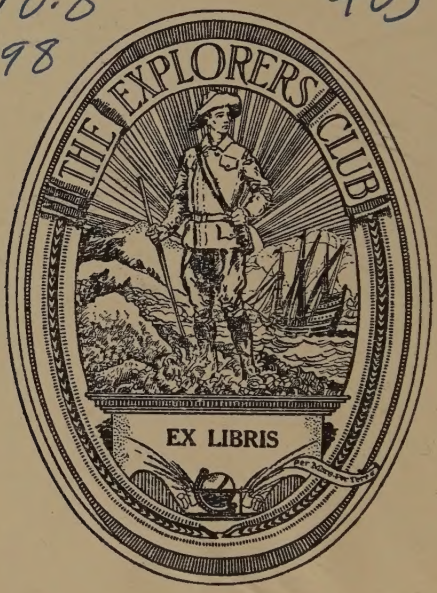

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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume VII

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

VOLUME VII

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THE SEVENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the Sea-Coasts and In-land Regions of Africa, which is generally called Æthiopia, by Englishmen and others; with Peregrinations and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia and Syria

§. III.

Of the Husbandry of this Countrey, and how they preserve themselves from wild beasts, and of the Revenues of the Monasterie. Their departure, strange Rivers, Mountaines, Apes: Barnagassoes entertainment. Barua. Polygamie, Marriages, Divorces, Baptisme, and Circumcision. Their Branding, and Burying.

15. THese Friers or those of other Monasteries, their subjects might very well play the good Husbandmen, and might cherish up Trees, Vines, and Orch-yards with their diligence, yet neverthelesse, they do nothing at all, and the soile is good and fit to bring forth every thing, as may be gathered by that which is wild and savage, but they till nought else but fields of Mill, and keepe swarmes of Bees, and as soone as night is come, they goe not once out of their houses, because of the wild beasts which are in that Countrey, and they which keepe their Millet, have their houses very high from the ground upon Trees, where they lodge in the night. There are about this Monastery, and in the Vallies of these Mountaines, great Heards of Cattell kept by Arabian Moores, which goe fortie or fiftie together with their wives and children, and the Captaine among them is a Christian, because the Cattell which they keepe, are Christian Gentlemens of the Countrey of Barnagasso. The Moores receive none other wages for their paines, but the Millie and Butter which they get of the Kine, and therewithall

Neglect of Husbandry.

Feare of wild beasts.

Moorish Herdmen.

they sustaine themselves, their wives, and their children. Certaine times it chanced us to lodge neere these Arabians, and they came to know of us whether wee would buy any Cattell, and offered them unto us at a reasonable price. It is reported, that they are all Theeves favoured by the Lords which are Owners of the Cattell, and that men travell not among them but in great Caravans.

The Revenues of this Monasterie very great.

The Revenues of this Monastery of the Vision are very great, as I saw and understood. First, this Mountaine whereon this Monastery is seated, containeth thirty miles in compasse, whereon they sow much Millet, Barley, Rye, and Tasi, and of all this they pay a portion unto the Monastery, and also for the pasturing of their Cattell. In the Vallies of these Mountaines are great Townes, and the most part of them belong unto the Monastery, and within one or two dayes journey, there are very many and sundry places which belong unto the Monastery, and they are called, The Gultus of the Monastery, which signifieth, priviledged places. Don Roderigo the Ambassador and I, on a certaine time travelled towards the Court, departing from this Monasterie five dayes journey at the least, and

Zama.

came to a certaine peopled place, called Zama, where we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a small Village, where there were to the number of twentie Houses. There they told us that this place belonged unto the Monastery of the Vision, and that there were one hundred places all belonging to the Monastery, and therewithall shewed us many of them, and told us that these one hundred places

Rent Horses.

payed unto the Monastery every third yeare, one Horse apiece, which amount to thirtie foure Horses every yeare.

The Alicasin, this agreeth to Antiquitie.

And to understand the same better, I enquired of the Alicasin, of the Monastery, which signifieth, The Auditour or Steward of the House, because hee receiveth and disburseth all things. And hee told mee that it was true that they payed the said Horses. And I enquired of him why the Monasterie required so many Horses, considering that they used not to ride; he said, That they payed not the Horses, but Kine in their stead, that is to say, Fiftie

[II. vii. 1037.]

Kine for one Horse; and this tribute of Horses continued all the time that these places were in the Kings hands, which endowed the Monastery with these jurisdictions. And afterward the Inhabitants of those Countries compounded with the Monasterie, and changed the payment of Horses into so many Kine: besides which, they payed many other tributes of corne. This Monastery hath, above fifteene daies journey distant within the Kingdome of Tigrimation, a great Territorie, which is sufficient to make a Dukedome, which is called Adetyeste, which payeth yearely sixtie Horses, and infinite tributes and rents. There goe alwaies unto this Territorie, above one thousand Friers of this Monasterie, because therein are many Churches. Of these Friers some be very good, reverent, and devout; and other some as bad and evill conditioned. Besides the tribute of the foresaid Horses, which are payed unto the said Monasterie, are many other places which appertaine onely to the King, which pay tribute of Horses according to their ancient custome; and these are places which frontier upon the Countrey of Egypt, from whence come good and stately Horses, and other places of the Arabians, which likewise have good Horses, but not so good as those of Egypt.

Fiftie Kine paid in exchange.

Adetyeste.

An excellent breed of horses in Egypt.

From this Monasterie of Saint Michael, we departed the fifteenth of the moneth of June, some went on foote, there were also but few people to carrie our goods, and the Oxen being not able to travell through the Woods and Thickets, because all the way was rocky and craggy: the Gunners with their Skourers were left behind, and the Barrels of Gun-powder; and they had not travailed past two miles from the Monasterie, but that the Embassadour and we which were in his company over-taking them, found all the goods unladen, and when we could not learne wherefore they had done so, we caused them to lade them againe. Having passed over these Mountaines, we found certaine dry Rivers, which in Winter time are very great and terrible, that is to say, During the time of the stormes and Thunder; and as soone as the storme and tempest is

Rivers in extremity, either very ful or dry.

over, suddenly the Rivers become dry, and on both sides of the said Rivers are most high and steepe Mountaines, as savage as the rest which we passed. Along these Brookes are very mightie Forrests of Trees, which are very faire and tall, but such as we knew not: among which, upon the bankes were certaine Palme-trees. Neere one of these Rivers we lodged one night, with very great showers of Raine and Thunder.

17. The day following, we went over another high Mountaine, exceeding wilde and savage, so that we could not well travell over the same, neither on our Mules nor on foote. In this Mountaine we found many Beasts of sundry sorts, and an infinite number of Apes in squadrons, and commonly they are not seene in all the Mountaine, saving onely where there is some great rupture and hole, and some Cave; and they went not fewer then two or three hundred together, and where there is any plaine ground above those ruptures, they make their abode, and they leave not any one stone unremooved, and they digge the earth in such sort, that it seemeth to be ploughed. They are very great, and from the middle upwards, are hairie like Lyons, and are as big as Weathers. After we had passed this Mountaine, we lodged in a place at the foote thereof, called Calote. From the Monastery whence we departed unto this place, is about sixteene or eighteene miles. We passed a River of running water, which was very cleare.

Squadrons of Apes.

Their number, forme, and labour.

Calote.

The next day we said our Masse in the Church of the said place, which is called Saint Michael, and the house with the furniture thereof, are very poore. In this Church were three married Priests, and other three Zagonari, that is to say, Priests of the Gospell, and three other must be of necessitie, for with a lesser number they cannot say Masse. This Sunday we departed about the Evening-tide, because the people of the Countrey, which were our guides, would have it so: and from thence we began to travaile through plaine Countries, sowed and manured after the manner of Portugall: and the Woods

Married Priests.

which were betweene these manured places, are all of wilde Olives, exceeding faire without any other Trees. We lodged neere a running River, among many good Villages. *Woods of wilde Olives.*

18. We came unto the Towne of Barua, which is about nine miles from the Towne of Calote, the eighteenth of the moneth of June: this is the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, and Kingdome of Barnagasso, where his principall Palaces are; which they call Bete-Negus, that is to say, The Houses of the King. The same day that we came thither, Barnagasso departed before we came into the Towne unto another. Heere we were exceedingly well lodged, according to the Countrey, and in great houses, very well furnished in the lower part, and aloft they were flat covered with Earth. *Barua.*

The third day after our arrivall there, the Embassadour purposed to visite Barnagasso, who tooke five of us with him in his company, all riding upon Mules, and wee came to the place where he was about Evening; and from the place whence we departed unto the Towne where Barnagasso remained, was eleven miles, or thereabout. Being come thither, we lighted before his Palace, neere unto the Church doore, whereinto we entred and said our Prayers, according to our manner; which ended, we tooke our way toward his Palace, supposing all of us that we should suddenly be admitted to his speach: but they would not suffer us to enter in, saying, That he was a sleepe, where staying a while to speake with him, they tooke no order for us, but lodged us in a Goats-coate, wherein hardly we could all stand: for our lodging, in stead of beds, they sent us two Oxe hides with the haire on them; and for our Supper, they sent us Bread and Wine of the Countrey in abundance, and one Sheepe. *Barnagasso visited. His brutish entertainment.* [II. vii. 1038.]

The day following, wee stayed a great while, looking when they would send for us to have audience. At length, we were sent for, and entring into the first Gate, wee found three men like unto Porters, having each of them a staffe in their hands, and when we would have entred they would not suffer us, saying, that we should give them

some Pepper, where they kept us out for a long while. At length, being entred in at the first Gate, wee came to the second, where we found three other Porters, which seemed to be men of more account, who made us to stand wayting there above halfe an houre upon a little straw, and the Sunne so scorched us, that we were almost smothered with heate; and we should have stayed there much longer, had not the Ambassadour sent him word in choler, either to admit him into his presence, or that he would returne againe unto his lodging. Then one more honourable then the rest, came and told us, that we might come in. The said Barnagasso was in a great house in a lower roome, because in those Countries they build no houses with stories; and hee lay upon a couch, as his manner was, compassed with certaine Curtaines which were very homely: hee had sore eyes, and his wife sate at his head. Here, after due salutations, the Ambassador offered him his physician to cure him: to whom he answered, That he needed no Physician, and that he made no reckoning of him. Then the Ambassador besought him of his courtesie, to furnish him with meanes for the performance of our voyage; Barnagasso replyed, That he could not give him Mules, and that we must buy them our selves, but that hee would furnish us with all other things, and would send a son of his with us, which should accompany us to the court of Prete Janni, and so he dismissed us.

The Ambassadour had audience of Barnagasso.

No houses with stories.

19. Being come forth out of the house where Barnagasso remayned, they caused us to sit downe upon certaine Mats spread upon the ground, whither they brought us a treene dish full of Barly meale halfe kneaded into dowe, with an horne of Wine made of honey: and because wee were not used to eate nor to see such kind of meats, wee would not eate thereof, but after that we were used thereunto, we ate thereof willingly: and so at that time wee rose without eating of ought at all, and returned to our lodging, and straight-way got to horse-backe two houres before noone; and being about two miles on our

Their diet.

way, a man came running after us, which prayed us to stay for him, because the Mother of Barnagasso had sent us meat, and that she would take it in ill part, if we accepted not thereof, and so we stayed for him, and they brought us five wheaten Loaves very great and good, and one horne of good Wine, which was made of honey. Let no man marvell, in hearing mention of a horne of wine, because the great Lords and Prete Janni himselfe, make their Vessels to drinke wine in, of hornes of Oxen: and *Horne vessells.* some hornes there are that contayne five and sixe measures. Moreover, shee sent us a quantitie of the said meale in dowe; saying, that in that Countrey they take it for a good food. This food is made of parched Barly ground into meale, and they knead it with a little water, and so they eate it. After we had eaten we followed our journey to the Towne of Barua, where we had left our goods, and where we were lodged. In this Countrey, and in all the Kingdomes and Dominions of Prete Janni, they reckon not by Leagues nor Miles: and if you aske them how farre it is to such a place, they will answere you, if you set forth at Sunne-rising, You shall come thither when the Sunne is there, pointing to the place of the Sunne in the skie: and if you travell softly, You shall come thither when the Kine be shut up, which is at night: and if the way be long, you shall come thither in one Sambete, that is to say, in one weeke. Between these two Townes is a very goodly Countrey, that is to say, very well manured, and Fields of Wheat, of Millet, of Barly, of Chich-peason, of Lentils, and of many other kinds of graines, which are in that countrey unknown to us, to wit, Tafo di guza, and *Tafo di guza, a Graine.* Millet-Zaburre, and this Tafo di guza, is a seed very good and delicate among them, and greatly esteemed, because the Wormes eateth not the same, which is wont to devoure their corne and other Pulse, and it is of long continuance. On both sides of the way, a man may see above fiftie great Villages which are very well inhabited, and all of them seated in goodly greene fields. Upon the said manured *Wild Kine hurtfull.* grounds, Herds of wild Kine range up and downe, fortie,

They shew the distance of the way, pointing unto the course of the Sunne in the Heavens.

fiftie, and sixtie in a companie, and we Portugals hunted them with great delight, and slue very many of them: for they of the Countrey will take no paines, although they receive great damage by them in their Corne, but they know not how to kill them.

Barua. 20. In this Towne of Barua, where we were, and where afterward we aboad a long time, are three hundred houses, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants are Women; for in this Towne is kept, as it were, a Court, for many respects. One is, because it is never without people belonging to the Court of Prete Janni; and those which come thither, having no Women with them, use *Common women.* the Women of the Towne as their Concubines. Another is, because here the Court of Barnagasso is kept, where for the greatest part of the yeere hee maketh his residence, and continually hath in his stable above three hundred Horses, and as many more, which daily come thither, to dispatch their businesse with Barnagasso, in regard of their affaires and suites. And few or none of them will bee [II. vii. 1039.] without their Concubines; and hence it is that heere many light young Women settle their abode, which after they be growne old, betake themselves to another kind of life: *Tuesday Market.* For in this Towne there is a great Market every Tuesday, where there is three or foure hundred persons met together, and all the old Women and young Lasses carrie Measures in their hands, wherewith they measure in the Market all the Corne and Salt that is sold, and in this sort they earne their living. And moreover, they lodge those that remaine in the Towne, and keep the goods which are left unsold untill the next Market day, and all things else in *Polygamie used, and how punished.* like sort. And because there are many women in this town, those which be rich and have the meanes, take two or three Wives, neither is it forbidden them by the King nor the Justice, but onely by the Church; because all such as have above one Wife may not come within the Church, much lesse communicate or receive any Sacraments of the Church, and are held for excommunicate persons.

During the time we abode in this place, a Cousin of

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ABYSSINIA

mine and my selfe lodged in the house of a man, whose name was Ababitay, which had three Wives, which were all of our acquaintance, and our good friends; and he told me that hee had seven and thirtie children by them, and that no man had forbid him their company, saving that the Church admitted him not to the Communion. Before our departure he had dismissed two of them, and held himselfe to one onely; namely, to her which he had last married, and for all this he was restored to all the Sacraments, and licensed to come to Church, as though he had never had but one Wife. And therefore there are many Women in this Towne, because Rich men and Courtiers take two or three, or more of them, according to their pleasure. Their marriages are very unstable, for they will be divorced for a small trifle.

Ababitay, our Authors Hoste had three Wives, and by them seven and thirty children.

Marriages unstable.

I have seene many of their Women married, and my selfe was present at a certaine marriage, made without the Church, which was celebrated on this manner. In a Court before a house, was placed a Litter or Couch, and they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe thereon, and there came three Priests, which beganne to sing with a loud voyce, Haleluia, and thus singing as it were, certaine verses, they went thrise about the said Couch or Litter: afterward they cut off a locke of haire from the Bridegroomes crowne, and as much from the same place of the Brides head, bathing the said haires in Wine made of Honey, and the Bridegroomes haires they laid upon the head of the Bride, and the Brides haires they laid upon the head of the Bridgroome, in the same places where they were cut off; and upon the same they cast holy Water, and afterward they beganne to make a feast, after the manner of marriages, and at night the said married persons were accompanied home unto their house. And for the space of one moneth no man entreth into that house, saving onely one man which is the Bridegroomes God-father, who remaineth all the moneth with them, and the moneth ended hee departeth home. And if the Bride be a Woman of account, it is five or sixe moneths before

Rites of marriage.

she commeth out of her house, and she weareth continually a blacke veile before her face; and if she be with child before sixe moneths, she layeth off her veile, and if she proveth not with child within sixe moneths space, she layeth it aside.

Abuna Marco the Patriarke, his marriage-blessing.

21. Moreover, I have seene Abuna Marco, whom they call their Patriarcke, use certaine blessings in the Church, that is to say; before the principall gate, where they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe on a Litter, about which he went with Incense and a crosse, and comming unto the said couple, he laid his hand upon their heads, saying, That they should observe that which God commanded in the Gospell, and that they should remember that they were no more two, but united together in one flesh, and that they ought so to bee in heart and mind, and they stayed there till Masse was done, where, after they had received the Communion, hee gave them his blessing. This I saw done in a Towne called Dara, which is in the Kingdome of Xoa. Another of these marriages I saw in a Village, being in the Parish of Coquete, being a place in the Kingdome of Barnagasso. And when these marriages are made, they are concluded by contract or covenant in this sort: If thou leave me, or I thee, he which shall be the cause of this division, shall pay such or such a penaltie: which penaltie is appointed, according to the qualitie of the persons, either in so much Gold or Silver, or so many Mules, or so many Kine or Goates, or so many Cloathes, or so many measures of Corne. And if any man would divorce himselfe, immediatly he seeketh an occasion wherefore he may doe so: and by these meanes few doe fall into those penalties; and thus they divorce themselves, as well the Husband as the Wife.

Dara in the kingdome of Xoa.

Divorces.

Priests cannot, and husbandmen will not be divorced.

And if any observe the order of Matrimony, they be the Priests which cannot be divorced, and also the Husbandmen which love their Wives, because they be a great helpe unto them in keeping of their Cattell, and bringing up their Children, and in digging their fields, and

weeding of their Corne, and because they find all things needfull made ready, when they come home at night, and therefore by reason of these commodities, they continue married as long as they live. And whereas I have said, that in their contracts they put downe penalties; The first, Barnagasso, whom hee knew (whose name was Dari) was divorced from his Wife, and payed for a penaltie one hundred ounces of Gold, which are one thousand Pardai, that is to say, One thousand duckats, and was married to another, and his Wife married unto a Gentleman, called Aron, brother to the said Barnagasso, and both these Brethren had Children by this Woman, whom we our selves knew. These are great Lords, and are Brethren to the Mother of Prete Janni, whom all of us did very well know, and we Portugals knew also Romana Orgue a noble Lady, the sister of Prete Janni, which was married unto a great and noble young Gentleman; and in our time shee was divorced from this her husband, and was married to a man above fortie yeeres of age, a person of great credit in the Court, whose name was Abucher, and his Father had the Title of Cabeata, which is one of the great Lords that remayne in the Court: thus I have both seene and knowne many of these divorcements, and I thought good to put downe these, because they fell out among great personages. And whereas I have said, that Aron tooke to wife the wife of his brother Dori, marvell not a whit thereat, because it is the manner of this Countrey, and seemeth not any strange thing, that a brother should lye with his brothers wife, for they say, that the brother rayseth up seede unto his brother, as was accustomed.

A Pardai amounteth to a ducket.

[II. vii. 1040.]

Double iniquity, Adulterous and incestuous.

Scripture abused.

22. Any man may circumcise that listeth, without any ceremonie; onely they say, that they finde it written in their Books, that God commanded them to be circumcised. And let no man marvell which heareth this, for they circumcise women as well as men, which thing was not used in the old Law. They baptize in manner following; men children they baptize within fortie dayes, and the female sexe after sixtie, and if they die before, they goe

Circumcision.

Baptisme.

without baptisme. And I often told them, and in sundrie places, that herein they committed a great error, and that they did against the Gospell of our Lord, which saith: That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is borne of the Spirit, is Spirit. Whereunto they answered me very often, that the faith of the Mother, and the communion which shee received, while shee was with child of them, was sufficient for them. And this Baptisme they minister in the Church as wee doe, but not in the christning Fount, but at the Church-gate with a pot of water, and so they blesse them, and they powre Oile as we doe upon the top of their fore-heads, and upon their shoulders; neither doe they use the Sacrament of the Chrisome, nor the Oile of extreme Unction. Their forme of Baptisme is not so long as that which is used in the Archbishoprick of Bragança, but seemeth to be about the length of that which is used in the Church of Rome.

Not in the Fount.

Oile.

No Chrisme nor extreme Unction.

Rites of Baptisme.

At the time when they wil baptize the Infant with this water, one which is there as a God-father, taketh the Infant out of the hands of the Midwife which beareth the same, and he taketh it under both the armes, and so holdeth it hanging downe, and the Priest which baptizeth it hath the pot in his one hand, and sprinckling the water upon the child with the other hand, hee washeth it, saying the same words that we use, to wit: I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. They alwayes minister this Sacrament on the Saturday, or on the Sunday, and it is done in the morning at the Masse, and all that they baptize, as well Males as Females, they cause to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in small quantitie, and by force of water they constraine them to swallow it. Touching this point, I said, that this Communion was very dangerous and nothing necessary. And whereas I have said, that they powre oile upon the crowne of the childs head, this is because all the Infants are brought to bee baptized with their heads shaven.

The baptised doe then also communicate.

And those markes which wee see certaine Negro slaves to have on their noses, and betweene their eyes, or on

their eye-browes, are not made with fire nor for any token of Christian Religion, but onely for a bravery, with a cold Iron; and they say, that these markes are very beautifull to behold. And there are women which are very skilfull in making these markes. And they make them in this sort: they take an head of Garlicke, which is great, cleane washed, and somewhat stale, and they lay it to the eye or to the other part where they will make the marke, and then they cut round about it with a sharpe knife, to wit, about the said head of Garlicke, and then they widen the said cut, and powre upon it a little waxe; and upon the waxe they clap a little dowe, and binde it with a cloth, and so bound, they let it alone for one night, and this marke remayneth as long as the partie lives, which seemeth to be made with fire, because the colour of that marke is blacker then any part of their bodies.

The cause why they marke themselves with an Iron in the face.

And how they doe it.

When any one dyeth, I have seene them carried, as well persons of Honour, as them of the middle and poorest degree, all after one sort. First, at the time of their death, they are not accustomed to light candles, but after they be dead, they bestow upon them much censing, and wash them, and then winde their whole bodies in linnen cloth. And if it be a person of Honour, they lay an Oxe-hide over the street, spreading it over the Litter: and the Priest comming to carry him to the buriall, saith a short service, and they take him and carry him to the Church, with a Crosse, a Censer, and holy Water, running as fast as ever they can, so that a man cannot overtake them: and when they are come to Church, they bring not the dead corps into the same, but streight way set him downe at the grave, neither say they any of our service for him, that is to say, no service for the dead, nor any Psalme of David, nor of Job. And when I inquired what it was which they said, they answered me, that it was all the whole Gospell of Saint John, which being ended, they put the corps into the grave, but first they cense it and sprinkle it with holy water. Neither say they any Dirige or Masse at all for the dead, and

Their manner of buriall.

No service for the dead, but the Gospell of Saint John.

No Dirige or Masse for the Dead.

much lesse for devotion of any man living, onely they say one Masse a day in every Church, and every body which commeth thither receiveth the Communion.

All commers receive.

[II. vii. 1041.]

§. IIII.

Of the situation of Barua, the chiefe Towne of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, and of their Houses, and of the wild Beasts, and Fowles. Of his Dominion and Government; of their two Winters, Churches, Church-yards, and Priests marriages: their departure to Timei, and qualitie of that place.

Barua described.

23. THis Towne of Barua is a very commodious and pleasant place, and standeth upon a very high Rocke, on the side whereof runneth a River. The Kings houses are built upon the said Rocke, very well made, in forme of a Fortresse: all the rest of the countrey is mightie champion, manured fields, wherein are exceeding many Townes to bee seene, and the soile is very fertile to reare up Cattell, to wit, Oxen, Goates, Sheepe, and many other wild beasts, apt for hunting. Much good fish is in the River, many wild Geese, and wild Duckes; here are likewise great store of wild beasts of all sorts, to wit, wild Oxen, and Hares in great number, so that every morning we killed twentie or thirtie of them without Dogs, only with Nets. Partridges there are of three sorts, which differ not from ours, but in their bignesse, and in the colour of their feet and beacks; for they are as big as Capons, and of the colour that ours are of, but their feet and beaks are yellow. There are other like Hennes, but their feet and beaks are red. There are also certaine others, in nature like unto our Partridges, but have their feet and beaks gray; which although they differ in colour and greatnesse from ours, yet all of them taste like ours, saving that they are more delicate. Turtles there are without number, which in flying darken the Sunne, and are

Cattell, fish, wild beasts, fowle.

Partridges of three sorts, as big as Capons.

Turtles darken the Sunne.

very fat and good, and likewise Hennes, and wild Geese, and infinite numbers of Quailes, and all sorts of fowles that may bee named or knowne, as Popingayes, and many other kind of birds unknowne to us, both great and small, of infinite sorts and colours. There are likewise birds of prey, to wit, royal Eagles, Faulcons, Lenards, Sparrow-hawkes, and great store of Girfaulcons, and Faulcons for the Rivers, and Cranes, and of all sorts that may be named.

Wild beasts.

In the mountaines are wild Swine, Stags, Roes, beasts called Ante, wild Goats, wild Oxen, Lions, Luzerns, Tygres, Foxes, Wolves, Porcupines, and divers other sorts of knowne and unknowne beasts, and all wild. If any man shall aske mee how it is possible, that there should be so many wild beasts in this Countrey, and fishes in the Rivers, seeing the same is so well peopled: I say that no man hunteth, nor fisheth, nor hath any engine or way to take them, neither delight they to feed upon them: and therefore it is a very easie matter to goe on hunting, and to kill as much game as a man list, because the beasts and the fowles are not molested by the people: and the wild beasts (as it hath beene told me) hurt no person, yet the people of the Countrey stand in great feare of them. At one time onely, at a place called Camarua, a mile distant from Barua, while a man slept in the night at the gate of his Oxe-cote, with his little son, there came a Lion and killed the said partie, so that no man perceived it, and hurt not the child at all, but eat the mans nose, and opened his heart. The people of this Towne were greatly amazed hereat, saying, this Lion hath begunne to savour mans flesh, he will doe much mischiefe, and no man shall escape him: yet (blessed be God) it was not perceived that hee did any more harme; and wee at the same time went often on hunting neere the same place, and never found any Lions. Wee found indeed Panthers, Ounces,* and Tygres, which we hurt not, nor they us.

No hunting nor fishing.

Wild beasts not hurtfull.

**Leonze.*

24. The authoritie of Barnagasso is in manner following. By his title hee is called a King: for,

Barnagas signifieth, King of the Sea.

Nagas signifieth, a King; and Bar, the Sea: and so Bar-nagas signifieth King of the Sea. And when they give him this government, they give it him with a Crowne of gold upon his head, and it is given according to the will of Prete Janni, and lasteth as long as it pleaseth him. For in sixe yeeres space while we remayned there, I saw foure Barnagassos. At our comming into the Countrey, Dori was Barnagasso, and he died of his naturall death, whose Crowne was given to his sonne Bidla, a child of ten or twelve yeeres old, which after hee was made Barnagasso, was straightway called to the Court of Prete Janni, whom he deprived of the government, and gave the same to a noble Lord, called Arraz Annubiata. This man held it two yeeres, and then it was taken from him, and he was made the chiefest Lord of the Court, which in their Language is called, Bettude; and he gave the government of Barnagasso, to another Lord, named Adibi, a very gentle person, which is now Barnagasso. Under his government are many great Lords, which are called Xuus, which signifieth Captaines, and these Xuus are men of great authoritie. And it is said, that two governments of this Land was wont to bee the Kingdome of Queene Candace, which in her time had no other dominion, and shee was the first Christian that this Land had.

An Officer often changed.

Bettude.

Q. Candace.

Daffila and Confila.

Also there are two other Governments, to wit; Daffila, and Confila. These border upon Egypt, and these Captaines and Lords remaine upon the Frontiers, and have Trumpets carried before them, which they call Ugardas, which none can have but such as are great Lords; and all these attend upon Barnagasso to the warres, when he goeth forth, and wheresoever he goeth. He hath many other Lords under him, which are called Arrazes, which signifieth Captains; & one of them we knew, whose name was Arraz Aderao, that is to say, Head of the men at Armes, whereof he had fifteene thousand under him, which are called Cavas. And I have seene the said Arraz Aderao twice at the Court, and both those times walking before the gate of the King, without any shirt, and with a cloth

[II. vii. 1042.]

Arraz his habit.

of Silke girt from the middle downwards, and a Lions skin upon his shoulders, and in his right hand a Dagger, and in his left hand a Target. I asked why so great a person went on that fashion; it was told me, that that was thought to be the most honourable habite that could be imagined, for him that was Arraz di Caval, that is, Head of the men at Armes. And in the very same habite there followed after him twentie or thirtie Foot-men with Daggers and Targets, but alwaies the Arraz marched before.

The said Barnagasso hath other two, namely, Arraz Tagale, and Arraz Jacob, Lords of great Countreyes, which I knew, and many other Xuus Captaines, and Lords of other Countreyes, but without any titles of honour; and so he is Lord of many people, and of many Countreyes. And as well he, as the other Lords are subject unto Prete Janni: and he it is that giveth and taketh away their offices, when he seeth good, and it pleaseth him: and to him they pay the Guibre, that is to say, the Tribute of the Countrey. And all these Lordships are towards the parts of Egypt and of Arabia, from whence come the good Horses, cloth of Gold, and Silks, whereof they pay him tribute; that is to say, all of them pay to Barnagasso, and he payeth it over againe to Prete Janni for himselfe, and for the rest every yeere, to wit, one hundred and fiftie Horses, and a great quantitie of Silke, and cloth of Gold. They pay likewise great store of Cotton-cloth of India, for the customes which are gathered in the Haven of Ercoco. *The tribute.*

25. The people of this Towne of Barua, and their neighbours round about them have a custome to enclose themselves, ten, twelve, or fifteene of them in a Court all walled and strongly enclosed, which Court hath not past one gate, and herein they shut up their Kine, of which they have their Milke and Butter: they shut up likewise their small cattell, as Sheepe, Mules, and Asses; and besides the locking up of their gate in the night, they make fires also at the gate, and place men to watch there, *How they keep their cattell from the wild beasts in the night.*

for feare of wild beasts which range about their lodgings. And if they should not take this course, no beast of theirs should escape undevoured. And of this Towne of Barua, and the other Townes adjoyning, are the men which goe to sowe Millet unto the Mountaines of the Vision, and they goe thither three moneths before the Generall Winter: and the cause why they goe thither, are two: the first is, because they are neere to the Sea, whereby all victuals are transported to Mecca, to Ziden, to Toro, and to all Arabia, and India. And having many sorts of Corne, they seeke a fit place for the vent thereof. The second cause is, for *Two Winters.* that in this Countrey there are two Winters, divided into rainy stormes; neither do the Cornes grow, but with abundance of water: therefore they depart from Barua, and goe to sowe their Corne in the Mountaines of the Vision, where at that time it is Winter, which lasteth all the time of Februarie, March, and Aprill, and the selfe same Winter is in another Countrey, which is under the government of Barnagasso, called Lama, distant from the Mountaines of the Vision, at least eight dayes journey. *Winter and Summer strangely dispensed.* At this very time also it is Winter in another Countrey, which is called Dobas, being thirtie dayes journey from this place. And because these seeds of Millet require much raine, therefore these Winters being out of the ordinarie season of the places above mentioned, they goe to sowe them where it raineth, and so they make their profit of the two foresaid Winters.

Two great Churches, one for men, and one for women. In this Towne of Barua are two very great and goodly Churches, wherein are many Priests, the one fast by the other: one is for the men, called Saint Michael; and the other for the women, called, The Church of the Apostles, that is, of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul. They say that the Church belonging to the men was built by a great Lord that was Barnagasso, who gave it this priviledge, that no woman should enter therein, save the wife of Barnagasso with one maide only, and that onely when shee went to receive the Communion; and yet might shee not enter into the Church, for women come not into the Church, but

stand at the gate in the circuit before the Church, and there they receive the Communion with the Lay people; and so likewise doe the women in the other Church of the Apostles, which receive it in the forme aforesaid before the gate. And in the womens Church I have alwaies seene the wife of Barnagasso goe to communicate with the other women, not using the priviledge granted unto her, to goe to communicate in the Church of the men.

Church-yards.

These two Churches have the circuit of their Church-yards, which toucheth one another, and are compassed about with high walls, and they make the Sacrament, that is to say, the Bread, for both of them in one house, and both of them say their Masses at one and the selfe same time, and the Priests that serve in one Church doe serve in the other, that is to say, two parts of the Priests in the Church of the men, and the other part in the Church of the women, and being thus divided, they say their Divine Service. These Churches have no manner of Tithes, onely they have great possessions which belong unto the Priests, and they cause them to be tilled and manured, the revenues whereof are divided among them, and the Barnagasso alloweth them whatsoever is needfull in the Churches, that is to say, Reparations, Ornaments, Waxe, Butter, Incense, and all things else belonging thereunto. At these Churches are twentie Priests, and ten or twelve Friers continually resident, and I never saw Church of Priests where there were not Friers, nor Monasterie of Friers, where there were any Priests, for the Friers are so many, that they cover the World: both in the Monasteries, the Churches on the waies, and in all Markets, and lastly, in all places are Friers.

No Tithes, but great possessions.

[II. vii. 1043.]

Abundance of Friers.

26. The Priests marrie with one Wife, and observe Matrimonie better then the Laytie. They continue alwaies in House with their Wife and children, and if perhaps their Wife die, they marrie no more; and likewise if the Priest die, his Wife marrieth not a second Husband, but she may become a Nunne if she will. And if a married Priest lie with another woman, hee entreth

Priests best observers of Matrimonie.

Losse of orders or degradation.

no more into the Church, neither is he partaker of the Revenues thereof, but becommeth as it were, a Lay-man, And this I know to bee true, for I saw a Priest accused before the Patriarke, that he had lien with another woman, and I heard him confesse the fault, and straight way the Patriarke, commanded, that he should never carrie Crosse more in his hand, nor come any more into the Church, but should become a Lay-man. And if any Priest being a Widdower doe marrie againe, he becommeth a Lay-man, as it hapned to Abuquer, whom I mentioned before, which being a Widdower was married to Romana Orque, the Sister of Prete Janni. This man having beene a Priest and principall Chaplaine to Prete Janni, after hee had beene Widdower many yeares marryed againe, and Marke the Patriarke digraded him, and made him become a Lay-man, and he came no more into the Church, but stood at the Church-porch, to receive the Sacrament, as the Lay-people doe.

No Schooles or Schoole-masters.

The Priests Sonnes for the most part become Priests, for in this Countrey no Schooles are used to teach children to reade or write, neither are there any Schoolemasters: and the Priests teach their children that little which they know, and so they make them Priests, being admitted into Orders by Abura Marke, that is to say, Their Patriarke: for through all Æthiopia there is none other, neither

No Bishop.

Bishop nor any bodie else that giveth Orders, and Orders are given to these Priests, twice in the yeare, as I will hereafter declare, having my selfe oftentimes beene present at their taking of Orders. In all these Countries the Church-yards are enclosed with very strong wals, that beasts may not come and digge up the dead bodies. They

Reverence to Churches.

use great reverence to their Churches: and no man is so hardy as to rule on horse-backe by a Church, but lighteth, and walketh on foot, till he be gone a great way beyond the Church, and the Church-yards.

Bad people.

27. We aboad in this Towne of Barua, and could not at the first, nor many daies space, get any order for our dispatch: yet at the last, we departed the eight and

twentieth of June, 1520. being verie glad and well appayed of our dispatch: and the people which carried our stuffe would carrie them but two miles onely from the Towne, saying, that they were not bound to carrie them any farther, because there ended the limits of their Countrey. Beeing thus in the wilde fields in the moneth of June, and in the depth of the Winter of these Countries with our said goods, and induring most huge raines and showres, the Ambassadour with three of us in his company returned to Barua, to speake with Barnagasso. He alwaies gave us good words but bad deeds; yet at last after foure daies he sent for the said goods. *Barua.*

28. The next day, a Gentleman came thither from Prete Janni, whom Barnagasso so highly intertained, that he forgot us, and went forth of the Towne to receive him as far as a little hill without the Suburbs, accompanied with much people, and the said Barnagasso was naked from the middle upward. As soone as the Gentleman was come thither, he mounted up that little hill above all the rest, and the first speech that hee used was this: The King greets you well; at which words the whole company bowed downe their heads, touching the ground with one of their hands, which is the honour and reverence that they use in this Countrey. These words ended, the Ambassage which he brought him from Prete Janni, followed. After he had ended his speech, Barnagasso clad himselfe in verie rich array, and brought the Gentleman to his Palace. This is the manner of hearing the message which Prete Janni sendeth, to wit, abroad without doores, and on foot; and naked from the Girdle upward, untill the same be ended: And if it be an acceptable message from Prete Janni, he which receiveth it clotheth himselfe; but if the message bee sent in displeasure, then hee which receiveth it abideth still naked, shewing himselfe to bee in disgrace of his Soveraigne. This Barnagasso was Brother to the Mother of Prete Janni.

With what reverence these Lords receive the Ambassages of Prete Janni. Manner of hearing messages from the Prince.

After many delayes, the Ambassador prayed him to lend him twelve Mules: he answered, that he could not

lend us them, and that if he would have them he must buy them; and as we would have bought them of the Countrey people, which willingly would have sold them unto us, his Servants came and threatned them, that if they sold us any they would punish them, and take the Gold from them: for no other money runneth currant in this Countrey. When we sought to buy us Mules, all the Countrey people refused to sell us any, saying, That they were afraid of Barnagasso, because he himselfe would have the selling of their Mules. The Custome of all the Realme of Prete Janni, is, that there is no other coined money currant, but onely Gold, and it passeth from man to man by waight, and the principall waight is an ounce, which maketh ten Pardaos, or ten Cruzados; the next is halfe an ounce; and the least money is a dramme, and ten drammes make an ounce; and the value of a dramme is according to a dramme in the Kingdome of Portugall, or in India. Their Gold differeth in finenesse three quarters of a Ducate, so that one ounce of Gold is sometimes worth about seven Ducates and a halfe. Moreover, the said Barnagasso had commanded that none but himselfe and his Officers, should keepe any Waights to weigh Gold withall; and whosoever would buy and sell must come to intreat them for their Waights, and by this meanes he and his Factors understood to whose hands the Gold came, which Gold afterward he would take from them at his pleasure, as it was told mee by themselves.

The usuall coine through all the Kingdome of Prete Janni.

[II. vii. 1044.]

Wicked policy.

29. In this Towne of Barua, there is a Church of our Ladie, which is great, new, and verie well painted, and notably furnished with many Ornaments, and Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silke, Crimson and Velvet of Mecca, and red Chamblets. In this Church the Service is the selfesame which is used in the Church of Barua, before mentioned, saving that here it is something more solemne, because Barnagasso is here resident, and many more Priests, and great numbers of Friers. The Church is governed by Priests, and one time while I was there, I saw a Procession made about the Church in the greatest

Faire and rich Church.

Processions.

Circle which is in the Church-yard, wherein were many Priests and Friers, men and women (for in this Church, the women receive the Communion with the Lay-men) in which Procession were the rich Ornaments aforesaid; and they compassed the Church at least thirtie times, singing, as it were, Letanies, and ringing many Basons like unto Drums and Cymbals.

In this Towne is a great Market, as there is at Barua, and likewise, once a weeke, there is a Market kept in al those places which are head-towns. In these Markets they use to exchange one thing for another; namely, to give an Asse for a Cow, and that which is wanting of the worth, is supplyed with two or three measures of Corne or Salt. Moreover, they change Goates for Bread, and for Bread they buy Cloth; and for Cloth, Mules and Kine: but especially, they may have what they will for Salt, for Incense, for Pepper, for Myrrhe, and for small Pearles, all which are things much esteemed and had in price, and make account of them as of Gold, and these runne as currant through all the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, and of the Gentiles: for every small thing, they change Hens and Capons. To be short, whatsoever a man would buy is here to be had in the Market by exchange, for no money is here currant. Neither use they many words in their bargaines, but are soone agreed, whereat we greatly marvelled.

Their manner of buying and selling in this Market by exchange.

Salt precious, also Incense, Pepper, &c. No money currant.

Few words used in bartering.

The greatest Chapmen in these Markets, are Priests, Friers, and Nunnes. The Friers goe decently apparelled, with their Habit downe to the ground: some weare yellow apparell of course Cotton-cloth, others weare Goats-skins drest like Chamois. The Nunnes also weare the like Habit. Moreover, the Friers weare Cowles, like the Cowles of the Dominican Friers, made of the said skins or of yellow Cotton-cloth, and also weare their haire long. The Nunnes weare neither Cowles nor long haire, but onely a Gowne, and have all their heads shaven, and have a thong of Leather tyed strait about their heads, and when they be old, they weare a certaine attire upon their heads,

Priests, Friers and Nunnes, chiefe Chapmen. Their Habit. Nunnes: their Habit, number, &c.

and Veiles over the same. They are not inclosed in Monasteries, but dwell in certaine severall Townes; and because all the Monasteries are of one order, therefore they are obedient unto the Monasterie that is next them, from whence they receive their Habit. These Nunnes enter not into the Church, but doe as other women doe. The number of them is very great, and in a manner, as great as the number of the Friers: they say that some of them are women of a very holy life. Againe, some of them have children. The Habit which the Priests weare, is little differing from the Habit of the people, for it is made all of one Cloth, and they are girded like the common people; their difference is, in that they carrie a Crosse alwaies in their hands, and their heads are alwaies shaven. And contrariwise, the Lay-people weare their Lockes long, and the Priests shave not their Beards, but the Lay-men are shaven under the chinne, and cut off their Mustaches. There are also certaine other Priests, called Debeteras, which is as much to say, as Canons, these are Priests of great Churches, as a man would say, of Cathedrall, or Collegiate Churches: and these men goe very well apparelled, so that they well declare what manner of men they bee: and these goe not up and downe the Markets as the rest doe.

Crosses and shavings.

Barnagassoes State.

30. The state of this Barnagasso (although he be a great Lord, and hath the title of a King) is very poore. Whensoever we spake with him, we found him sitting in a Litter covered with a Quilt, the Testerne was of Cotton-cloth, which they call Basuto; it is very good according to that Countrey. There bee some verie deare, and behind the said Litter or Couch, the wall was hanged with foure verie rich Swords, fastned to foure pieces of wood, fastned to the wall, and two great Bookes likewise hanged thereon: before the Litter upon the ground were spread certaine Mats, on which they sit which come to see him. They sweepe not their Houses very often. His Wife alwaies sitteth at his elbow upon a Mat, which is layed at his beds head. Also many people and men of account

are alwaies before him, which sit upon the said Mats. Over against him, right before his Litter, stand alwaies foure Horses, one of which is alwaies sadled, and the rest are onely covered with Coverings, and there they stand eating.

Courts of Justice.

In all his Houses are two round places inclosed as it were Courts; each circuit hath his gate, and every gate hath his Porters, with their staves in their hands. In the gate next unto him stand the principall Porters, and betweene these two gates is alwayes one of his Alicaxi, which signifieth an Auditour or Steward of the House; and he it is that ministreth Justice when he hath heard both the parties. And if the cause be of great importance, he heareth both the parties till they have made an end of speaking, then he relateth the whole matter to Barnagasso, and hee himselfe decideth the matter: and if it be but a small matter, and the parties agree together, and the said Alicaxi give sentence thereof, the cause is so ended. Moreover, there must needs be there present, a man of honour and account, which by his office, is called Mallagana, which signifieth the Notary of Prete Janni, at all sentences which Barnagasso or his Alicaxi giveth. And if any of the parties will appeale to Prete Janni, or unto his Auditors, in such cases they send unto him the state of the cause, and by this meanes Prete Janni understandeth all the complaints of his subjects, as well great as small: and all the Lords of the Dominions of Prete Janni, have each of them one Alicaxi, and one Mallagana, placed by himselfe, and the Captaines subject to Barnagasso have the like. [II. vii. 1045.]

Appeale.

Manner of comming to him.

The great Lords which remaine in the Court of Barnagasso, and others which come unto him for their affaires, come in this manner. Departing from their houses, they ride upon a Mule, with seaven or eight men on foote, which goe before him unto the first gate, and there hee lighteth; if he be a greater Lord, he rideth with seven, or eight, or ten Mules, his whole company riding, or with more, according to his quality, and commeth unto the first

gate; and being come thither, they all alight, and then they go to the second gate, and if peradventure they cannot get in, they sit there without, as Bees doe in the Sunne, all in a cluster. All these honorable persons, weare Sheepe-skinnes about their necks and shoulders, and those which weare Lions, Tygers, or Leopards skinnes, are more honourable, and when they come before Barnagasso, they put them off to honour him, as we put off our hats.

Proclamation of war against Nubia.

While wee were in this Towne of Barua, on a Market day was a great Proclamation made, that Barnagasso would goe to warre against the people of Nubia. The order of this Proclamation was in this wise: One carried a Cloath like a Banner upon a Javelin, and another went crying warre against the Nubians, which they say are very farre off in the utmost Confines of their Countrey, five daies journey towards Egypt, and border upon the Countries of Canfila and Daffila, as hath beene before mentioned, being subject to the said Barnagasso. These people of Nubia, are neither Moores, Jewes, nor Christians; but they say at sometimes they were Christians, and that through default of evill Ministers they lost their Faith, and are become Infidels, and without Law.

Nubians, what people.

Moreover, they told me, that they had slaine one of Barnagasso his Sonnes not long before, for which cause he purposed to goe into those parts, to be avenged of them. And it was told me, that in this Countrey of Nubia, is found abundance of fine Gold, and that upon the Frontiers thereof, are alwaies foure or five hundred Horse-men kept, which are excellent men of Armes, and that their Countrey is very fruitfull, and aboundeth with all sorts of Victuals and Cattell, and it cannot be otherwise; because it lyeth on both sides of the River of Nilus, which passeth farre many miles space through the midst of the same. The Proclamation said, That within five daies space, Barnagasso would set forward, but as yet there was no furniture of Weapons prepared: for in that Countrey there is no great store of them, save onely the Cavas,

Gold.

which are the men of Armes, were there present, which carrie a Javelin, a Target, and a Bow, with store of Arrowes, and persons of more honour weare an arming Sword, and a Jacke of Male, but not many of them. *Armes.* Upon this occasion of going to warre, Barnagasso begged a Sword of our Embassadour, which gave him his owne sword which he weare in that expedition, which was very faire and good, and this notwithstanding, with great importunitie he begged another, which he knew that he had, being very well garnished, and very rich, saying; That hee had great need thereof. *Base begging.* Our Embassadour being not able to shift him off, was forced to buy one for him among his Company, which had a Velvet skabberd, and the Hilts gilded, and so he gave it him in exchange for one of his. And in the house where we kept our goods, and where wee lodged, which was without gates: the night following, they robbed us of two Sallets, and one head-piece, you may well thinke, that they pilfered the same upon occasion of this warre.

31. In this Towne we bought Mules for our journey, and Barnagasso gave us three Camels, and with much paine wee departed from thence, through the great Thunders, Tempests, and Raines, which terribly troubled us; for at this season is the fury of Winter, which beginneth about the fifteenth of June, little more or lesse, (as we have said before) and endeth the fifteenth of September, and at the end thereof is their Summer, as it is with us: and what it taketh of the one, it leaveth of the other. During all this Winter-season in some of these Countries, they travaile not, but we notwithstanding proceeded on our journey, because wee knew not the custome of the Countrey, and much lesse the danger whereinto we thrust our selves. And so we set forward on our journey with part of our goods, because we left the greatest part at Barua with our Factor, and came to a place called Temei, which is in the Countrey of Maizada, distant from the Towne of Barua whence we came, about twelve miles, wee spent three daies in this journey, by reason of the cruell

Their departure.

What time their Winter beginneth and endeth.

Temei.

Maizada.

Winter and huge raines, our goods which we carried, being spoyled with water.

[II. vii. 1046.] At this place where we arrived, we found a Xuum, that is to say, A Captaine, whose name was Primo, and hee was one of Barnagasso his Brothers, an honourable person, and of great worth, who used us very courteously. They said, that he was likewise Brother to the Mother of Prete Janni, and that he had in his Xumeta, or government of the Countrey of Maizada, twentie Townes, and not above, because it is the least Shire within the Kingdome of Barnagasso. This town is seated upon a steepe hill, not of Stone, but all of arable ground, with certaine small Villages thereon; and upon three sides a man may see the Champaine Countrey, for fortie or fiftie miles about; and on the fourth side, by the space of three miles, beginneth an huge bottome or downe-fall, which the ground maketh toward a great River, neere unto which a man may behold most goodly champaine fields, all manured and fruitfull, wherein are seated above one hundred Villages: in so much, that I thinke in no part of the world is any Countrey so well inhabited, nor so full of all sorts of Graine, as this is. Neither doe the raines in Winter any harme thereunto, for this is the best season they can wish for, for at that time the Corne groweth best, and becommeth most beautifull. And I thinke there is no Countrey wherein such abundance of Cattell, as well tame as wilde, may be found, and where a man may catch such store of Wilde-fowle, as in these champaine fields; but of wilde Beasts there, none other sorts but Tygers, Wolves, and Foxes, which also are common in all the Countrey. They eate not many sorts of beasts, as Hogges, Hares, Wilde-Geese, and Ducks, and all because they are not cloven-footed: neither eate they any other kind of Beast, if it chanceth to dye, before it be eaten; and by this meanes so many beasts doe multiply, which neither are molested nor chased, because they have no Dogges for this purpose. And when we went on Hunting without Dogges, we caught sometimes twentie Hares in our Nets at a time, in

Description of the Towne.

Store of tame and wilde beasts.

Uncleane beasts and fowles.

Hares and Partridges easily taken.

the space of an houre, and as many Partridges we drove unto the snares, as though we had driven Hens into an house, because they are not very wilde, nor much afraid of men, for as much as they see them all the day long; and in this manner we killed as many of them as we would desire. Those kinds of Beasts which they eate not of, we fed upon in secret, that they should not report any evill of us.

§. V.

Of the infinite number of Locusts, and of the harme which they do, and how we made a Procession, and the Locusts dyed. The incredible hurts done by them. Of Tigremahon, Marabon, and of Charuma, the Queene of Sheba, and the Eunuch. The rare Buildings and Pillers at Caxumo.

32. IN this Countrey, and in all the Dominions of Prete Janni, is a very great and horrible plague, which is an innumerable company of Locusts, which eate and consume all the Corne and Trees, and the number of these Creatures is so great, as it is incredible, and with their multitude they cover the earth, and fill the ayre in such wise, that it is an hard matter to be able to see the Sunne. And againe, I say, that it is an incredible thing to him which hath not seene it. And if the damage which they doe, were generall through all the Provinces and Realme of Prete Janni, they would perish with famine, and it were impossible to inhabite the same, but one yeare they destroy one Province. Sometimes in two or three of those Provinces; and wheresoever they goe, the Countrey remaineth more ruinate and destroyed, then if it had beene set on fire. These Vermine are as great, as a great Grashopper, and have yellow wings. We know of their comming a day before, not because wee see them, but we know it by the Sunne, which sheweth his beames of a yellow colour, which is a signe that they draw neere

Locusts, like those of Egypt.

The mischiefe by them.

A strange signe of the comming of Locusts.

the Countrey, and the ground becommeth yellow, through the light which reverberateth from their wings, whereupon the people become suddenly as dead men, saying; We are undone, for the Locusts come.

Neither will I omit to declare what I have seene three times, and the first time was in the Towne of Barua, where we remained three yeares; and here, oftentimes we heard say, Such a Countrey, or such a Realme is destroyed with Locusts. During our abode in this Towne, we saw the signe of the Sunne, and the shadow of the earth, which was all yellow, whereat the people were halfe dead for sorrow. The next day, the number of these Vermine which came, was incredible, which to our judgement, covered foure and twentie miles in compasse, according as we were informed afterward.

Foure and twentie miles compasse, covered with Locusts.

This plague of God being come upon us, the Priests of this place repaired unto me, beseeching mee to give them some remedy to chase them away; to whom I answered, That I could tell them none other remedie, save only to pray devoutly to God, that he would chase them out of the Countrey. And I went my selfe unto the Embassadour, and told him, that peradventure it would doe well to goe on Procession, and to pray to God to deliver the Countrey, and that it might be that he would heare us, for his mercies sake. This motion highly pleased the Embassadour.

[II. vii. 1047.]

Through the prayers of the Portugals, the Locusts were all destroyed and killed.

The next day we assembled the people of the Towne, and all the Priests, and taking a consecrated stone and a Crosse, according to our custome, all wee Portugals sung the Letanie, and I commanded those of the towne to cry unto God like as we did, saying, in their language: Zio Marina Christos, that is, Oh Lord God have mercy upon us. And with this our cry, we went through one field, whereas there grew store of Corne, for the space of one mile, unto a little hill, and there I caused them to take up a quantity of these Locusts, and made of them a conjuration, which I carried with me in writing, which I had made the night before, Requiring them charging them, and

Exorcising the Locusts.

excommunicating them, willing them within three houres space to begin to depart toward the Sea, or toward the Land of the Moores, or toward the desert Mountaines, and to let the Christians alone; and if they obeyed me not, I called and adjured the Fowles of the Heaven, the Beasts of the field, and all the Tempests, to scatter, destroy, and consume their bodies. And for this purpose I tooke a quantitie of these Locusts, and made this Admonition to them which were present, in the name of themselves, and of those which were absent; and so I let them goe, and gave them libertie. It pleased God to heare us Sinners; for as we returned homeward, there came so many of them behind us, that it seemed they would breake our heads, and our shoulders, they strucke us so hard, that they seemed to be blowes of stones and of staves, and went from this part toward the Sea. The Men, Women, and Children which stayed in the Towne, were gotten up to the roofes of the houses, praising God, because the Locusts began to depart and fly before us, and part of them followed after us. In the meane while, arose a great storme and Thunder toward the Sea, which came right against them, which lasteth three houres, with an exceeding great shower and tempest, which filled all the Rivers, and when the water ceased, it was a dreadfull thing to behold the dead Locusts, which we measured to be above two fathomes high upon the bankes of the Rivers, and in some Rivers there were exceeding great Mountaines of them, in such wise, that on the next morning there was not one of them found alive upon the ground.

Grashoppers excommunicated.

Incredible swarmes of dead Locusts.

The people of the Townes adjoyning, hearing heereof, many men came to make inquiry by what meanes this thing came to passe. The Countrey people said: These Portugals are holy men, and by the power of God have chased away, and killed the Locusts. Others said, (chiefely the Priests and Friers of the places adjoyning) that we were Witches, and that by witchcraft we had chased the said Vermine, and that thereby also, we were not afraid of Lyons, or of any other wilde beasts. Three

Divers censures.

daies after this acte, comes unto us Xuum or Captaine of a place, called Coiberia, with Men, Priests, and Friers, beseeching us for Gods sake to helpe them, saying, That they were undone by the Locusts, and this place was a daies journey distant towards the Sea.

Another experiment.

They came unto us at Eventide, and at that instant I and foure Portugals departed with them, we travailed all night, and came thither an houre after day-breake, where wee found all the people of that place gathered together, with many of the places neere adjoyning, and they also were troubled with the Locusts, and suddenly upon our arrivall, we made our Procession round about the Towne, which is seated upon an high hill, from whence wee saw many Villages and Townes all yellow with the multitude of Locusts. Having ended our Ceremonies, as in the former place we went to dinner, and the people adjoyning besought us instantly to goe to them, promising unto us a great reward. It pleased God, that as soone as ever we had dined, we saw the ground cleane, so that one Locust appeared not in their sight, to their great admiration. When they saw this, not wholly trusting in the Grace of God received, they besought us to goe with them to blesse their fields, for yet they were afraid least they would returne againe.

The hurt they saw done by Locusts elsewhere.

33. At another time while we were in a Towne, called Albuguna, Prete Janni sent us to this Towne, that here we might furnish our selves of victuals, which is in the Kingdome of Angote, and is distant from the Towne of Barua, where wee abode there thirtie daies journey. When we came hither, I went with the Embassadour Zaga Zabo (which afterward came into Portugall) and five Genoueses, to a Towne and a Mountaine, called Agoan, and we travailed five daies journey through places wholly waste and destroyed, wherein Millet had beene sowen, which had stalkes as great as those which we set in our Vineyards, and we saw them all broken and beaten downe, as if a Tempest had beene there, and this the Locusts did. The Trees were without leaves, and the Barkes of them were

Zago Zabo, an Embassadour sent into Portugall.

all devoured, and no Grasse was there to be seene, for they had eaten up all things, and if we had not beene warned and advised to carrie victuals with us, we and our Cattell had perished. This Countrey was all covered with Locusts without wings, and they told us, that those were the seede of them which had eaten up all, and that as soone as their wings were growne, they would seeke after the old ones. And the number of them was so great, that I will not speake of it, because I shall not be beleeved: but this I will say, That I saw Men, Women, and Children, sit as forlorne and dead among these Locusts; and I said unto them, Why stand yee as dead men, and will not kill these Vermine, to be revenged of the mischiefe of which their fathers and mothers have done unto you, seeing that those which you shall kill shall never be able to doe you more harme? They answered, that they had not the heart to resist the plague which God sent upon them for their sinnes. And all the people of this Countrey departed, wee found all the wayes full of men and women, travelling on foot with their children in their armes, and upon their heads, going into other countries where they might find food, which was a pitifull thing to behold.

Their mischievous spawne.

Hartlesse people.

[II. vii. 1048.]

While wee abode in the said Signorie of Abuguna, in a place called Aquate, at another time came such an infinite swarme of Locusts, as it is incredible to declare. They began to come about three of the clocke in the after-noone, and ceased not til night, and as they came they lighted, and the next day in the morning, they began to depart, so that by nine of the clocke there was not one of them left, and the Trees remained without leaves. The same day and houre, there came another Squadron of them, and these left neither bough nor Tree unpilled, and so they continued for the space of five dayes, and they said, they were the yong ones which went to seeke the old ones, and they did the like, where wee saw them that were without wings, and the compasse which these Locusts tooke, was nine miles, wherein was neither leaves nor barke on the Trees.

Men driven by Locusts out of their Habitations.

Hurt to Trees.

This Countrey seemed not to bee burnt up, but rather to bee covered with Snow, by reason of the whitenesse of the Trees, which were all pilled, so that all the Countrey remayned bare. It pleased God that the Harvests were alreadie gathered in, but wee could not understand whether they went afterward, for they came from the Sea-coast out of the Kingdome of Dancali, which belongeth to the Moores, which are continually in warre, neither could we learne where at last they lighted.

Dancali.

34. The next day after our comming to this Towne of Timei, before our goods remayning in Barua, were brought thither, our Ambassadour departed with sixe on Horse-backe in his company, to goe to the Court of Tigremahon, which hath the title of a King, and under his Government and Jurisdiction, are many great Lords and Townes. The Ambassadour requested him to give him aide: and while we here stayed two dayes for people to carrie our goods, a Captaine came unto us, with many people to carrie the same, and hence wee departed the third of August, with great Thunders and a terrible storme of raine, and travelled for the space of three miles through manured fields. Then beganne we to descend downward, by a very rough craggie and steepe waye, many miles more, and at evening lodged in a Church-yard, where wee abode in great feare of Tygres, and marvelled much at the Winter and stormes. Departing thence the day next following, wee travelled through craggie Mountaines full of Woods and Trees without fruit, but very greene and faire, and such as wee knew not, and came unto a River, which because it was Winter, was swollen and very dangerous to passe, which is called Marabo: and upon this River is seated the Towne of Barua, as I have said before, and it runneth towards Nilus: and this River parteth the Jurisdictions of Barnagasso, and Tigremahon, and from this River unto the place where we lodged, are about sixe miles, and albeit the Mountaines be craggie and full of Woods, yet are they inhabited with store of people, and have many places manured in them.

Tigremahon.

Thunders and stormes.

The River of Marabo.

35. When we were come unto the River, they which were with us layed downe our goods, and suddenly we heard on the other side the River a great noise of Drums, and of people. We demanded what the matter was, it was told us that it was a Captaine of Tigremahon, which came to carrie our goods. And having passed the River, we found a goodly company which came to meet us, and they were betweene six or seven hundred men. Suddenly we saw a great contention fall out betweene these people, and those which come thither with us: for they which belonged to Tigremahon said, that they were not bound to take charge of the goods until they were past the River: and the others said, that they were not bound to carrie them further then the waters side. While they were in this contention, because the River was greatly swollen, they agreed all together to transport the goods upon a raft, and that this should be nothing prejudiciall at all, but that it should remaine free for them as before, and so wee passed the River with our goods. These people travelled so lustily with our stuffe, that we could not stay them back, with our Mules.

A Captaine of Tigremahon to convoy them.

Contention.

During that little part of the day which remayned, wee travelld over most craggie Mountaines, and saw wilde Hogges in divers Herds, and they were above fiftie in a companie, Partridges innumerable, and other sorts of Birds of divers colours most beautifull to behold, which covered the Ground and the Trees: and wee were informed, that in these places were all kinds of ravenous beasts, and it cannot bee otherwise, as it seemeth by the terrible Mountaines.

Herds of wild Hogges.

This night wee lodged abroad in the field in places environed with people and many fires, beeing informed, that they made these fires for feare of wild beasts, and here immediately wee found great difference in the People and in the Soyle, and in the Trees, as also in the qualitie of the Countrey, and in the Traffique of the Inhabitants: and here wee began to travell over certaine Mountains so exceeding high & craggie, that they seemed to touch the

Fires for feare of beasts.

High hils.

[II. vii. 1049.] Skies, & in regard of their heighth they winded a little at the foote, and all of them were proportionably situate, and they are divided one from the other, and stretch in length a very great way: and all those which are accessible, although there be great danger in travelling of them, have Chappels builded on the tops of them, and the most part of them are dedicated to our Lady; and on many of the tops of these Hills we saw Chappels, where wee could not imagine how they could ascend up to build them. We lodged at a place, in the midst of these Mountaynes, called Abafacem, whereon standeth a Church, dedicated to our Lady, very well builded, with an Ally in the midst, mounted higher then the other two, on both sides, and the windowes thereof above the other Allies are under the middle Roofe, and the whole Church is vaulted; and in all this Countrey wee have not seene a fairer nor better builded Church then this, which is like unto those Churches of Badie, situate betweene the Rivers of Duoro and Minio in Portugall.

Lady-Chappels.

Abafacem.

Hard by this Church, standeth a mightie huge, and a goodly Tower, as well for the heighth as the compasse thereof, and for the making of the wall, which seemed to stand as though it would fall; and it is of free stone finely hewed, which seemed well to bee a Princely worke; neither have wee seene any other the like building, and it is environed with most beautifull houses, which are very answerable unto the same, as well in regard of their walls, as of their Roofes and Lodgings, which seeme to have belonged to some great Princes. They say that Queene Candaces dwelt in this place, and that her House was not farre from thence, and this is not unlike to be true. This Towne, Church, and Tower, are seated in the midst of those craggie Mountaynes, in very beautifull and goodly greene fields, all watered with Fountaynes of water, which fall from the feet of those Mountaynes, and all these Fountaynes are made of free stone. The Graines which here are watered, are Wheat, Barly, Beanes, Chiches, Lentils, Peason, and all the yeere long they have Garlicke, and

Candaces, Act. 8. 27.

exceeding great Leekes, and Mustard-seede, and Cresses grow about their houses; and on those Rockes grow great store of a kind of herbe, called Crescioni, and certaine other kindes of herbes which they feed on. In the said Church are very many Priests, very well apparelled, which seeme to be men of vertuous conversation.

36. We lodged in another Towne, which is named, The houses of Saint Michael, because the Church is called Saint Michael; and comming hither, they would give us no lodging, saying, that they were priviledged and exempted from such kinde of molestation: and because of the great raine, we lodged in the circuit of the Church as well as we could, and set up our Mules in the other circuit, which serveth for a Church-yard, because there was great store of grasse, which was growne very much, by reason of the winter and the showers, which grasse in Portugall, is called Wild Panick, and it was very long and high, because it was made lustie by reason of the dead bodies there buried. In this Countrey they use not to eate but once a day, that is to say, at even-tide; certaine moneths of the yeere when they doe fast, and so is the custome throughout all the Realme of Prete Janni: and as they refused to give us lodging, so they were slow to give us food, in which meane space we were almost dead for hunger. Our Factor seeing this, said, I have two sodden Hens, if it please you, let us eate them. The Secretarie and I marvelled much, that he wished us to eate flesh without bread; howbeit, we were compelled to eate them. Afterward they seemed so good unto mee (I thinke by reason of mine extreme hunger) that I would oftentimes eate the like againe, to wit, bread without flesh, and flesh without bread, and bread dipped onely in Salt, Water, or Pepper. And thus by reason of these divers sorts of dyet, I forgat that, which at the first I so wondred at. Howbeit, in the evening they brought us meate after their manner, and wee lodged in the foresaid circuits. And because we would be more cleane, we got neere to the place where they use to receive the Communion. Here having

Saint Michael.

Wilde Panike.

Fasting.

ChurchDoves. with us a candle lighted, the Doves began to flie about the same, which when we perceived, we ran to shut the gates, because they could escape none other way, and so running upon them there escaped not one of them, for we tooke them all, even to the young ones that were in the nest, so that we filled a sacke with them. And this was the cause, that at another time, when after certaine yeeres wee returned thither, they gave us lodging, that the second time wee should not take all the Doves of their Church, which by that time were replenished anew.

Apparell not apparelling. The difference of the people of this Countrey from those of Barnagasso, is, that the men weare certaine aprons two spannes long bound about them, and these are of Cloth, or of tanned Leather, full of plights, like unto those which our women weare, which when they stand up, doe cover their secrets; but when they sit downe, or goe in the wind, they hide nothing. The married women weare their aprons much shorter, so that all their secrets are seene. Young maides and other unmarried women, and such as have no Suters weare girdles of Beades about their middles, and about their privities, which other women weare about their neckes. They weare also many garlands full of Timaquetes, which are a little round kind of fruit of trees, which make a noise like unto Lupines. And such as can get any small Bells weare them upon their privities for a braverie, and some weare sheep-skins about their neckes, wherewith they cover but one part of their bodies, and not the other, because they weare them loose, and bound onely about their neckes, with one foot hanging before, and another behind, and with never so little moving of it, a man may see from one side of the bodie to the other, whatsoever he listeth. They wash themselves every day once at the least, and sometimes twice or thrice, and by this meanes they are very cleane, and this manner of attire is for the base people, for the wives of Gentlemen and Lords goe all covered. The way which they travell in this Countrey of Prete Janni, is this: he which travelleth from the red Sea, commeth to Barua:

Timaquetes, a fruit.

Foolish braverie.

[II. vii. 1050.]

A.D. 1520.

and he which commeth from Egypt, arriveth at Suachen, and suddenly turneth his backe to the North, and beginneth to travell Southward, untill he come to the gates, called Baba Baxe.

The way from Egypt to the Court of Prete Janni.

Baba Baxe.

37. Caxumo, is two dayes journey distant from the Towne of Saint Michael, alwaies travelling over these rough Mountaines, in which place wee abode at another time eight moneths, by the commandement of Prete Janni. This place was in old time, the Citie Chamber, and residence of the Queene of Saba, whose proper name was Maqueda, and this was shee which brought Camels laden with Gold to Salomon, when he was to build the Temple in Jerusalem. In this Towne is a very noble Church, wherein we found a most ancient Chronicle, written in the Abissine Tongue; in the beginning whereof it was declared, that first it was written in the Hebrew, afterward translated into the Chaldean Tongue, and lastly out of that into the Abissine Language. And it began in this manner: Queene Maqueda hearing of the great and rich buildings which Salomon had begun at Jerusalem, determined to goe and visite him, and laded certaine Camels with Gold to bestow upon his work-men. And being come neere to the Citie of Jerusalem, and being to passe a Lake over certaine Bridges, suddenly inspired by the holy Ghost, shee lighted, and kneeling downe, worshipped the timber of those Bridges, and said: God forbid, that my feet should touch those beames on which the Saviour of the World shall suffer.

Caxumo.

The Citie of the Queene of Saba, which brought Presents unto Salomon.

Ex ungue leonem. I have left out the rest of the Legend of Salomons sonne by her, his 70. saile of ships on the Indian Sea, &c. See my Pilgr. lib. 7.

38. In this very Towne of Caxumo, was also the chiefe residence of Queene Candaces, whose proper name was Judith, and from her sprang the beginning of Christianitie in these parts: and from the place where the said Queene was borne unto Caxumo, are two miles; which is a little Towne, being at this time inhabited with people, which by their trade are Carpenters. The Christian Faith beganne here in this manner. Their bookes in the Abissine Tongue say, (as also is written with us, in the Acts of the Apostles.) And they say, that the Prophesie

was herein fulfilled, wherein it is said, that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God. And thus they say, that they were first converted unto the Christian Faith, and that the Eunuch returned suddenly to Ethiopia with joy, unto the house of his Ladie and Mistresse, and converted and baptized her with all her houshold; for he declared unto her all which had hapned unto him by the way, and so the Queene caused all the people of her Kingdome and Dominions to be baptized, and the Faith began in a Kingdome which is now called Burro, being situate in the Eastern part of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, which is now divided into two Signiories: and in this Towne of Caxumo, she built an exceeding goodly Church, which was the first, which is said to have beene made in Ethiopia, and it is called Saint Marie of Sion, because that from Sion, the consecrated stone of the Altar was sent; for in these Countreyes they call the Churches by no other name, but by the Altar-stone, wherein is written the name of the place from whence it was fetched.

Churches named by the Altar-stone.

The Church. This Church is very large, and hath five allies of sufficient breadth, and very long, made like a Vault, and above the Vault is a Tarraz, and under the Vault, and on the walls it is painted, and the Church is built of free stone exceeding faire, and joyned together: it hath seven Chappels, which are all situate with their shoulders toward the East, and their Altars very well adorned; it hath a Quire like unto ours, saving onely that it is so low, that with the top thereof it reacheth onely to the Vault; and there is another Quire built over the Vault, but they use it not. This Church hath a great compasse builded with very great free-stones, as big as the stones wherewith we cover graves, which circuit is environed with very great walls, and is uncovered, contrarie to the rest of the Churches of this Countrey. And besides this circuit, it hath another as great as the compasse of a Castle or a Towne, within which are goodly houses of one storie, and each of them hath Fountaines, which send forth their water through the Images of certaine Lions, made of

stone of divers colours. Within this great circuit are two faire Palaces made of divers stories high, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, which belong to the Two Governours of the Church; the other houses belong to the Canons and the Friers. Within this great circuit, neere unto the gate which is next unto the Church, is a square field of ground at this day lying waste, which in times past was full of houses, wherein in each corner is a square Pillar of free-stone, very high, and cunningly carved with divers workes, and in the same are letters ingraven to bee seene, but no man understands them; neither doth any man know of what Tongue they be, and there are many of these kinds of Epitaphs, and this place is called, Ambacabete, which signifieth, The house of Lions, because in times past Lions were kept bound there.

Oboliske, and Hieroglyphikes.

Before the gate of the great circuit is a great Court, wherein groweth a mightie Tree, which is called, The Fig-tree of Pharao; and from the one end to the other are certaine faire Cisterns made of free-stone, well wrought, and well seated, whereunto the Tree doth some harme, onely where it reacheth unto them with his roots. Over these Cisterns are twelve Seats of stone placed, raised in order one behind the other, as well wrought as if they were of wood, with their feet and seats beneath, and they are not made of one entire stone, but of divers pieces; which seats (they said) served for the twelve Auditors or Judges of the Law, which at this day are resident at the Court of Prete Janni. Without this circuit are many goodly houses, the like whereof for beautie and greatnesse are not to be seene in all Ethiopia; there are also many goodly Wells of water, adorned with very goodly stones, and likewise in the most part of the houses are antique Images, as of Lions, Dogs, and Birds, and all of them are made of exceeding hard and fine stone. Behind the backe of this mightie Church, is a Lake of springing water at the foot of a little Hill, where at this day the Market is kept, and about the same are many Chaires, wrought in such sort as those are which belong to the circuit.

Pharaos Fig-tree.

Curious works.

[II. vii. 1051.]

This Towne is situate upon the entrance of a faire Medow, betweene two small Hills, and the greatest part of this Medow is replenished with most ancient buildings, wherein are many of those Chaires with many Pillars, which have letters on them, whose Language no man understandeth; but they are very well ingraven. At the entrance of the said place are many Ruines of stone, part standing up, and part overthrowne to the ground, which are very high and goodly, with faire antique-worke, whereof one standeth as yet upright, built upon another beeing wrought like unto an Altar-stone, and as it were carved into the same; and this which is built upon the other is exceeding great, being sixtie foure yards* in length, and sixe in breadth, and three in the flankes, and very straight and well wrought, all carved with windowes from the foot to the top, to wit, one window above another, and the top of the said stone is like unto an halfe Moone, wherein are five nayles in the part which standeth towards the South, nayled into the said stone in forme of a Crosse, the rust of which nayles running downe in rainy weather along the said stone, a spanne distance from the said nayles, seemeth to bee like unto fresh bloud. This Pillar of stone standing yet so high from the ground toward the South, hath the forme of a gate in it, wrought in the very stone, with a chaine which seemeth to bee lockt, and the stone upon which this same is seated, is a fathome thicke, and very square, and this stone is also set upon other great and little stones, wherein I could not discerne how farre this stone entred into them, or whether it went downe into the ground. Neere unto these are a very great number of stones, very faire and well wrought, which (as it seemeth) were brought hither to be framed in some piece of building, and also those other which were so great, and set upright. Of these stones, some were fortie fathoms* long, and some thirtie, and in the most part of these stones, are very mightie letters ingraven, which none of the Countrey is able to reade. And among the stones which lie upon the ground, there are three very great and

Unknowne Characters. A stately Pillar.

*64. *brachia, the Translater had fathoms, as afterwards also.*

**Brachia.*

very fairely wrought, and one of them is broken into three pieces, and every piece is above eight fathoms long, and ten fathoms broad; neere unto which, are other stones, whereon these should have beene set.

39. Neere unto this Towne of Caxumo standeth a little Hill, from whence descendeth a great deale of ground on all sides. A mile distant from the Citie are two houses builded underneath the ground, wherein a man cannot enter without light. These houses are not made with vaults, but are made of very goodly hewen stone, all even, as well on the sides as over the head, and are twelve fathom high, and the said stones are so well couched together, that they seeme to be all one piece, for the joynts thereof cannot bee discerned. One of these houses is divided into many roomes. At the entrance of the gates are two holes, wherein they put the post wherewith they fasten the gates. In one of the chambers of this house are two great Arches of foure fathoms long, and one and an halfe broad, and as much in heigth, to wit, the hollownesse within, and albeit they lacked their cover, yet seeme they to have had one. They say that these were the Chists of the treasure of the Queene of Saba. The other house is somewhat broader, and hath but one chamber and a porch, and from one gate to the other is the distance of a stones cast, and the open field is upon the top of the houses. In our companie were certaine Genoueses and Catalans, which had beene slaves unto the Turkes, who sware that they had seene many goodly buildings, but that they never saw such huge buildings as these of this Towne of Caxumo. And we judged that Prete Janni sent us hither to solace our selves of set purpose, that we should see these kind of buildings, which are farre greater then I have written.

Houses under the ground.

Chists of the Q. of Sabas treasure.

In this Towne and in the fields thereof, which are wholly in their season sowed with all kind of Corne, when the stormes come with abundance of raine, neither man, woman, nor child, of what age soever, stay within the Towne, but goe out to seeke for Gold in the manured fields, which, they say, is discovered by the raine, whereof

Seeking of Gold after raines.

they find great store; and likewise they goe through all the wayes where the water runneth, turning the earth up with staves. Having heard them speake of so much Gold, I purposed to make a Table, like those which I have seene made in the Towne of Foz de roca in Portugall, and at the Bridge of Muzella, and so I began to wash the earth, and to lay it upon Tables; but I found no Gold at all: I wot not whether it fell so out, because I knew not how to wash the earth; or else, because I knew not the Gold; or, that there was none at all; but the fame thereof was very great.

[II. vii. 1052.] *Ancientest Church in Ethiopia.* They say, that the Church of this Citie is the most ancient Church in all Ethiopia. And it seemeth to be no lesse, for it is more honoured then the rest, and Divine Service is said therein very solemnely after their manner,

150. *Canons, and as many Friers.* and there are in it one hundred and fiftie Debeteres or Canons, and as many Friers. And it hath two principall

Two Nebrets. Governours, which in their Language are called Nebreti, that is to say, Masters of instruction, one of which two is over the Canons, and the other over the Friers, and these two are lodged in the Palaces which are within the circuit of the Church, and the Nebret of the Canons lodgeth in the Palace on the right hand, and this is the greater and more honorable of the two, and hath authoritie to execute justice, not only upon the Canons, but also upon the Laymen of the Countrey, and the Nebret of the Friers executeth justice upon the Friers only, and both of these have Trumpetters in their Courts, and others which play upon certaine Instruments like unto Drums, and have exceeding great Revenues. Besides these, there is given them daily out of the Countrey a portion of Bread, and a portion of the Countrey-wine, called Mambar, which is given unto them when Masse is ended; and they give it unto them in two parts; to wit, one unto the Friers, and another to the Canons, and this their portion is so great, that seldome the Friers eate any more then this, for this sufficeth them for all the day. And hereof they faile not

Good-friday. every day, except Good-friday; for, on that day they

neither eate nor drinke. The Canons receive not their portion in the circuit of the Church, and seldome times they stay in it, saving onely when they say Divine Service; as also the Nebreti stay not in their Palaces, save onely when they give audience to the people: and thus they doe because they bee married, and live with their wives and children in their houses, which houses be very good, and are without the circuit of the Church, whereinto women are not suffered to enter, neither may the Lay-people come into the Churches. But there is another very faire Church, whereunto the Lay-people and women repaire to receive the Communion.

The Canons married.

40. There is an high Mountaine, and small as well at the bottome as at the top, which seemeth to reach up to Heaven, which hath three hundred steppes to the top, and upon the same stands a very holy and faire Chappell, which hath about it a circuit of stone, wrought very well, as high as the breast of a man, from whence a man would be afraid to looke downe. The circuit of this Church is so broad, that three may walke in it together in a ranke, and is called by the name of Abbot Pantaleon, which was a most devout and holy man, and there lies his bodie; and this Church hath great revenues, and hath in it fiftie Canons all honourable persons, and well apparelled, and their chiefe Governour is called, Nebret.

A strange Mountaine.

41. From this Citie of Caxumo Westward men travell toward Nilus, where there are great Cities and Lordships: and they say that toward this part is the Citie of Sabaim, of which the Queene of Saba tooke her name, from whence shee had that blacke wood which shee sent to Salomon, to polish the works of the Temple. And from this Towne of Caxumo, unto the beginning of the Townes of Sabaim, are two dayes journey; and this Signiorie is subject to the Kingdome of Tigremahon: and the Lord and Captaine of the same is Cousin to Prete Janni; and it is reported to bee a good and large Signiorie. Toward the North is a Countrey, called Torrate, all full of Mountaines, toward which within the space of twelve miles, is an high

Nilus.

Where the Citie of Sabaim is situate, whereof the Queene of Saba tooke her name.

Torrate.

Mountaine, which is great at the bottome, on which is a Plaine of two miles long, full of Woods of exceeding straight and beautifull Trees, neere unto which Woods, there is a Monasterie which hath large revenues, and great number of Monks, which is called, The Monasterie of Alleluiah, and the cause of this name is said to be this, that at the first building thereof, there lived a Frier of most holy life, which spent the most part of the night in prayers, and having heard the Angels in Heaven sing Alleluiah, Alleluiah, he told the same unto his Superiour, and thus was this Monasterie called by that name. And as this Frier was very holy and good, so the report is, that they which live there at this present are as bad and wicked.

Monasterie of Alleluia.

A Frier, a lyer.

About this Hill whereon this Monasterie is seated, are Rivers to be seene, which are dried up, which run not, but in the time of great tempests & thunders. But now to returne to our voyage, about eight miles distant from Caxumo, is another Monasterie on a Mountaine, which is called, The Monasterie of Saint John: and sixe miles beyond this is another, which is called, Abba-Gariman, whom they report to have beene King of Grecia, and that forsaking his Kingdome and Government, he came hither to doe penance, and here he ended his life devoutly, and yet, they say, hee doeth many Miracles, and wee were there present on the day of his solemnitie, where wee saw about three thousand persons, some blind, some lame, and some sicke of the French Poxe.

Now he returneth to his Voyage.

[II. vii. 1053.]

§. VI.

Departure from Saint Michael, to a place called Bacinete: Their visiting Tigremahon. Of divers Monasteries, and other places in the way which they passed.

42. WE departed from the Church of Saint Michael, with the people of the Countrey, which carried our stuffe, and came to our lodging in a Towne, called Angeba, in a Betenegus, which is an house of the

Angeba.

King, wherein before in other places we had oftentimes beene lodged, which no body else may use, but such Noblemen as represent the Kings person, and they use such reverence to these houses, that the gates thereof stand alwaies open, and no man dare presume to enter, or to touch them, save onely when the Governour is within, and when he is gone out, they leave the gates open, and the beds whereon they sleepe, and their provision to make their fire, and their Kitchin. Departing from this place, we travailed about fifteene miles, and lodged upon an high Mountaine, which standeth neere unto a great River, called Bacinete, and so likewise is the Towne and Territorie called, whereof the Grand-mother of Prete Janni was then Governesse, and at the time when we were there, it was taken from her, because she had done wrong unto the Inhabitants, and Prete Janni beareth as great affection and respect unto his Subjects, as to his Kinsfolkes, and this Countrey is subject to the Kingdome of Tigremahon, and in every part is very well peopled, and manured in all parts: but especially it is full of fruitfull Mountaines, and Rivers which runne continually towards Nilus. All their habitations are seated and built upon high places, and out of the way, and this they doe, because of the Travailers, which take away such things as they have perforce. They which carried our goods for feare of wilde beasts, made a hedge with Fagots of Thornes very strong, and lay within the same, and we with our Mules, and that night we had no harme.

Reverence to the Kings houses.

Bacinete.

Provision against wilde beasts.

We departed from Bacinete, and travailed sixe miles unto our lodging, unto a place called Malue, which is compassed with many goodly manured fields, full of Wheate, Barley, and Millet, and Pulse of all sorts, the like whereof, so faire and so thicke, we had not seene in any place together. Neere unto this Towne, is an exceeding high Mountaine, but at the foote not very great, for it is as great in a manner at the top as beneath, because it is as steepe as a Wall or fortresse right up, all bare without Grasse, or any greene thing; and it is divided into two parts, to wit, the two outward sides are sharpe, and the

High Mountaine as steepe as a wall.

midst is plaine, and on one of those sharpe tops, travailing up into the same, above two miles, there is a Monasterie of Friers of our Ladie, called Abba Mata, and they are men of an holy life. The order of Friers heere, is all one, because through the Realme of Prete Janni they are all of one order; namely, of the order of Saint Anthonie the Hermite, and out of this order is sprung another, which is called Estefarruz, which is taken rather to be an Hebrew, then a Christian order: and they say, that oftentimes they burne some of them, because there are many heresies among them; namely, because they will not worship the Crosses which they themselves make, because all the Priests and Friers carry Crosses in their hands, and the Laity at their neckes: and the cause why they will not worship them, is, because they say, That Crosse is onely to be worshipped, whereon Christ dyed for us, but that those which they and other men make, are not to be worshipped, because they are the workes of mens hands: and for other like heresies, which they say, hold, and maintaine, they are greatly persecuted. The place where this Abba Mata is, seemeth to be three miles distant from Malue, I would have gone thither, but I was wished not to goe; for though it be but a daies journey thither, yet I should be driven to spend foure daies in the same, and to climbe up thither upon my hands and my feete, for otherwise a man cannot come thither.

A Monasterie.

All Friers of the order of S. Anthony in Ethiopia.

The order Estefarruz will not worship the Crosse. It seemes the superstitious Abbassens and this Author spake the worst of them, for not admitting their superstitions.

In the midst of this Mountaine, which is as flat as a Table, standeth another Church of our Lady, wherein very great devotion is used; and on another sharpe Mountaine, is another little Church, called Saint Crosses. And beyond these, foure miles and an halfe, there is another Mountaine, like unto that of Abba Mata, and there is another Monasterie, called Saint John. The young Women are much out of order, and if they be twentie, or five and twentie yeares of age, they have their breasts so long, that they reach downe unto their waste, and this they take for a goodly thing, and they goe naked, and from the girdle upwards they weare Cordans of Beads for a bravery.

Other Churches.

Long breasts loathsome, lovely.

Others more in yeares, weare Sheepe-skinnes tyed about their neckes, which cover but one side of their bodies: and because this is the custome of their Countrey, a man is no more ashamed to shew his secrets, then if yee saw his hands and his feete; and this is used among the baser sort, for the Gentlewomen are all covered. *Brutishnesse.*

Tigremahon, was about two miles distant from this place in a Betenegus, or house of the King. The same day that we came thither, Tigremahon sent for the Embassadour, which went thither with his Company, but when we were come unto his Palace, it was told us that he was gone to the Church with his Wife to receive the Communion, and this was about halfe an houre past two and twentie* of the clocke; for about that time they say Masse in this Countrey, except it be Saturday or Sunday. And we went to meet him as he came from Church with his Wife, who rode upon two Mules richly furnished, as is requisite for persons of great Estate, and such as are accompanied with men of great Nobilitie. [II. vii. 1054.]

**Many Countries confirme their Computation to the whole course of the Sunne in foure and twenty houres.*

This Tigremahon is an old man, of a goodly pretence, and his Wife was wholly covered with Blue Cotten-cloath, and that in such sort, that we could see neither her face, nor any other part of her body. When we came neere unto him, he prayed me to give him a Crosse which I had in my hand, which he kissed, and gave unto his Wife to kisse, and she not uncovering her face, kissed it upon her veile, and he made us good cheare, and used us with great courtesie. This man hath a great Court of men and women alwaies with him, and greater furniture then Barnagasso had. *Tigremahon described.*

In this Kingdome Prete Janni placeth and displaceth, when it seemeth good unto him, and when he pleaseth, with cause or without cause the Kings, and those which are under the Kings, and therefore when they are deprived of their government, they make no shew of melancholy or sadnesse, and if they take it evill, they keepe it secret. While I was in these parts, I saw great Lords deprived of their States, and they which were placed in their roomes, *Absolute Soveraignty of the Negus.*

oftentimes talking and conferring with them as good friends, but God knowes the heart. In this Country, whatsoever thing happen unto them, whether prosperitie or adversitie, they say, That God sends it. These Lords which are as Kings, pay tribute unto Prete Janni, which tribute is in Horses, in Gold, in Silke, in Imbroidered Cloath, and in Cotton-cloath, according to the abilitie of the Countries. And these Countries are so greatly inhabited and peopled, that their revenues must needs be great, and when the Noblemen live in the Townes, they live at the common charges of the poore people.

After the deliverie of Presents, Tigremahon suddenly tooke order for the carriage of our goods before denyed, and that through all his Dominions they should furnish us of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, on free cost. Having received this newes upon the ninth of August, we departed, and came to our lodging in certaine small Villages, enclosed as the former, for feare of Tygers. And that night which we lodged there, being about two of the clocke in the night, two men went out of the Towne to goe to a certaine stall of Kine, and on the way they were assaulted by Tygers, and one of them was wounded on the leg. It pleased God that we heard them cry, and ran out to succour them, for otherwise they would have slaine them. In this Country are divers Villages, inhabited by Moores, divided from those of the Christians, who (as they say) pay great tribute of Cloath, of Silke, and of Gold, to the Lords of the Countrey, but they are not put to other troubles which the Christians are put too; and these Moores have no Church at all, for they will not suffer them to use any. All these Countries are fertill, as well in Pasture, as in Wheate, and other Corne.

Two men assaulted by Tygers.

Villages of Moores.

Saint Georges Church painted.

Neere unto our lodging was a Church of Saint George, very well governed, after the manner of our Churches, it was vaulted, and well painted with their pictures; to wit, with the Apostles, Patriarks, Noah, and Elias, wherein serve ten Priests, and ten Friers. And till wee came hither, we saw no Church governed by Priests, without having

Friers with them, but where the Friers be the chiefe, there are no Priests. Three miles distant, is the Monasterie of the Holy Ghost, where the Friers were grieved, because it was Saturday, whereon they might not gather fruits to give unto us as they desired, and prayed us to excuse them, and said; They would give us such things as they had in the Covert, and so going into the house, they gave us dryed Garlick & Limons, and at last prepared for us in the Refectorie, Cabbages cut in manner of a Salet, and mingled with Garlick. Behind the Towne where we lodged, for the space of six miles, is a Towne called, Agro, wherein Tigremahon hath a Palace, where we were oftentimes lodged, and here is a Church of our Ladie digged out of a Rock by force of mans hand, very well made, with three Iles or Allies, and with pillers hewed out of the said Rocke, and the great Chappell, the Vestry, and the Altar, are all likewise of the same Rocke, and the principall Porch, with the Pillers thereof, as though it were made of sundry pieces, it cannot be fairer then it is. In the sides it hath no gate, for on each side is the mightie and terrible Rocke, and it is very pleasant to heare them sing Divine Service, for the voyces of them which sing, make a wonderfull resounding.

Jewish Sabbatising.

Agro.

Church out of a Rocke.

45. On the thirteenth of August, we departed from this place, where wee rested all Saturday and Sunday, and came to a place, called Angugui, where there is a Church like a Bishoppes See, very great and faire with Allies, and with Pillars of stone very faire and well wrought, and it is called Chercos, that is to say, Saint Quirico. The place is very faire upon a very goodly River: the Inhabitants have a priviledge, that none may enter the Towne on horse-backe, but onely on Mules.

Angugui.

Bellette, where stands a Betenegus, a very good Lodging. The situation of the place is very pleasant, and hath abundance of good waters, and wee were lodged in the said Palace. During our abode here, there came unto us a great Lord, named Robel, beeing Governour of a Province named Balgada, whereof taking his name, he is

Balgada.

called Balgada Robel. This Nobleman had with him a great train all on horse-back, and many other Horses and Mules led by hand, which they use to do for authority and reputation, and there were many Drums in his company: it is said that he is subject to Tigremahon. And comming to the Palace where our Ambassdor was, he sent to request him to come out and speake with him, because he might not enter into the house in Tigremahons absence. The Ambassador hearing this request, sent him word backe againe, that he had travelled above fifteene miles, and that if he would see him or speake with him, he should come into the house, for he would not come forth. Then this Nobleman sent him an Oxe, a Sheepe, a Vessell of Honey as white as Snow, and hard as a stone, and a Horne full of very good Wine. And sent him word, that he would come and see him although the penalties were very dangerous, and that he hoped that he should be pardoned of the penaltie, because Christians were lodged in that Betenegus.

Honey, white and hard.

As he was come neere unto the Palace, there fell such store of raine, that hee was constrained to enter into it, and there he talked with the Ambassadour and us, enquiring of the state of our Voyage, and of our Countries, which till that time he had never knowne nor heard off, and then discoursed of the Warres which he made against the Moores, which joyne upon his Countries toward the Sea-coast, saying, that he never ceased to warre with them, and he gave a very good Mule for a Rapier to one of our company. The Ambassadour seeing his courtesie, gave him an Helmet.

Through all Æthiopia, Salt runneth as a principal Merchandize. Salt-money.

And they say, that his government is very great, and that he hath the best commoditie in all Æthiopia, to wit, Salt, which goes currant in stead of mony, as well in the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, as in the Dominions of the Moores and Gentiles, and they say, that it passeth from thence as farre as Congo, upon the West Sea. And this Salt they digge out of Mountaines, as it is reported, as it were out of Quarries; the length of every stone is a

handfull and an halfe, the breadth foure fingers, the thicknesse three, and so they carie them in little Carts, and upon beasts backes, like short cliffes of Wood. In the place where they digge this Salt, one hundred or one hundred and twentie of these stones are worth a dramme of Gold, which dram (in my judgement) is worth three hundred Reais, which are three quarters of a Ducate in Gold. And as soone as it commeth unto a certaine Faire which is in our way, in a Towne, called Corcora, a dayes journey *Corcora.* distant from the place where the Salt is digged, five or sixe stones lesse make a dramme; And so it diminisheth in passing from Faire to Faire. And when it commeth to the Court, sixe or seven stones onely make a dramme: and I have also seene them in the Winter time buy five for a dramme. Great bargaines are made with this Salt, and it is very deere in the Court. They say, by that time it commeth to the Kingdome of Damute, they buy a good *Damute.* slave for three or foure stones, and passing farther into the Countries of the Moores, they say, that they may buy a slave for one stone, and in a manner, waight for waight in Gold. Wee found in this way, three or foure hundred beasts in a company, laden with Salt, and as many more emptie which went to fetch Salt, and they said that these belonged to Noblemen, which send thither every yeare for their necessarie expenses in the Court, and other twentie or thirtie beasts laden, which belong to drivers of Mules. Also we met men laden with the said Salt, who carried the same from Faire to Faire, which valueth, and runneth currant for money, and whosoever hath it, may have by way of trucke, whatsoever he needeth.

46. Departing from this Betenegus, we lodged in certaine poore and ill-provided Villages in a Countrey, called Bunace. And the next day wee departed from *Bunace.* thence following our stuffe, which was sent before us, which we found unladen in the midst of a Medow, which was full of water, and seeing the same so badly conveyed, wee marvelled greatly: and while wee were in this muse, there met us five or sixe riding upon Mules, having tenne

A stout Frier. or twelve foot-men with them, among whom was a Frier; which comming to the place, caught the Captaine of Tigremahon, who conducted our goods by the haire of the head, and beat him with a Cudgell, whereupon all of us ranne to him to know wherefore hee did so. Our Ambassadour seeing the Captaine so beaten and hardly handled, falling into Choler with the Frier, tooke him by the brest to stab him, but I know not whether he hurt him or no, and all of us likewise came upon his back. The poore Frier began to speake a little Italian, which George de Breu one of our company understood, which if he had not done, it had gone hard with the Frier. When every one was pacified, the Frier said, that he was come thither by the Commission of Prete Janni, to see our goods conveyed, and whereas he had beaten him, he did it for the negligence which hee used in conveyance of them.

The Ambassadour answered, that it was no time to make any tumult, especially in his presence, for hee tooke it as if hee had done the same to his owne person. And thus being pacified, the Frier said, that he would goe to Signior Balgada Robel, which dwelt behind us, and that from thence he would bring us Mules and Camels to carrie our stuffe, and that wee should goe before, and stay for him in a Betenegus, halfe a daies journie distant from this place. This was the same Frier which was afterward sent by Prete Janni, as his Ambassador into Portugal with us. And so we departed, each man his way, he forward, and we toward the said Betenegus, and that night we lodged in a little Village, where was a goodly Church, called Saint Quiricus, and that night we feared least we should have beene devoured of Tygres. The day following, wee travelled about two miles, and found the Betenegus which the Frier told us of, which is in a Town, called Corcora, having good Lodgings, and in that place there is a very faire Church, and here wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday, wayting for the Frier untill the Munday. Eastward of this place, they say, there is a faire and rich Monastery, called Nazareth, which hath great Revenues and many

Zago Zabo, the Ambassadour which Prete Janni sent into Portugall.

[II. vii. 1056.]

Corcora.

Friers. And West-ward towards the River of Nilus, they say there are many Mines of Silver, but they know not how to digge it, nor to take any profit of the same.

§. VII.

Departure from Corcora, the pleasant Countrey which wee passed through, and of another Forrest: how the Tygres set upon us. Dofarso, the Moores of Dobas: Ancona, Angote; Salt, and Iron Money. Other Monasteries and Churches.

47. ON Tuesday morning, seeing the Frier came not, wee went forward on our journey along the banke of a passing goodly River, for the space of sixe miles, through a very pleasant and goodly Countrey, and full of greene Herbs, the Trees fruitfull and fruitlesse, and on both sides were Ridges of Mountaines exceeding steepe, which are all sowed with Wheat and Barley, and replenished with wild Olive Trees, which shew like yong Olives, for they often cut them, that they may the better sow their Corne. In the midst of this Valley is a passing faire Church of our Ladie, about which are many Houses, Lodgings and Habitations of Priests. There are also infinite abundance of Cypresse Trees so tall and great, as it is strange to speake of, and many Thickets of Trees of sundry sorts which we knew not.

A goodly Countrey.

Cypresses.

Neere unto the principall gate of the Church, was a very goodly and cleere Fountaine, which environed the Church, and afterward spread it selfe into a great Champaigne field, which may be watered throughout with the streames thereof, and therefore is sowed every moneth of the yeare, with all kind of Seeds: as Barley, Millet, Lentils, Fitches, *Beanes, Chiches, Taffo di Guza, which is very good, and withall other Pulse, which are in this Countrey, and at the very same instant some Seeds are sowen, others are sprung up in the blade, some are full

A field sowne every moneth, and in the same field harvest in Seedtime.

**Roveia.*

ripe, some are new cut downe, and some threshed, a thing not seene in our parts of Europe. At the head of this Valley, there is a great ascent, and so craggie a Mountaine, that sixtie miles beyond the same, there is none other passage, and it seemeth verie likely to be so, by the great store of people that alwayes passe that way.

Having gotten up to the top of that Mountaine, wee descended into a goodly Champaigne Countrey, full of all kind of Cornes, which they sow all the yeare long, as that was which I spake of before, and there is a World of *Fertilitie.* Medowes for pasture. This Champaigne and Valley, may be in length about sixe miles, and in breadth two, and it hath on every side high Mountaines, and at the foot of every Mountaine, are many Townes and Churches to bee seene, howbeit, they be but smal, among which there is one, named Saint Crosses, and another Saint John, and each of them hath twentie Friers. When we had passed this Valley, we beganne to change the soile, and entred into certaine rough Mountaines not very high, but very steepe, the greater part whereof we passed by night, by *They lose each other.* meanes whereof we lost one another, and the Ambassadour remained with foure onely in his company, and my selfe with five, and another of our number, with two, and our stuffe was left in these wild places with one man onely, as it pleaseth God. And in that part where I was, we saw a fire, which because it was night, seemed neere unto us, but was above three miles distant from us. And while wee sought to goe that way, there followed us such a sort of *Danger by Tygres.* Tygres, as was wonderfull, and if we entred into any Thicket, they came so neere us, that wee might have thrust them through with a Pike, and none but one in our companie had a Pike, the rest had Rapiers. At length wee concluded, to stay in certaine Corne-fields for our more securitie, and here wee tyed our Mules together, and kept watch and ward all night with our naked Rapiers.

The next day about noone-tyde, wee met with our Ambassadour in a Towne well-peopled, distant from that where we lodged, above sixe miles, and it is called

Manadeli, which hath one thousand Housholds in it, and the Inhabitants thereof are Moores, Tributaries to Prete Janni, and among them are fifteene or twentie Families of Christians, which dwell there with their wives, and take up the Tributes. Whereas I said before, that wee beganne to change the soile of the Countrey, it is to be understood; that unto this time, which is two monethes space since we begin to travell, it was alwayes Winter, and when wee entred into the Valleyes betweene these Mountaines, it was not Winter but very hot at that season, and the Countrey is called Dobba, and it was Summer there, and this is one of the Countries, which I spake of before, where I said it was Winter in Februarie, March and Aprill, contrarie to the other. The like is also from the Monastery of Vision unto the Sea, and in another Countrey of the Realme of Barnagasso, called Carna. These Countries which have the Winter altered, are very low, and lye under the Mountaines: and the length of this Territorie is about fifteene dayes journey, the breadth is unknowne, because it entreth into the Countrey of the Moores. The generall and common Winter is from the midst of June, to the midst of September. There are very goodly Oxen in this Countrey of Dobba, and in such multitudes that they cannot well be numbred, they are of greater stature then Oxen of any other place. But many miles before wee came to this Towne Manadeli, we met many Christian people in the fields with their Tents set up, which said unto us, that they were come thither to pray to God for water from Heaven for their Catle, which dyed for thirst, and to sow their Millet and their Corne, which had indured great want of water. Their Cry and Prayer was this: Zio Marina Christos, which is, Oh, Christ, have mercie upon us.

Manadeli, a Towne of one thousand housholds.

Dobba. [II. vii. 1057.]

Winter and Summer neere Neighbours.

Winter particular and common.

Great drought.

Now, to returne to this Towne of Manadeli, I say, that there is Traffique used as it were in a great Citie, and there are infinite sorts of Merchandize, and a wonderfull number of Merchants, and there be Moores of all Languages, as namely, of Giadra, of Morocco, of Fez, of Bugia, of

Manadeli, a Town of wonderfull traffick.

Tunis, of Turkie, of Rumes, that is to say, White Men of Grecia, * Moores of India, which are heere as free Denizens of Ormuz, and of Cairo, which from all the Countries above-named, bring Merchandize of all sorts. While we were here, the Moores of the Towne complayned, saying, that Prete Janni, had taken from them one thousand ounces of Gold perforce, adding, that Tigremahon also, as Lord of the Countrey, sought also to draw his maintenance from them, so that they were no longer able to hold out. In this Towne every Tuesday is a Market.

**Or rather Turkes of C. neere Constantinople, called new Rome.*

48. Assoone as the Frier was arrived, wee departed, and the same evening wee went two miles from thence to a Betenegus, seated on a Hill. The next day wee came to a great Towne inhabited by Christians, and contayning one thousand Families, which is called Dofarso. And there is a Church, wherein are above one hundred Priests and Friers, and as many Nunnes, which have no Monasterie, but dwell in private houses like Lay-women, saving, that the Friers dwell alone by themselves in two Courts separated one from another, wherein are many Cottages of little value. And the number of these Priests, Friers and Monkes is so great, that the rest of the Laytie cannot stand in the Church, for which cause they have set up a Tent of Silke before the Church, wherein the Lay-people receive the Communion: and heere they use those Solemnities, which they cannot in the Church, as sounding of their Drummes and Cymbals, during the time of ministring the Communion. While we lodged here two nights, the Nunnes came and washed our feet, and after they had washed them, dranke off that water, and washed their faces with part of it, saying, that we were holy Christians of Jerusalem.

Dofarso, a Towne of one thousand Christian housholds.

In this place, the Master of the house said unto me, that yeare wherein we gather but a smal crop of Corne, sufficeth us for three yeares. And farther he told me, if it were not for the Locusts and the Tempests which sometimes doe them harme, they would not sow halfe so much

Exceeding plentie.

Seed as they doe. We saw great Herds of Oxen comming toward the Towne, and those of our company judged them to be above fiftie thousand. The Tongue of this Countrey differeth from the Tongue of the other Countrey which we had passed, for here beginneth the Tongue of the Kingdome of Angote, the Towne is called Angotina.

The Kingdome of Angote, and the Towne of Angotina.

In all this Countrey they make bread of all sorts of Graine, namely, of Wheat, Barley, Millet, Chiches, Peason, Fitches of divers colours, of Beanes, of Lin-seed, and of Taffo di Aguzza. Likewise they make Wine * of these Seeds, but the Wine made of Honey is better then any of the rest. This people after the Frier was come unto us gave us victuals, and defrayed our charges of this kind of bread, by the commandement of Prete Janni, but we could eate none of it, but that which was made of Wheate, and they brought us these their victuals out of due season, that is to say, (according to their custome) at Even-tyde, for they eate but once a day, and that in the Evening, and their Dyet is raw flesh, and a certaine sawce made of the Gall of the Cow, which we could not looke upon, and much lesse feed upon, but we ate that little which our slaves dressed for us, and wheaten bread, and so we continued untill the Frier understanding our Dyet and custome, caused them to send us flesh, which was rosted and sodden by our slaves, to wit, Hens, Partridges, Mutton, Beefe, and such like.

**Beere or Ale.*

One meale a day.
Raw flesh.

49. Departing from this Towne, we travelled through the midst of certaine fields of Millet growing high, and having stalkes as bigge as small Canes. Towards the Sea-coast, all the Inhabitants are Moores, called Dobas, and it is no Kingdome, but this Province is divided under foure and twentie Captaines, and sometimes the one halfe is in peace, and the other halfe in warre, and the same time while wee were in those Countries, they were all in a manner at continuall warres: yet we saw twelve of them in the Court of Prete Janni, which came to crave pardon for a new Rebellion moved by them.

And when they came neere the Pavilion of Prete Janni,

which liveth alwayes in the field, every one of these Captaines carried a great stone upon their heads, laying both their hands upon the same, which Ceremonie is a signe of peace, and of comming to crave mercie. Whom Prete Janni curteously received, and shewed them good countenance, and they brought with them above one hundred Horses, and faire Mules, which they led in their hands, but they came into the Court on foot, with stones on their heads, where they stayed above two moneths without their dispatch; and they had daily given them Oxen, Sheepe, Honey, and Butter. At length Prete Janni sent them above three hundred miles from their Countrey, namely, into the Kingdome of Damute, with a very great Guard. As soone as the people of these Captaines understood, that they were banished into those Countreyes, they rose up in Armes, and made as many moe new Captaines, beginning to make warre and breake the peace.

Signe of peace.

[II. vii. 1058.]

Damute.

Cause of the Warre.

This warre and contention (they say) beganne with this Prete Janni, which now raigneth, more then with his Predecessors, both because these Moores were of ancient time Tributaries to the former Prete Janni, and also because the Ancestors of him, which now raigneth have alwaies had five or sixe wives, the daughters of the Moorish Kings, his neighbours; and not the daughters of the Pagan Kings, and also one or two wives of the Signiories of the said People called Dobas, if they were of age, and one of the daughters of the King of Dancali, and another of the King of Adel, and another of the King of Adea. And this present Prete, having promised to take for wife a daughter of the King of Adea, when hee saw that her fore-teeth were very great, he would none of her; neither would he deliver her to her father, because shee was now become a Christian, but married her unto a great lord of his Court: and they say, that since that time untill this present day, he would never take wives of this Moorish Kings race; and he married a daughter of a Christian, and would marrie but one wife, saying, that

The Pretes many wives.

he would live according to the commandement of the Gospell, and still he requireth the tribute, which these Moores are bound to pay him: and they, because they payed it not before, in regard of the marriages which they made with his Predecessors, therefore they will not now pay it to him, and hereupon these warres arise.

Devillish Law of Dobas.

These Moores of Dobas are very valiant men, and have a Law among them, that none of them may marrie, unlesse he can prove that he hath killed twelve Christians; and for this cause, no man travelleth alone this way but in Carovan, which they call Nagada, and first one great companie assembleth together, which passeth that way twise a weeke, for one halfe of them goe, and another come, and none of these companies are fewer then one thousand persons with their Captaine; and these Carovans goe from two Faires, to wit, of Manadeli, and Corcora, unto Angote; and though they goe in great companies, yet notwithstanding the Moores assault them, and sometimes murther many of them.

Weekly Carovans to Faires.

A remarkable storie.

50. Departing from hence wee travelled through the said Plaine along by certaine Mountaines, which belong unto the Christians, all inhabited by these Giannamori: and wee passed over certaine Rivers which fall from those Mountaines, hard by which Rivers wee found certaine very shadie places, by reason of the abundance of Willowes which were there, being very pleasant to rest under at mid-day, and so we rested a little, because it was exceeding hot, and a very cleare day, and this River had not so much water in it as might drive a Mill, and we stood talking, one part on the one side of the water, and another part on the other; and while wee were thus reasoning, suddenly we heard a great thunder, and it seemed to be farre off, and they told us, that it was so drie, as sometimes it was wont to bee in India. And being thus out of feare of raine or wind, and that the thunder was ceased, wee began to set our stuffe in order, to set forward on our Voyage, and had newly lapped up a Tent wherein we dined, and Master John going upward the River about some busi-

An exceeding sudden and perillous storme.

nesse, began to cry unto us, take heed, take heed, and as we turned our selves about, we beheld the water comming as high as a Lance, with exceeding great furie, which carried away part of our goods, and if by good fortune wee had not taken downe our Tent, it had carried the same and us quite away, and many of us were constrained to climbe up into the Willowes. And this furious streame of water came running downe betweene certaine Mountaines, where it had thundred; and it brought downe with it exceeding great stones, and the noise and furie of the water was so great, and the cluttering of the stones which beat one against another, that the Earth trembled, and the Skie seemed to be readie to fall. And as it was sudden in comming, so it suddenly passed away; for we passed the same that very day, and we saw a great number of other exceeding great stones, tumbled upon those stones which were there before, which came downe with the water from those Mountaines. Departing from hence, wee tooke up our lodging in certaine poore Cottages; when wee came neere them, we saw our selves constrained to lodge without doores, and that without our supper, and that night about the breake of day, we heard of exceeding great thunders and raines in that Plaine, as it fell out the day before upon the Mountaines.

Violent things not permanent.

51. Wee departed all from this place for want of food. And thus wee travelled without our stuffe all that day, and came at night unto a great River, called Sabalette, which endeth the Kingdome of Tigremahon, and is the beginning of the Kingdome of Angote. And in a very high Mountaine Westward, out of which this River springeth, is a Church, called Saint Peter of Angote; and they say, it is the chiefe of this Realme, and the Church of the Kings, and that when this Kingdome is newly given to any, they goe thither to take possession thereof, and toward the East, in another exceeding high Mountaine sixe miles out of the way, there is a very great Monasterie with many Friers, whereof we saw nothing but the high Trees which are about the same, and here endeth the

The River Sabalette.

Angote.

Saint Peters Church.

[II. vii. 1059.]

Countrey of the Moores. And on Saturday, we rested by this River, and on Sunday at night about our first sleepe the Tygres assaulted us, although wee had made great fires, so that the greatest part of our Mules brake loose for feare. *Tygres.* On Tuesday, descending downe from the top of the Mountaines, we came into the way where our stuffe was, neere unto a Church called, Our Ladie, environed wholly with shade of most pleasant and stately Trees, (and here by reason of the heate wee rested about noone) which Church hath many Priests, Friers, and Nuns, and is governed by Priests: and the Towne is called, Corcora, of Angote. With much travell we passed that night a very high Mountaine, where sometimes wee were faine to goe on foot, and sometimes we were faine to crawle upon our hands and feet, and having passed this bad way on the top of the Mountaine, we found certaine other Mountaines, and Hills, which make valleys, where small streames runne; but among the rest there is one Hill very great, on both sides full of Pastures, and of *Steepe hill.* Corne-fields, wherein all the yeere long they sowe and reape all kind of seeds; for at all times when wee walked that way, we found them at that instant sowing of Corne, and some newly sprouted, and some in grasse, some eared, some ripe, and some cut downe, and that which I speake of Wheat, is also to be understood all kind of Corne and Pulse. *Harvest and Seed time all the yeare.* In this Countrey they convay not streames to water the same, because it aboundeth with Rivers, and is as it were a Marish, and all Countreys which are like unto this, or which may bee watered beare fruit as this doth, that is to say, they are sowed in all moneths of the yeere, and yeeld their harvest. This Countrey round about is peopled, and full of Villages, because it is exceeding fat and fruitfull, and in every Towne there is a Church, which hath about it great store of Trees.

52. On Wednesday the fift of September, we travelled but a little way, but that we began to descend into a pleasant and wide Valley full of exceeding great Millet, and abundance of Beanes, through the midst whereof

passed a great River, the fields on both sides being sowed. *Ancona River.* And this River is called, The River of Ancona; and in *Faire Church.* the highest part of this Valley is a beautifull Church, called Saint Marie of Ancona, which hath exceeding great revenues, wherein are many Canons; whose head is called Licanate, and besides the Canons there are many Priests and Friers, and in all great Churches from this place forward, which are called the Kings Churches, there are Canons, and their head is called Licanate. This Church *Two Bels of Iron.* hath two Bells of Iron badly made, and hanging low neere the ground: and in this Countrey wee saw no more but these two. Wee stayed in this place untill Thursday, for on that day here is kept a great Market, which they call Gabeia. In this Towne, and in all the Kingdome of Angote, Iron runneth currant for money, which is in fashion of Bullets, and it cannot be wrought so round in any thing, but they breake them as they have need, and give ten, eleven, and twelve, of them for a dram, which dram amounteth to three quarters of a Ducat in gold. More- *In all the Kingdome of Angote, graine and salt runne currant for money.* over, Salt in this place runneth currant for money, as it doth through all the Countrey, and here they give sixe or seven stones of Salt for one piece of this Iron.

Bugana, a cold Countrey. Here beginneth towards the West a Countrey called, Bugana, which is a very cold Countrey, by reason of the exceeding high Mountaines which are there, whereupon groweth great store of that herbe whereof they make ropes, that is to say, Hempe; whereof at one time I brought a certaine quantitie to certaine Genoueses which were here with us, who told me, that they had never seene any so good, and that it was better then that of Alicante. The food of these Mountaines is great store of Barley, *Good Wheat.* and in the Valleys is abundance of Wheat, the fairest that *Small Cattell.* ever I have seene in any place. The Cattell are small of stature, like those which are in the Countrey of Maia, betweene the Rivers of Minius and Dorius in Portugall. The Lord of this Land is called Abunaraz; the Countrey is sixe dayes journey in length, and three in breadth. They say, that after the Land of Caxumo was converted

unto the Christian Faith, this was the second, and that the Kings here kept their Court, as the Queenes kept theirs in Caxumo, although the same be barren by reason of the Mountaines. The buildings which I saw, are these: first, in an high Mountaine there is an exceeding mightie Cave, wherein is builded a very goodly Monasterie and Church of our Ladie, not so much for the greatnesse thereof, as for the goodly proportion which it hath, which is called, Icono Amelaca, which is as much to say, as, God be praised. The seat of the Countrey where it is builded, is called Acate. It hath poore revenues, but many Friers and Nuns, the Friers dwell in an Hill above the Cave, which Hill is enclosed. They have but one way to come to their Church. The Nuns dwell beneath in the side of the Cave, and are not enclosed: they till and digge the fields, and sowe them with Barley and Wheat, for the Monasterie affordeth them little sustenance. The faire proportion of this Monasterie causeth it to be inhabited, because it is builded in this great concavitie or cave of the Hill, and it is made like a crosse, and is well compassed about, and they may goe on Procession round about it, and all the Friers may goe afront in this circuit, if they were more then they bee; before the gate of which Monasterie there is a place enclosed with a wall, as high as the brimme of the Cave, which is not a Church, and here stand the Nuns to say Divine Service, and here likewise they receive the Communion. This Roome for the Nunnes looked toward the South, because the Church standeth East and West; and toward the right side over this Cave falleth a Brooke, made of divers Springs, downe from the Mountayne, which runneth continually, and when it commeth to the top of the Cave, is divided into three branches; and one falleth right upon the midst thereof, which is a goodly sight; the other two branches runne in Gutters, made by hand, on both sides of the Cave, and joyne themselves toward the place of the Nunnes, hard unto a Wall which stoppeth them, and these branches water their Gardens. The body of this Church hath three Gates, one which is

Strange Monasterie.

The Nunnes.

[II. vii. 1060.]

principall, and two on the sides, as though it were builded upon a Plaine: and because the mouth of the Cave is great, therefore there is light enough.

53. As we departed from this Monasterie or Church before mentioned, travelling toward the West two dayes journey, there is another great and rich Church, made in another Cave, wherein, to my judgement, three great Ships with their Masts may stand up-right, but the entrance is no bigger then the space whereby two Carts may enter with their Ladders, and it is sixe good miles to the top of the Mountayne: and I would needs goe thither, for the desire I had to see that Church: but surely, I thought, I should have died, the way was so hard and rough; but God assisted me, for it was very coole, and I had with me one of my Slaves, which holpe me to goe, and drew me upward with a cord, and another behind which led our Mules by hand, lest they should fall and cast us backward. I set forward from the bottome of the Mountayne before day, and could not get up to the top before noone. The Woods and Trees, which I saw, are of sundrie sorts, which I knew not, saving store of Broome, whose yellow flowers made a goodly shew, and great store of Hempe to make Ropes withall. The Church which is within this Cave, is as great as a Bishops Sea, and hath goodly Allies well adorned and wrought, and all are vaulted; it hath three Chappels exceeding faire and stately adorned. The entrance of this Cave is towards the East, and the Chappels are vaulted towards the same entrance, and when you be passed the third Chappell, there is no light, and they say service by candle-light. The Church hath two hundred Canons, and there be no Friers, but it hath a Licanate, and very great Revenues and Possessions, and they live like honorable Gentlemen, by reason of their wealth; and this Church is called Imbra Christos, that is to say, The way of Christ.

Another Church in a Cave.

Alvarez his journey full of difficultie thither.

The building of the Church.

The store of Canons and Revenues.

As you enter into this Cave, the said Chappels are right before you: and on the right side are two little Chambers finely painted, which, they say, a King caused to be built,

which ended his life in that place, and caused the same Church to be builded. As you enter in on the left hand, are three most honorable and stately Tombs, neither have I seene the like in all Ethiopia, whereof one is chiefe and very high, and hath five steps round about it, and is all over-cast with white chalke, which was covered over with a great cloth of Gold, and of Velvet of Mecca, to wit, part thereof of Gold, and part of Velvet, and it was so large, that on every side it touched the ground, which cloth the same day they had layed upon the said Tombe, because it was a festivall day: and this was the Tombe of that King which dwelt there, whose name was Abraham. The rest are like unto this same, saving that the one hath three and the other hath foure steps, all of them are in the midst of the said Cave. The greatest is the Tombe of a Patriarke, which came from Jerusalem, to visite the said King for his holinesse, and after his death was buried here. The least is a Daughters of the said King, who, they say, was above fortie yeeres a Priest of the Masse, which every day did minister the same, which thing I found written in a Booke of this Church, wherein the life of this King was recorded. Among other miracles, they say, that when he ministred the Communion, the Angels brought him Bread and Wine, and in the beginning of the Booke, the King is painted like a Priest apparelled at the Altar, and it seemeth that one hand reacheth out of a Window, with an Host and with a Chalice of Wine, and after the same sort he is painted in the greatest Chappell.

Three Tombs.

One of a King.

One of a Patriarke.

The King a Priest.

Legends, fabulous.

When I came to the top I found a quarrie of the like blacke stones, and the place wherehence they were digged, and I was much astonied, considering how so many of them should bee digged up by them of so hard a graine, which have no kinde of meanes nor skill to cut and polish them. In the same Booke was also written, that the said King never tooke money nor Tribute of his Subjects, and if they brought him any, he caused the same to be distributed to the poore, and maintaine himselfe of the Revenues of his Lands, which he caused to be tilled.

The bountie and holinesse of Abraham Prete Janni.

Likewise, that it was revealed unto him, that if he would keepe his Kingdome in quiet, all his sonnes should be shut up, saving his first borne, as hereafter shall be declared. This day being the day of his Feast, I was desirous to goe to the said Church to see, if that which was told mee were true: and I saw twentie thousand persons, who all come thither for devotion, and to receive the Communion; and this Feast was kept upon the Sunday, and they said Masse very early, and Masse being said, they began to give the Communion in all three Porches of the Church, and it continued untill the Ave Maria, which thing I saw, for I was there from the beginning, and afterward going to dinner, I returned, and found that it continued untill that houre.

Twentie thousand Communicants at one Church, at one time.

[II. vii. 1061.]

§. VIII.

Of the stately buildings of the Churches which are in the Countries of Abugana, which King Lulibella made, and of his Tombe in the Church of Golgota. Angoteraz his entertainment.

54. A Dayes journey distant from this Church, are such kind of building, that in my judgment, I beleeve, the like are not to be found in all the World, which are Churches all hewen in free-stone out of soft Mountaynes, very well wrought: and the names of the Churches, are these: Emanuel, Saint Saviour, Saint Mary, Holy Crosse, Saint George, Golgota, Bethlehem, Marcorius, and The Martyr. And the principal, is called Lulibella: and they say, that this was the name of a King of this Countrey, which reigned before Abraham the aforesaid King, about eightie yeeres, and caused the said building to be erected. His Sepulture is not in the Church of his name, but in that of Golgota, which is of lesse capacitie, being wholly hewen out of a mayne Rocke, being one hundred and twentie spannes in length, and sixtie in breadth, the Roofe is built upon five Pillars, two on each side, and one in the midst, as it were, in a square,

Faire Churches.

Lulibella.

Golgota, a double Church, hewen out of a Rocke.

which Roofe is flat and smooth as the floore beneath; on both sides it is well wrought, the Windowes and Gates are most excellently engraven, so cunningly, that no Silversmith could make them more faire. The Kings Tombe is like unto the Sepulchre of Saint James of Galicia, in Compostella. This Church hath another body underneath it, hewen out of stone, as bigge as all the floore above, and of the heighth of a Speare or Launce. The Kings Tombe is directly before the Altar of the upper Church: In the floore whereof is the entrie to goe downe beneath, which is shut with a stone, made like unto a Grave-stone, layed in very even and closely, but no man goeth into it, because (mee thinkes) the said stone cannot be remooved, which stone is bored through the midst, with a hole that passeth quite through, of three handfulls wide, wherein the Pilgrimes (which in exceeding great number come thither for devotion) doe put their hands, and say, that there are seene many miracles. *Pilgrimage and Miracles.*

About this Church is a way like a Cloyster, but five steps lower then the Church, wherein toward the East are three Windowes, which give light to the Church that is beneath, which Windowes are as high as the floore of the upper Church, which is higher then that Way or Cloyster, by as much as the five steps doe contayne, and if you looke through the said Windowes, you may see the said Tombe placed right before the Altar, as I have said. Before the great Chappell is a Tombe hewen out of the same stone which the Church is of, and they say, it is like unto the Tombe of Christ in Jerusalem, whereunto they doe great honour and reverence: and in the same stone, on the right hand, are two Images carved and engraven out of the same stone, so well made that they seeme to have life: one is of Saint John, and the other of Saint Peter, which they shewed me as a rare thing, and I tooke great delight to behold them, whereunto they doe great reverence. *The holy Sepulchre resembled.*

This Church hath also on the left hand a Chappell, made after their manner, which seemeth to be a Church, because it hath Allies. It hath sixe Pillars about it, cut out of *A Chappell.*

the same Rocke, well and finely made; and the middle Ally is very well arched or vaulted. The Gates and Windowes are very well wrought, to wit, the principall Gate, and one side-gate, for the other serveth for the great Church. This Chappell is as long as it is broad, to wit, two and fiftie spans every way; and on the right side, it hath hard unto it another small Chappell very high, but narrow, after the manner of a Bell, with very faire Windowes: and the said small Chappell is sixe and thirtie spannes high, and twelve broad. All the Altars of the said Churches have their clothes of silke, and their Pillars made out of the said Rocke. There is about the Church a very great circuit, hewen out of the selfe same Rocke of the Mountayne by force of Masonrie, which is square, and all the walls thereof have holes in them, as bigge as a Cube, and all these holes are stopped with small stones, and they are burials, for a man may see that they are but newly stopped. The entrance of the circuit is thirteene spannes deepe beneath the Mountaine, and all made by force of Masonrie.

These Churches have their portraitures cut in Ramusio.

Saint Saviours hewen out of a Rocke.

55. The Church of Saint Saviour, is hewen out of a Rocke of a great Mountaine, the body of the Church is two hundred spans long, and one hundred and twentie broad, and it hath five Iles, and every Ile hath seven pillers, which are square, &c.

The Cloyster.

The open circuit of the Church which is the Cloyster, is all hewen out of the same Rocke, and is sixtie spans broad in every part, and in the front of the principall Porch, it is one hundred fathome wide, and above the Church, where it should be covered, where nine great Arches stand on each side, they all reach from the top unto the ground, where the Tombes are on each side, placed like those in the other Church. The entry to passe into the circuit or Cloyster of the said Church, is hewen under the Rocke, the space of eightie spans, wrought artificially, so broad, that ten men may goe side by side, and is a Lance high, and it ascendeth by little and little. This way or entry hath foure holes aloft, which give light

The Entrie.

[II. vii. 1062.]

unto the passage. And on the top of this Mountaine, round about the Church, is a champaine field, wherein they sow Barley, and there are also many dwelling houses.

A sowne field over the Church.

I take God to witnesse, in whose hands I am, that all that I have written is most true, without adding any thing thereunto: for having heard report of the marvels of these Churches, I would needs goe thither twice, to see them and describe them, so great was my desire to make the excellency of them knowne unto the world.

The description of the other Churches, is for brevitie omitted. The excellency of these Churches, which the Author went twice to see.

This place is seated on the side of a Mountaine, and to go up to the top thereof is a very great ascent, which I thinke cannot be performed in a day and a halfe, such is the height thereof, and yet notwithstanding, above the same, there seemeth to be another Mountaine, and that this hill is separated from the other. And to goe downe from this place into the plaine, is about fifteene miles space, and in the way are mightie fields, which seeme to continue a good daies journey and more, all which stretch toward the River Nilus, wherein are as great store of habitations as in the Towne of Caxumo, built exceeding stately with square stones, for here they say, the Kings were wont to have their dwellings: and that the worke of these Churches cut into the hils, was made by Gibetes, that is to say, White men: for they know well, that themselves cannot turne their hands to make any such worke: and that the first King which caused them to be made, was called Balibela, which signifieth a Miracle: because at his birth he was covered with Bees, which made him cleane, without doing him any hurt: and he was the Sonne of the Sister of a King, which King dyed without heire, and therefore his Nephew was made King, and that he was a Saint; and their devotion is so great, that all Ethiopia hath concourse hither, and here they see very many miracles.

Great ascent.

These Vault-churches made by White men.

Balibela.

This Signiory of Abugana, where these buildings are, before our departure the Prete Janni bestowed upon the Frier, which afterward came with us as Embassadour into

Zaga Zabo preferred to the dignity of theseChurches.

Portugall: and therefore I say, that I was twice to view these Churches and buildings; and the second time that I came thither, was when the Embassadour came to take possession of the same Lordship. During whose aboade in that place, there came thither two Calacenes, that is, Messages or Commandements of the King, and they told the said Embassadour or Captaine, that the Prete Janni sent him word, that he should send him certaine tributes, which his Predecessour ought to have paied him; which was one hundred and fiftie Oxen for the Plough, thirtie Dogges, thirtie Javelins, and thirtie Targets. He answered them, that hee would see what goods there remained of his Predecessour, and that he would pay it all very willingly, although he found none at all.

Tributes.

He returneth to his voyage.

Returning now unto our Voyage, we departed from the Church and faire of Ancona, and having travailed nine miles, we came with our goods to certaine Villages, where they would not lodge us, saying; That they were places which belonged to the Mother of Prete Janni, and were subject to no body else but to her. And they would have beaten the Frier which guided us. They basted well a Servant of his. Leaving our stuffe here, wee came to our lodging at a place called Ingabela, which is great, and replenished with goodly houses, and situate upon a little hill, in the midst of a field, environed round about with Mountaines, at the bottome of which Mountaines there are so many peopled Townes, that I have not seene the like in any place; there are also great store of Fountaines and Brookes, which runne downe on every side, which water a great part of the Countrey, which is called Olaby. And while we were heere, I saw them building a most beautifull Church, wee found heere exceeding great abundance of Hennes, whereof we might have had an infinite number in exchange, of a few Graines of Pepper, so small account they make of Hennes, and so highly they esteeme of Pepper. In this place were infinite store of Limons, Citrons, and Orenges. We abode here Saturday and Sunday, on which day the Tygres assailed us, and we could

Rude people.

Ingabela.

Olaby.

Pepper preferred to Hens.

Tygers.

not so well defend our selves, but they devoured an Asse of ours.

56. On Thursday, the foureteenth of September, we went with our goods to a dry River, three miles off where the Lord of this Kingdome of Angote had his residence, which is called Angoteraz. Before we came thither, we saw much people assembled together, and we supposed that they were assembled to carrie our goods: but they came to doe us small pleasure, for they enclosed us betweene them, getting up into three small hils, and we were in the bottome, and upon every top of the said hils, were about two hundred persons assembled, the greatest part with slings to sling stones, the rest slung at us with their hands, so that the number of the stones was such, as it seemed to raine stones, and we stood in great feare of our lives. And all of us which were in company with the Frier, were above fortie persons; to wit, the Captaines which waighted upon him, with certaine of their Men, and some of our Slaves; and all save my selfe, and a young man which was with us, which was sicke of the Measels, were very shrewdly stoned and wounded: but God of his Grace vouchsafed to preserve him and me. They tooke some of us also Prisoners, and wee which fled in the Evening, came to our lodging where our stuffe was, without our Suppers. *Angoteraz.* *Enemies.*

On Saturday Angoteraz sent for us to his house, where at our entrance wee found no hinderance at all of guard, but entred freely, and found him with his Wife, and certaine of his familiar friends, and he gave us good intertainment as well in countenance as in speech. Foure Jarres of excellent Wine made of Hony were standing by him, and by every Jarre was set a Cup of Crystall-Glasse, and so we began to drinke, and his Wife and two other Women in the company invited us. [II. vii. 1063.] *Crystal glasses.*

On Sunday next wee went to Church, where we found Angoteraz, which came to meete us with great courtesie, and then he beganne to speake of matters concerning our Faith, and called unto him two Friers, besides the Interpreter and the Frier that conducted us; And his first question was, *Questions of Religion.*

Where Christ was borne, and which way he went, when he went into Egypt, and how many yeares he abode there, and how old he was when our Lady lost him, and found him in the Temple, and where he made of Water, Wine. It pleased God to helpe me, so that I answered him according to the truth, better then I knew. The Interpreter told me, that the Frier which guided us, informed the other two Friers, that I was a man that understood much, upon which speaches they fell downe upon the ground, and whither I would or no, would needs kisse my feet, & Angoteraz embraced me, and kissed me on the face, who, as I was informed afterwards, is one of the best, and most learned Priests in all Ethiopia: and at our returne, wee saw him honoured with the Title of Barnagasso. Afterward, he desired us to heare Masse with them, which being ended, he invited us to dinner, but the Embassadour having understood before hand what meate they would set before us, thought good to send for our owne dinner, which was certaine fat rosted Hens, and fat Beefe, and fresh Fish.

Reverence to Alvarez.

Angoteraz a Priest.

The house where we dined, was great, and made with earth, which is (as wee have said) a Betenegus. Before the bed, whereat Angoteraz sate, many Mats were spread upon the ground, and he came downe from his bed and sate downe upon them, where many skins of blacke sheepe were spread, and two great platters of exceeding white wood, with low brims, like those which we use to picke Wheate in, which they call Ganetus, and they were very faire, great, and large, with a brim of two fingers broad, the greatest was about eighteene spans in compasse, and the lesser fourteene, and these be the Tables of great Lords. And heere wee sate round about with the said Angoteraz: we had water brought us, and washed our hands, but they brought us no Towell to dry them with, much lesse to set our bread upon: but in the said platters were loaves brought, made of sundry sorts of Corne, to wit, of Wheate, of Barley, of Millet, of Fitches, and of Taffo. Before we beganne to eate, Angoteraz commanded one to bring him a great piece of

The dyet of the Noblemen of Ethiopia.

the coursest bread, and with his owne hand laying a piece of raw Beefe upon the same, he sent it to the poore which stood without the gate, waiting for an almes. Wee indeed said Grace after our manner, whereat he seemed to take great delight.

Then came there in the Imbandigioni, whereof I dare not in a manner speake, but yet they are ordinary dishes in that Countrey, and these were their sauces or broaths, wherein were certain pieces of raw flesh with warme bloud, which in this Country is esteemed for a most delicate dish, and none but great personages eate thereof. These sauces were brought in certaine little dishes, very finely made of blacke earth, and they strewed upon them certaine crums of bread, and alwaies powred butter upon them. We would not taste at any hand of these their meats, but fed of that, which our Ambassadour had caused to be brought for us, as I said before. And like as we could not eate of their meats, so neither would they taste of ours. But as for their wine, in truth it walked about with great furie, and the wife of Angoteraz dined hard by us, upon such a Table as we used, and we sent unto her of our meats, and we could not see whether she tasted thereof, because there was a Curtaine betweene her and us, but in drinking she bravely seconded us. After al other dishes, a breast of Raw Beefe was brought to the boord, which we did not once touch, but Angoteraz fed thereof, as if he had eaten Marchpane or Comfits after dinner. After we had dined, and given thankes unto Angoteraz, we returned home unto our lodging. *Imbandigioni loathsome, delicacies.* *Raw Beefe.*

57. On Munday morning, we went to take our leave of Angoteraz, & the Frier led us through a mightie thicke Wood, so that we knew not whither we went, but wee came to the place where we were stoned: and hither he would needs goe to see Justice done. We were eight upon Mules, and fifteene on foote, and comes to our lodging in the house of one of them, which were the principall that made the assault, and we found them all fled unto a Mountaine neere adjoyning, but there was good provision

for our selves, and for our Mules. This night the Frier returned, and brought with him a couple of Mules, one Oxe, and eight pieces of Cloath, which they had given him, in recompense of the blood which they had shed. And the Justice used in this Countrey, is to take the goods of Malefactors; as namely, their Oxen, and their Mules. These places are called Angua, and Mastano, and belong to the Patriarke Abuna Marke.

A fertile and populous Countrey.

Heere we began to enter into a pleasant and delectable Countrey, lying among very high Mountaines, but infinitely peopled, at the foote thereof, with great Townes, and very Noble Churches, which was tilled and sowed with all kind of Corne. Here we saw infinite store of Indian Figges, Limons, Orenges, and Citrons, without number, and Pastures with an incredible multitude of Cattle. And because I travailed another time this way with the foresaid Frier, which then was called the Embassadour, and stayed a Saturday and a Sunday, in the house of an honourable Canon, and every day went to Church with him, where wee saw very great number of Canons, We asked him, how many Canons there were in all; He told us, above eight hundred. We inquired farther, what revenues they had? He told us, very little among so many: We replyed unto him, Why are you so many, seeing your revenue is so small? He answered us, that at the beginning when these Churches were first founded, they were not many, but that in processe of time they were increased: because that all the sonnes of the Canons, as many as doe descend of them, become all Canons: and this custome is observed in the Kings Churches: and that the Prete Janni, as often as he buildeth any new Church, sendeth for Canons hither, and so he diminisheth their number, as hee did when he built the Church, called Machan Celacem, when he tooke away two hundred, and that in this same Signiory there were eight Churches, wherein were about foure thousand Canons: and that if the Prete Janni should not take them away for the furnishing of these new Churches, and those of his Court, they should be driven to eate one another.

[II. vii. 1064.]

Eight hundred Canons: the reason, Their sonnes all succeed.

Foure thousand Canons in eight Churches.

§. IX.

Of the exceeding huge Mountaine, whereupon the Sonnes of Prete Janni are kept, where we were almost stoned to death: The greatnesse, guard, manner of sending, punishments; Of the Pretes Kindred.

58. THe foresaid Valley, reacheth unto a most huge Mountaine, whereon the Sonnes of Prete Janni are continually kept, as it were in prison. And they have accorded in their old Bookes, that in the daies of a King of Ethiopia, called Abraham, it was revealed unto him one night in a dreame, that if he desired to keepe his Realme in quiet and obedience, he should shut up his Sonnes, which were many, in a Mountain, and suffer none of them to come abroad, saving him which he would have to be his Successour, and that this order should alwaies be observed, as a thing which came from God, otherwise Ethiopia being large and great, some part thereof would fall to insurrection, and would bee disobedient unto the heire, or else perchance would kill him. The King standing doubtfull concerning this relation, where such a Mountaine might be found; it was againe revealed unto him, That he should send to search out all the Countrey, till he found a place where they should finde Goates upon the cragges and cliffes of Rockes, so high, that it should seeme they would fall downe, and that in this place he should shut them up. Which being done, this Mountaine was found out, which is so huge, that they say a man must spend many daies in compassing the foote thereof.

The hill, by some called Amara.

Thus ancient Law-givers, as Numa, &c. ascribed their devises to Deity, as Abraham, heire likewise, to secure himselfe, perhaps dreamed waking.

This Mountaine is exceeding steepe, round about from the top to the bottome, so that it seemeth to be a wall that riseth upright, and to a man that looketh upward, the sky seemeth to rest upon it. It hath onely three entrances or gates, and no more, whereby a man may ascend up to it, and of these I saw one, upon this occasion. We came from the Sea upon a time, to goe to the Court, and one of

those Servants of Prete Janni, whom they call Calacem, was our guide, which was not very well acquainted with the Countrey, and when we sought to lodge in a Village the Inhabitants would not receive us, because they said, It belonged to a Sister of Prete Janni, and we were inforced to travaile forward: the night was farre spent, and this guide began to ride a great pace, and hasted us forward, saying; That he would bring us to a good lodging. I caused Lopez de Gama, which had a good Mule, to ride in sight of the said Calacem, and my selfe followed him, and the Embassadour and the rest kept me in sight. And having travailed above three miles out of our way, toward the Mountaine where the Sonnes of Prete Janni are kept, as soone as we were perceived by the trotting of our horses, in a moment there assembled so great a multitude of the people of all those Townes, that they had almost killed us with stones, and we were inforced to divide our selves. The Embassadour stayed behind, and I went forward, because I could not otherwise choose, to a place where it rained stones on all sides, and the night was exceeding darke, and because they should not perceive me, I alighted, and gave my Mule to a Slave of mine.

The Portugals danger by approaching this place.

It was my chance, that a Warder of this Mountaine, a very honest man, rode next unto mee, who enquired of me what I was, I told him I was a Gaxia Negu, that is to say, a stranger of the King. This man causing me straitway to ride neere him, held one of his armes over my head, saying unto me, Ate fra, Ate fra; that is to say, Feare not, feare not; and brought me into an Orch-yard neere unto his house, where stood many long pieces of Timber set up against certaine Trees, under which he caused me to goe, because they were in manner of a Cabin, where being as I thought in securitie, I caused a Candle to be lighted, and immediatly they beganne to raine stones, whereupon I suddenly caused it to bee blowne out. This honest man afterward brought me to his house, and gave me a very good Supper, to wit, rosted Hennes, and Bread and Wine; and on the morning taking me by the hand, he led me to

[II. vii. 1065.]

shew me the way whereby they goe up into the Mountaine and Rockes, which were rent on every side, and there stood a verie high gate, which is kept shut, within the which is a very great Garrison of Souldiers. And hee told mee, that if any man should presume to enter, hee should suddenly have his hands and his feet cut off, and his eyes bored out, and that wee were not in fault for comming so neere unto that gate, but that they which were our guides deserved to be punished.

Penaltie of entring the gate.

59. The manner of the sending of the Sonnes of the Prete into this Mountaine, is this: that whereas all the Prete Janni, the Predecessors of this David were wont to have five or sixe Wives, and many Sonnes by them, at their death the first-borne did inherit. Others say, that he inherited which seemed to be most fit, and of most understanding: and others, hee which had most Followers, and greatest authoritie. Touching this point, I will say, that which I have heard spoken by many Courtiers of experience and wisdome. King Alexander, the Grand-father of this present King David, dyed without Sonnes, and although hee had Daughters, yet notwithstanding the great men of the Court went unto this Mountaine, and fetcht from thence Nahu his Brother, which was the Father of this David. This Nahu brought with him from the Mountaine a lawfull Sonne of his, which was a very noble and valiant Prince, but he was something head-strong and proud. After he was setled in the Kingdome he had other Wives, and Sonnes, and Daughters, and after his death they would have made his eldest Sonne King, which came from the Mountaine with his Father, but it was objected, that because he was so proud and obstinate, he would intreat all the people badly.

Manner of sending the Pretes Sonnes.

King Alexander.

Others were of opinion, that he could not inherite, being borne in captivitie, where he had no right of succession, and so they made this David King, which was the first borne, after his father was made King, and was eleven yeares old. The Patriarke Abuna Mark did tell mee, that he and Queene Helena made him King, because they

David the present Prete Janni succeeded in the Kingdome.

had at their commandement, all the great Lords of the Court; and so also it seemeth unto me, that next after the Title of first borne, the adherences, friendships, and treasures may doe much. The rest of the sonnes of Nahu, the Brethren of the said David, which were young, were sent to bee kept in the said Mountaine with that eldest Sonne of his, which was brought with him from thence: and so all the Sonnes of the Prete have beene used from the time of that King Abraham unto this present day.

The coldnesse and greatnesse of this Mountaine.

They say it is very cold on the top of this Mountaine, and that it is round, and that it cannot be compassed about in lesse then fifteene dayes. And in my judgement, it appeareth so to be. In this part where our way lay we travelled almost two dayes, and then we left it, which reacheth unto the Kingdome of Amara, and Bogamidri, which confineth upon Nilus, which Kingdome is very farre from hence.

Amara, & Bagamidri.

Upon this Mountaine are other Mountaines which make certaine Vallies, wherein are very many Rivers and Fountaines, and Fields which are manured by the Inhabitants. There is also a Valley betweene two Mountaines, which is very strong, so that by no meanes a man can goe out of the same, because the passage is closed up with exceeding strong gates, and in this Valley which is very great, and hath many Townes and Dwellings in it, they keepe those which are of the Bloud-Royall, and it is but lately since they have found this meanes to keepe them in the said Valley, thinking that they be safer here: but the Kings Grand-children and Nephewes, and such as are almost forgotten are not kept with so great a Guard, notwithstanding, this Mountaine is guarded round about with exceeding great Garrisons, and grand Captaines; and the fourth part of the people which come unto the Court are of the Captaines and Garrisons of this Mountaine, which have their Lodging separate from all others, neither doe they come to any other, nor others unto them, because they will not have any bodie else to know the secrets of the said Mountaine. And when they come to the Court of

the Prete, immediately hee sendeth his message to them, and every man with-draweth himselfe, and all other businesse whatsoever ceaseth, while these Affaires are handled.

Severitie on a Frier, and 200. men, for a message from this mountain.

60. Touching the state of these Sons of the Prete, I saw a Frier of thirtie yeares of age, which was brought unto the presence of the Prete, and above two hundred men with him, who was said to have brought a Letter to Prete Janni, from those of the Mountaine; and these two hundred men were part of the Garrisons of the same. They beat this Frier every other day, and in like sort they beate these men, divided into two parts; and that day when they beate the Frier, they beate the one halfe of them, and alwayes begunne with the Frier, and all the rest were continually present, and still they inquired of the Frier who gave him that Letter, and for what cause, and whether hee had ever carryed any more Letters, and of what Monastery he was, and where he was made Frier. The naughtie wretch answered, that sixteene yeares past he came out of the Mountaine, and that then the Letter was delivered unto him, and that he never after returned thither, and that he never durst deliver the same till now, that the Devill had provoked him thereunto. And this might be true, seeing it is not the manner in this Countrey, to put any date unto their Letters, neither of yeare, nor moneth, nor day. The men were demanded nought else, but how they had let the said Frier get out.

In this Countrey they use not to write upon their letters, neither day nor moneth.

Manner of beating and crueltie. [II. vii. 1066.]

The manner of beating them was after this sort, they throw the Malefactor on the ground upon his belly, and bind his hands unto two stakes, and a cord about both his legs, and two men hold this cord and draw it out strait, and two Ministers of Justice stand by, one at the head, and another at the feet, neither do they alwayes strike them, but betweene whiles, for if they should beat them continually, they would die, they lay on so cruelly. I saw them carrie one away, and before they could cover him with a cloth, he gave up the ghost; whereof the Prete being informed (because this execution was done before

his Tents) he commanded that the dead man should be carryed backe unto the place where he was beaten, and that they which were beaten, should lay their heads upon the feet of the dead corps. This execution lasted a fortnight, wherein this order of beating the Frier, and halfe of the Guard from two dayes to two dayes never ceased, saving onely upon Saturday and Sunday, whereon they punish no Malefactors.

Saturday and Sunday free from executions.

During the time of our abode in this Country, a Brother of the Prete, of sixteene yeares of age, fled out of the Mountaine, and came at length to his Mothers house, which was Queene Helena, and was Wife to the Father of this King. And because no man might receive any that came out of the Mountaine upon paine of life, the Mother would not harbour her Sonne, but tooke him and brought him to Prete Janni, who asked him why hee fled away, which answered, because that he was starved for hunger; and that he came thither for nothing else, but onely to give him witting thereof, because no bodie else would bring him this message. It was given out, that the Prete apparelled him in rich array, and gave him much Gold and cloth of Silke, and sent him backe into the Mountaine. It was also given out through all the Court, that this yong man fled, thinking to escape away with the Portugals. This Nobleman which fled and was sent backe againe into the Mountaine, while we abode with the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, which came into Portugall, in the Countrey of Lulibella, (where the Churches are which are hewen into the Rockes) passed that way with a Calazen, and with a great traine of people, which conducted him upon a Mule, and he rode all covered over with blacke clothes, so that no part of him might be seene, neither could any part of the Mule bee seene, save her eyes and eares. It was reported, that he fled away the second time in a Friers Weed with another Frier, and that this Frier his companion discovered him the same day that they should have departed out of the Countrey of Prete Janni, and so they led him away Prisoner with the

Escape of the Pretes Brother and what followed.

Frier, neither would they suffer them to speake to any bodie, and two men alwayes went hard by his Mule. Every bodie reported, that hee should bee put to death, or have his eyes put out. I know not what became of him.

A Sonne of Prete Janni had his eyes put out, for flying out of the Mountaine.

We heard reported of another, which would have fled out of the Mountaine, and hid himselfe under many boughes and leaves of trees, and certaine Husbandmen which passed that way, seeing the said boughes stirre, went to behold what the matter was, and laid hold on him, and the Guard, assoone as they had him in their clutches put out his eyes, and yet he liveth till this present, and is great Uncle to this Prete Janni. It is reported, that there are great numbers of the Bloud-Royall in this Mountaine, whom they call Israelites, or the Sonnes of David, for they are all of the same Kindred and Bloud that Prete Janni is of. In the same Mountaine are many Churches and Monasteries builded having many Priests and Friers in them, and many Inhabitants which never come downe out of that place.

No Kindred to the Prete. This commeth neere to the Ottoman policie: here civilly to kill all but one, as they doe really. No honour to the Females of Pretes bloud, nor to their issue.

61. The Prete Janni hath no Kinsfolkes at all, for those which came of the Mothers side, are not taken nor named for his Kinsfolkes, and those of the Fathers side are shut up in the said Mountaine, and held as dead men. And although they marrie, and have great store of children there, yet none of the male-children may come forth, except (as I have said before) the Prete die without heire: then they fetch out of that place the next of Kindred, and fittest to governe. Some of the Females come out to be married, but are not esteemed as the Kinswomen, Daughters, or Sisters of the Prete, but are honoured during the life of their father or Brother, and as soone as he dyeth, they become like to any other Ladie. All of us saw a Ladie in the Court, which was the Daughter of a Prete, which albeit, when shee went abroad, had a Canopie carried over her, yet notwithstanding, she had a very simple Traine. We knew also a Sonne of hers, which was in as meane a case as any poore foot-man, so that in a very short space the fame of his Parentage was extinguished.

This King David which now liveth, at our departure had two sonnes, and three daughters, to whom he allotted out great revenues, which he intended to bestow upon them, and the place was shewed me, where one of them possessed these revenues: but the report was generall, that as soone as the father should decease, and that one of them was made King, the other should be sent unto the Mountaine, whither hee should carrie nothing but his person with him, And it was told me, that the third part of the charges which the Prete is at, is spent in the keeping of these Israelites, to whom he maketh better allowance, then any of his predecessors have done. And besides the great revenues which belong unto them, he sendeth them much Gold, cloth of Silke, and fine clothes, and much Salt, which runneth for currant money in these Kingdomes. And at our comming thither, having presented him with our Pepper, wee understood of a certaintie, that he sent the one halfe thereof unto them, willing them to rejoyce and be merrie, because the King of Portugall, his father, had sent to visite him, and had sent him that Pepper. Wee understood also of a suretie, and as eye-witnesses in many places, that Prete Janni hath great lands and possessions, manured by his owne slaves and Oxen; and that these Slaves are apparelled by the King, and are exempted from other people, and marrie together, and are alwaies Slaves. The whole revenues of these Possessions which are about the Mountaine are carried up into it, the revenues of other places goe unto the Monasteries, Churches, and the poore, and specially to certaine poore and aged Gentlemen, which in times past have beene in government, and at this present are out of authoritie. Twise also hee sent of this Wheat unto our companie, to wit, once five hundred burthens in Caxumo, and five hundred more in Aquate, neither keepeth hee any part of these possessions unto himselfe, but bestoweth all in manner abovesaid.

Charges of this Royall Prison.

Bounty of Prete David.

[II. vii. 1067.]

Generation of slaves.

§. X.

Of the end of the Kingdome of Angote, and of the beginning of the Kingdome of Amara, and of divers Lakes; the Church Machan Celacen; Endowments of Churches: Of Abraham. Strange trenches and gates in the entrance to Xoa: and what hapned before the Prete called for them.

62. RETurning to our Voyage, I say, that wee went along the foot of this Mountaine by a Rivers side, and the Countrey is very goodly and faire, sowed with much Mill and other Corne of the Countrey, but there is very little Wheat. There are many Villages on both sides of this River, and on the side of the Mountaine, and at the end of the Valley we left this River, and began to find a wooddie Country full of stones. Here are no Mountaines, but certaine small Valles sowed with Wheat and Barley, and Pulse of the Country: and here endeth the Kingdome of Angote, and the Kingdome of Amara beginneth. In the beginning whereof towards the East, is a great Lake, whereby we lodged, which is eight miles long, and three miles broad. It hath a little Iland in the middest, and a Monasterie of Saint Stephan with many Friers, wherein are many Limons, Oranges, and Citrons, and to passe over to the Monasterie, they use a raft made of Timber and Bull-rushes, with foure great Gourds, and they make it in this former: They take foure Poles of wood, and lay Bull-rushes upon them, standing upon these Bull-rushes, being very well bound together, and upon these they lay other foure Poles well bound and fastened, and at every corner there is a great Gourd, and in this manner they passe over to the Ile. This Lake runneth not but in Winter time, when the water overfloweth, and it issueth out at two places. There are in this Lake certaine great beasts which they call Gomaras,

The Jesuites call this Lake Aicha.

A Monasterie in a Lake.

Sea-horses. Ill shaped, well tasted fish. which are Sea-horses, and also a fish like unto a Congre, which is very great and long, and hath the most mis-shapen head that may be imagined, made after the manner of a Toad, and the skinne upon the head thereof seemeth to be like the skinne of a Snake, and all the rest of the bodie is smooth like a Congre, and it is the fattest and most delicate fish that is in the world. There are great store of Villages about this Lake, which reach downe to the brinke of the water, and there are fifteene Xumetes or Captainships, and most pleasant fields of Wheat and Barley.

Many Lakes. We have seene many Lakes in these Countreys, but this is the greatest of all that I have seene. The Countrey is very faire and fruitfull.

Wee travelled from hence above sixteene miles, through a Countrey very well sowed with Millet, and replenished with Fountaines. The three and twentieth of September,

Azzel. wee went from thence to a Towne, called Azzel, which is seated upon a small Hill, betweene two Rivers, and all the field was sowed with Wheat, Millet, and all kind of pulse, and it is a place wherein a great Faire is kept. Beyond one of these Rivers there is a Towne of Moores, rich and of great trafficke, as of Slaves, cloth of Silke, and of all other sorts of merchandise, as it is in the Towne of Manadeli upon the Confines of Tigremahon. These Moores pay great tribute to the Prete, and here the Christians and the Moores are very familiar together, for they bring them water, they wash their cloth, and daily in this place the Christian women keepe companie with

Moores. the Moores, of which their doing we thought not well. Wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday at the foot of this Towne, where all night our men fought with their Lances

Tygres. against the Tygres, which would have carried away our Mules, and slept not a winke. The next day, we travelled through a plaine Countrey, well peopled, and well manured for the space of sixe miles. Then wee ascended up an high Mountaine, without all kind of Rockes and Woods, but was all plowed and sowen, and rested our selves about noon-tide. While I stayed here, ten or twelve men of account, and our

Interpreter were with me, and wee began to discourse of the heighth of this Mountaine whereon we stood, and the waste Countrey which we viewed with our eyes. They shewed me the Mountaine where the Sonnes of the Prete are kept, which seemed not past twelve miles from us, and we might see the Rocke which was all ragged on every side, which stretcheth so farre toward the River Nilus, that wee could not discerne the end thereof, and it was so high, that the Mountaine where we were, seemed to bee under the foot thereof. Heere they informed me particularly of the great Garrisons, which were maintained for the keeping of the Kings Sonnes, and of the abundance of victuals and apparell which they had. They told me moreover, that this high Mountaine whereon we stood, divided the Countrey where the Millet growes, from that where the Wheate groweth, and that from hence forward we should find no more Millet, but Wheate and Barley. [II. vii. 1068.]

Millet and Wheat.

63. We travelled over the top of this Mountaine, having a plaine way above nine miles, and on every side were fields sowed with Wheat and Barley. Here wee found another Lake but not so great, it might be some three miles long, and two miles abroad. Wee lodged in a field all full of goodly pasture, where we found such a multitude of Flies, which were very great, that we thought they would have killed us. This field was not sowed, because it was halfe over-flowne with water, for they know no meanes to conveigh away the water, and cause it to passe downe from the Mountaine.

Another Lake.

Great hurtfull Flies.

Want of skill and industrie.

We began afterward to enter into a Countrey, where in the day time it was very hot, and in the night exceeding cold, and we saw the Inhabitants weare about them before their privities, a piece of an Oxe-hide. The women likewise weare a piece of cloth twice as bigge as the mens was, and covered as much as they could therewith, yet the greater part was seene neverthelesse, the rest of their bodie was all naked. Their haire was divided in two parts, the one hanging downe to their shoulders, and the other to their eares, and they say, that these Lands belong

Cold nights.

Nakednesse.

Trumpetters Land. unto the Trumpetters of Prete Janni. A little out of the way is a great Wood of Trees unknowne to us, but exceeding high, neere unto which there is a Church of many Canons, built by a King that lyes there buried. Having passed this day over very huge Mountaines, we came to our lodging being gotten out of them, at the enterance of a passing goodly field.

Rich Church.

The sixe and twentieth of September, in the morning we travelled through the said Champaigne field, descending still for the space of six miles, and came to a faire and mightie Church, called Machan Celacen, which signifieth, The Trinitie, which we saw afterward with Prete Janni, when he removed his Fathers bones. This Church hath two great circuits, one compassed about with an high wall of plankes, and the other paled round about, and the paled circuit, contained above two miles in compasse. We went thither very joyfull, thinking to have seene the said Church, but when we came neere it within a Crosse-bow-shoot, two men came unto us to cause us to light: for this is the custome when any man commeth neere to a Church. And when we were come to the gate of this circuit, they would neither suffer us to enter, nor yet the Frier that was our giude, and with their fists they thrust him in the brest, telling him, that he had no authoritie to bring us in.

Machan Calacen.

Inhospitall holinesse.

This Champaigne field, and the situation of the Church are very beautifull: for all the Countrey is manured for the space of ten or twelve miles, neither is there any one spanne of ground, which is not manured and full of all kind of Corne, except Millet: and in all monethes of the yeare here Corne is reaped and sowed, so that alwayes here is some Corne ripe, and some greene. On both sides of this Church, runneth an exceeding faire River, without any Trees growing on the bankes, and they fetch water out of the same to water the fields, and out of certaine hils adjoyning, descend also many Fountaines of water, which water all the Countrey. There are likewise many Houses and Towns, the one separated from the other with their

Goodly countrey.

Churches; for wheresoever the King hath a Church, there also must be Churches for the Husbandmen. *Churches Royall and vulgar.*

64. After we were passed through these Champions, we travelled in greater fields about thirtie six miles Eastward, where they shewed us a Church of S. George, wherein the Grandfather of this Prete Janni lyeth buried. Heere they informed us, that the ancient Kings which came out of the Kingdomes of Barnagasso and Tigremahon, when they had their first beginning, enlarged their Kingdomes through these Countries of the Moores and Gentiles, and passing through the Countrey of Tigrai, and so through Angote they came into the Kingdome of Amara, but before they came thither is the Kingdome of Xoa, wherin are certaine exceeding great trenches, and here they dwelt a long time, & builded many Churches and houses, endowing the same with great Revenues, neither is there any span of ground which belongeth not to the Churches. And Nahu the Father of this Prete began the Church of Machan Celacen, and his Sonne afterward furnished and endowed it. This Realme hath no more the name of a Signiorie, for the title thereof was Amara Taffila, which signifieth King of Amara, as Xoa Tafila, King of Xoa.

Saint Georges Church.
Beginnings of this Kingdome in Barnagasso.
All belongs to the Church.

Taffila.

And when the bones of this Nahu was removed, into the said Church of Machan Celacen, at which Translation we Portugals were present. This present Prete finished, and confirmed the Donations made of all this Signiory unto this Church. There is never a Monastery in all this Kingdome, but all are Churches. The Canons and Priests of which, and those of the other Churches of the rest of the Kingdomes before spoken of, serve the Prete in all services, saving in war. And in these Countries Justice is executed universally, upon the Canons, Priests, and Friers. And the Frier which guided us for the conveiance of our stuffe, if he were not obeyed, caused both Friers and Priests to be beaten. As we travelled through these mightie Champaine fields, we thought wee passed through a Sea, being not able to see any Mountaine at all. The last of September, we came to a small Village, where was a Church

All Churches no Monasteries.
Priests serve the King, and Justice executed on them.

[II. vii. 1069.]

Huge Champaines.

of our Ladie. Heere toward the East, beginne certaine ragged and strong Mountaines, with certaine Vallies so wonderfull deepe, that a man would thinke they descend downe to Hell, neither would any man easily beleeve how deepe they be. And even as the Mountaines, where the Sonnes of the Prete are kept, are craggy from the foote unto the top, so these are craggy, for a very great depth, in some places twelve miles downe; in others fifteene, and in others lesse, about nine miles: and it is said, that these Vallies stretch unto Nilus, which is very farre from this place toward the West. Wee knew perfectly, that they stretch unto the Countries of the Moores, where they bee not so rough and wilde as they be here. In the bottome of these Vallies, are great Townes and places manured, and infinite number of great Apes are there, which are hairy on the fore-part of their breasts, like Lyons.

Horrible Vallies, twelve or fifteene miles deepe.

Great Hairy Apes.

65. The first of October, 1520. we travelled still through a plaine Countrey, till we came to these Vallies, in which our travell wee found an infinite number of small Lakes and Fountaines, for the space of twelve miles, and came to our lodging in a certaine place, where wee were to passe over these low bottomes. The third of October, having travelled two miles, we came to certaine gates upon a craggy Rocke, leaving one of them on the right side; and the other on the left, and it was so narrow, hard by these gates, that with much adoe a Cart could passe upon the passages which the Mountaine made, and they are stopped up, where these Gates are so streigth in every Valley: and passing through this gate, you descend downe a Speares length through a narrow way, made as steepe as a Dart in the midst, so that you can passe it neither on foote, nor on horse-back, and this way is so steepe and downright, that a man cannot go downe unlesse it be on all foure: and it may easily bee perceived, that it was made by arte of man, for the safe keeping of that passage, and after we were passed through this narrow way, wee travelled for a certaine space, by a way made almost as steepe as a Dart, for the space of six spans, and on both

Gates: see the like in Finches description of the Mogols.

sides are exceeding great downe-fals, and if I had not seene our Mules and people passe before me, I would have sworne that Goates could not have passed that way: and so wee put our Mules before us, as thinking them lost, and wee came after them. This rough way lasteth the space of a Crosse-bow shot, and this place is called Aquifagi, which signifieth, The death of Asses. They pay Toll there. Many times afterward we passed by these gates, and never came that way, but we found Mules and Oxen dead. Besides this passage, there are sixe miles more of very bad way, all of Rocke, descending downe-ward. In the midst whereof is a Cave digged into the Rocke, out of the top whereof water continually droppeth, which continuall dropping maketh proportions in the stone of divers formes.

Aquifagi, or Death of Asses.

At the end of these sixe miles, we found a great River, which is called Anecheta, wherein, as they say, is store of great and goodly Fish. Afterward we travelled still up the hill for three miles space, untill we come to a little gate, which when we had passed, we found another River, where are certaine other gates, which are not used. And they which passe these bottomes and deep Vallies, come hither to their lodging, because they cannot passe in one day from one end to the other. Heere the Frier which guided us, used such crueltie towards a Xuum or Captaine, as a man would not have used to a Moore. This Captaine sent not his men to carrie our stuffe so soone as he should, therefore he destroyeth certaine fields of Beanes, and utterly spoyled them, of which Beanes they live in these Vallies, because here groweth nothing but Millet and Beanes. And because we spake against his doing, he said; That this was the Law of the Countrey, and daily he caused many of them which carried our stuffe to be beaten, and sometimes he tooke away their Mules, Oxen, and pieces of Cloath, saying, That whosoever served badly, was so to be used.

The River of Anacheta.

Other Gates.

A begger on horse-backe.

The fourth of October, we travelled still by these bad waies, and came to a River, by which we lodged, which is

The River of Gemma. very great and faire, and is called Gemma, and aboundeth with Fish, as the Countrey people say: and these Rivers joyne together, and fall into Nilus. Wee descended downe this Mountaine for sixe miles space, at the end whereof we found other gates, where we also payed for our passage. From these gates we came to our lodging in a Champaine field, where we found no Vallies nor any thing else, but all was plaine & even ground. The distance between both the gates aforesaid, is above fifteene miles, and here is the division of the Kingdomes of Amara and Xoa. And these *Baba Bassa.* gates are called Baba Bassa, which signifieth, The new Land. In these Vallies and rough grounds, are infinite numbers of all sorts of Fowles.

66. The fifth of October, wee travelled through Champaines, not farre distant from the said Rockes and deepe Vallies, and we lodged in the mid-way towards a *Bilibranos.* Monasterie, called Bilibranos, whereof I will speake that which I saw Prete Janni doe three times. The first was, when he came to performe a yearely solemnitie for a Prelate of that Monasterie, which was deceased, whose name was Gianes, and was taken for a Saint. His Title *Ichee, the second, Prelate of all Ethiopia, and next to the Patriarke.* was Ichee, and he is the chiefest Prelate of all Ethiopia, saving the Patriarke Abuna Marke. The second time, hee came to the election of another Ichee, whose name was Jacob, a man of wonderfull holy life, which sometimes had [II. vii. 1070.] beene a Moore. This Ichee was our great friend, and he told us, that he was admonished in a night by a Vision, that he was not in the right way, and that hee should repaire unto the Patriarke Abuna Marke, who received him graciously, and made him a Christian, and instructed him in all points of our Faith, as if he had beene his Sonne. Ichee, in the tongue of Tigrai signifieth an Abbot, which is used in the Kingdome of Barnagasso, and Tigremahon. In this Champaine through which we travailed, were certaine small houses, made almost under-ground, and so were the yards likewise round about them, where they keep their Cattel, & they said they builded their houses so *Huge winds.* low, because of the huge Winds, which are rife in those

parts. Heere wee saw the people badly apparelled, but such store of Oxen, Mules, and Mares, as it is incredible.

67. The Wednesday following, we found a better Countrey, sowed with Wheate and Barley, and in some of these fields wee saw some Corne ripe, some newly cut downe, and other which seemed newly to be sowne. This Countrey is called Tahagun, and is very well peopled, with many great Townes, and hath infinite heards of all kinds of Cattell, to wit, of Oxen, Horses, Mules, and Sheepe. In these Countries many are sicke of Agues, unto whom, as wee perceived, they ministred no remedy, expecting onely the helpe of Nature, and if any man hath paine in his head, they let him bloud in the head; and if he be sicke in his breast, sides, or shoulders, they seare him with a red-hot Iron, as we use to seare our Cattell.

Tahagun.

Their Physick, nothing, or bleeding, or searing.

On Wednesday, to our great comfort, we began to behold a farre off, the Campe and Pavilions of Prete Janni, which seemed to be infinite, and to cover all the fields, and heere we lodged. On Thursday, we made no great journey. From Friday at noone, we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a little Towne, where there was a new Church, which was not yet painted, (for they paint all their Churches) neither was it very curiously wrought, which was called Auriata, that is to say, The Church of the Apostles, and they said it belonged to the King, unto whose Tents was some three miles distance: and from this place unto the Church where Abuna Marke was lodged, is a mile and halfe, which Abuna Marke is his great Patriarke.

68. There came unto us a great Lord, who by his office was called Adrugaz, that is to say, Great Master of the Houshold, who told us, that the Prete Janni understanding of our comming, had sent him to guard us, and provide us of all things that wee stood in need of, and streight-way willed us to take Horse and goe with him, and supposing hee would have led us to the Court, we prepared our selves. He caused us to goe backe againe, not the same way which we came, but made us compasse certaine small hils, and turned us backe againe above three miles, willing us not to

Prete Jannies Campe. Adrugaz.

take it in ill part, because Prete Janni came that way whether we went, as indeed hee did: we saw also sixe or seven men, mounted upon very goodly Horses, ride skirmishing and playing before us, having their faces wholly covered, so that one could not bee discerned from the other, and many followed after them upon Mules, and wee judged that this Cavalcada was made of purpose for our sakes, because the Prete was desirous to see us, and they led us on the backe-side of certaine small hils, where this Gentleman was lodged in his Tent, and caused us also to be placed hard by him, in another goodly Tent, and saw us plentifully provided of all things, which we stood in need of. We were not farre distant from the place where Prete Janni himselfe was lodged, the Frier also came and lodged neere us. On Wednesday, in the morning, they brought us another goodly great Tent, which was white and round, saying, That Prete Janni sent us the same, and that no man might have the like Tent, saving the Prete and the Churches, and that himselfe lodged in the same when he travailed: and so we stayed untill Friday, without understanding what we should doe, but were alwaies well provided of victuals. The Gentleman which guarded us, and the Frier likewise admonished us to have a good eye unto our stuffe, because in that Countrey, there were many Theeves; and the Frankes, that is, The White men, which were in the Court, gave us the like warning, and told us that there were Captaines, and others like Toll-masters over the said Theeves, which payed a Tribute to Prete Janni, of such goods as were stolne.

White round Tent. Theeves allowed. White men, called Franks, as all Europæans are in the East. The cause the expeditions of these Nations (the most of which were Frankes) to the holy land.

§. XI.

How the Embassadour and we were called for by the Commandement of Prete Janni, and of the order which we found, and of the State and Majestie of Prete Janni. His conference, allowance, remove; The Embassadours Audience.

69. ON Friday, the twentieth of October, about three of the clocke, the Frier came unto us, and told us in great haste, that the Prete Janni had called for us. The Embassadour commanded all the goods to be laden, which the Captaine Generall had sent, and charged us to put our selves in order, which we did in very good sort by the helpe of God, and many people as well on foote as on horse-backe, came to waite upon us, with whom we came in good order unto a Gate, from whence we beheld on all sides, an infinite number of Pavilions and Tents, like unto a Citie, and those which belonged to Prete Janni, were set up in a wide field, all White, (as I have said, it is their generall use) and before the same was a very faire Red Tent, which they say, is never set up, but on daies of great Feasts, or of some great audience. Before the said Red Tent, were two rankes of Arches erected, covered with White and Red Cloath of Silke, to wit; one arch covered with Red, and another with Silke, and they were not covered, but had the Cloath of Silke round about them, as it were a piece of Wood, which supporteth a Crosse, having a Stole wrapped about it: and so these Arches stood on one front, and were about twentie: their bignesse and breadth was like unto the arch of a little Cloyster, and one ranke was distant from another, about a stones cast.

The Portugals sent for.

[II. vii. 1071.]

The Pretes moveable citie of white Tents. The Red Feastivall Tent.

Here were an infinite number of people placed together, which to my judgement seemed to be above fortie thousand persons, and all of them stood in good order on either sides without stirring, and the people which were best apparelled, were next unto the arches, among whom were certaine Canons and Church-men very honourable,

Fortie thousand persons.

Canons and Church-men.

with great hoods on their heads, not like unto Miters, but with certaine sharpe points on the top, painted with Colours, and were of Cloath of Silke, and Crimzon, and other people in very rich array, before whom stood foure Horses, to wit, two on the one side, and two on the other, which were sadled, and richly covered with Embroydered Cloath downe to the ground: the Armour which they ware under the same, was not to bee seene: These Horses had high Crownes upon their heads, which mounted above their eares, and went downe to the Bits of their Bridle, with great Plumes of Feathers of sundry Colours, and under the said Horses stood many other good Horses, sadled and covered with Silke and Velvet, and the head of each one was equall, and as it were in order with the people: next unto these Horses, behind them (because the throng of people was so great) stood many honourable persons, which were apparelled onely from the girdle downe-ward, with very fine and White Cotton cloath. The rest of the people which were basely apparelled, stood betweene them and the rest.

The great pompe and magnificence of Prete Janni.

It is a Custome, that before the King and great men of Commaundement, there alwaies goe men which carrie Whips, that is, A little staffe with a large Thong of Leather, and when they lash in the Ayre, they make a great noyse, to make the people give backe. Above one hundred of these Fellowes came to meete us, all apparelled in certaine small Jackets of Silke, which made such a noyse with lashing, that one man could not heare another. The men on Horse-backe, and upon Mules which were with us, lighted a farre off, and wee were led on Horse-backe yet a great way farther, and lighted within a Crosse-bow shot of the great Tent, and here they which conducted us, beganne to doe their accustomed reverence, and we likewise, because wee were so instructed, which is, to stoope downe with the right hand unto the ground.

One hundred under Marshals.

Reverence, how done.

Likewise, in this place, within a Crosse-bow shoote, there met us at least sixtie men, which were, as it were, Porters with Maces, and they came halfe running, for so

they are wont to runne with all Messages which the Prete sendeth. They were apparelled in white Jackets, of good Cloath of Silke, and upon their shoulders they had certaine skinnes, of Roane or Tawny colour, very hairie, which they said, were Lyons skinnes, and reached downe to the ground. And upon those skinnes they had certaine Chaines of Gold, rudely wrought, with Jewels set in them, and likewise other Jewels about their neckes. They weare certaine Silke Girdles of divers Colours, in breadth and making, like to the Girts of Horses, saving that they were long with Flakes and Tassels downe to the ground, and they went halfe on the one side, and halfe on the other, and waited upon us to the first ranke of the arches, where we stayed. *Messengers.*

But before we came to the said Arches, there stood foure great Lyons, tyed with their Chaines in the way which wee were to passe, and having passed them in the midst of the fields: under the shadow of the said Arches, stood foure men of Honour, among which, was one of the two greatest Lords which are in the Court of Prete Janni, which is called Betudete, that is to say, The Grand Captaine, and there are two of them, whereof one waiteth on his right hand, and the other on his left. He which waited on his right hand, was (as they said) in warre against the Moores; and he that waited on his left hand, was the same which stood there; the other three were great Personages. When wee came unto them, we stood a great while without speaking any word, neither we to them, nor they to us. In the meane while there came an old Priest, which was (as they say) the Kinsman and Confessor of Prete Janni, wearing a white Bonet, like unto a Bernusso, and a great hood of Silke. *Foure Lyons.* *Foure Lords.* *The Betudete.*

This man by his Office, is called Cabeata, and is the second person in these Kingdomes; and he came out of the Prete his Tent, from whence we were distant two stones cast. Three of the foure that stayed with us, went halfe way to meete him, and the Betudete stayed with us, and when they drew nigh unto us, the Betudete moved [II. vii. 1072.]

three or foure steppes toward them, and so all five of them came unto us.

The Cabeata being arrived, demaunded of the Ambassadour, what hee would have, and whence he came: The Ambassadour answered, That he came from India, and brought an Ambassage unto Prete Janni, from the Grand Captaine and Governour of the Indies, under the King of Portugall. Herewithall, hee returned to the Prete from whom he came, and returned three times with the very selfe-same Questions and Answeres. To all their demaunds, the Ambassadour answered after one sort. The fourth time, the Cabeata said, Say what you will, and I will declare the same to the King. To whom the Ambassadour answered, That He and his whole Companie kissed his Highnesse hands, and greatly thanked God, which had fulfilled their holy desires, in joyning Christians together with Christians, and that they were the first which had performed the same. With this answere, the Cabeata departed hence, and straightway returned with another Message, and alwaies the foresaid foure Honourable persons went to meete him, in such sort, as we have before already declared, and comming unto us, he said, That we were right welcome to Prete Janni, and that we should go to our lodging and rest our selves.

Three, a remarkable number.

The Ambassadors speech.

Policy of State. At this first Audience, he useth no other words, neither in his Majestie to bee seene, for the better maintaining of his reputation. Then the Ambassadour delivered out of severall parcels, all the Presents which the Grand Captaine sent unto his Highnesse, and over and besides the same, foure bagges of Pepper, which we brought to defray our charges. All the particulars were forth-with conveyed to the Tent of the Prete, and afterward brought backe againe to the Arches where wee stood, and they hanged up the Cloathes of Arras which we gave them, upon the Arches: and likewise, every parcell of the rest of the goods and things; and while they hung up in the sight of all men, all men were commaunded to keepe silence, and one which is called the Lord Chiefe Justice of the Court, spake with

Silence.

a lowd voyce, and declared piece by piece, what the things were which the Grand Captaine had sent to Prete Janni, and willed all men, To give thankes unto the Lord God, for having caused Christians to meete together, and that if any Man were there that were grieved thereat, hee might weepe and howle; and whosoever rejoyced thereat, might sing. Then all the people that were there assembled, gave a mightie shoute in manner of praising God, which continued for a great space. This beeing ended, they licensed us to depart, and brought us to our lodging, a great Crosse-bow shoote distant from the Tents of the Prete, where our Pavillion, which hee had sent us, was set up, and where the rest of our stuffe remained.

Base Theevery attending the Court.

70. In the remooving of these our goods, we beganne to see by experience, the advise which was given us concerning the Theeves, for suddenly on the way, they tooke by force from one of our Servants, foure Basons of Latton, and foure Dishes of Porcellan, and certaine other small things belonging to our Kitchin, and because the Servant would have defended himselfe, they gave him a great wound on the Legge. The Ambassadour could doe no more, but cause him to be healed, and of these goods could never after recover any whit. As soone as wee were lodged, Prete Janni sent us three hundred great White Loaves of Wheate, and many Jarres of Wine of Hony, and tenne Oxen, and the Messengers which brought these things, said; That Prete Janni had commaunded, that wee should have fiftie Oxen given us, and as many Jarres of Wine. The Saturday following, which was the one and twentieth of October, he sent us great store of Bread and Wine, and many Haggasses of Flesh, of divers sorts, which were very well made and dressed, and the like was done upon the Sunday, whereon among other many and sundry Haggasses, a young Calfe was brought unto us, all whole laid in Paste, so well dressed and seasoned, with Spices and Fruits put in the belly thereof, that we could never satisfie our selves with feeding thereon.

Provision sent them.

A calfe whole in Paste.

On Munday following, there was a rumour spread

through all the Court, that wee had kept backe many bagges of Pepper, which the Grand Captaine had sent unto the Prete, which was untrue; and because they make exceeding great account of Pepper, and that it is the greatest merchandize that runneth through Ethiopia, therefore the Frier came unto us, with a cunning, saying unto us, That if the Ambassadour would give all his Pepper to Prete Janni, that he would give order, that our charges should be defrayed during our abode there, and untill our returne unto Maczua: and thus they ceased to give us Victuals, neither were the fiftie Oxen sent unto us, nor the Jarres of Wine. Likewise, they forbade all the Frankes in the Court, that they should not speake with us.

Pepper is the best merchandize in Ethiopia.

They willed us also, not to depart out of our Tent, because it was the Custome, that all they which come unto this Court, should speake with no man, till they had talked with the King, and that for breaking this order, they had cast in prison a Portugall of Acugna, which came to speake with us on the way with another Franke, laying to their charge, that they came to reveale unto us the secrets of the Court. This Portugall fled on a night with his manacles on his hands from an Eunuch, which kept him, and came to our Tent to save himselfe. The next morning with speed they came to seeke him, but the Ambassadour would not deliver him, but sent his Factor and the Interpreter to speake with the Betudete on his behalfe, and to aske him, why hee cast the Portugalls into fetters, and handled them so badly by Eunuchs which were Slaves. The Betudete answered nothing to the purpose, saying: Who sent for you hither? and added further, That Matthew went not into Portugall by Prete Janni his commandement, nor by the commandement of the Queene Helena. And that if this Slave had put the Portugall into fetters, the Portugalls likewise might put this Slave againe into fetters, for such is the justice in those countries.

[II. vii. 1073.]

71. On Tuesday, the foure and twentieth of October, wayting, while the Prete would send for us to speake with

him, hee departed with all his Court toward the same place from whence hee came, which was about sixe miles off. In the meane season the Frier came unto us, and wished us if wee would goe to the place where the King lay, that wee should buy our selves Mules to carry our stuffe, and told the Ambassadour, that if hee would buy or sell hee might so doe. The Ambassador answered him, That wee were not come thither to play the Merchants, but onely to serve God and both the Kings, and to unite one Christian people with another, and this they did onely to sift out what our intention and purpose was. Untill this present they had forbidden all Christians in the Court to speake with us, or to come unto our Tents, and if they came thither they came very secretly, because the Frier was alwayes with us as our Guardian.

Remoove of the Court.

Other their tricks are here omitted.

72. When Lopez Suarez, grand Captaine and Governour of India, came with his Fleet to the Haven of Ziden; in which Fleet I my selfe was, wee found in the same place sixtie Christian men, which were Slaves unto the Turkes, and they were of divers Nations, who were part of these which at this present we found in this Court, who say, that they wayted for the grace of God, to wit, while the Portugalls should come into this Haven of Ziden, that they might escape away with us; and because the people of our Fleet could not goe on Land, therefore they stayed behinde; and few dayes after, fifteene of these white men, with as many more Abissines of the Countrey of Prete Janni, which likewise were Slaves, found two Brigandines, and fled away to get unto our Fleet: and being not able to come unto the Ile of Camaran, they came to the Ile of Maczua, which is neere unto Ercoco, a Towne of Prete Janni. And comming on land they sunke the Brigandines, and came unto the Court of the Prete, whom we saw more honorably and courteously used then our selves, till this present. And they have given them Lands and Slaves which serve them and maintayne them. These are the Frankes, the greatest part whereof were Genoueses, two Catalanians, one of Sio, one a Biscaien, and one an high

The Haven of Ziden, neere Mecca.

The Ile of Camaran.
The Ile of Maczua.

German, which afterward came all into Portugall, and they call us Portugalls also Frankes. All other white people, to wit, those of Syria, of Grecia, and of Cairo, they call Gibetes. These Frankes prevailed with us to give foure bags of Pepper, and foure Chests covered with leather, for a present to the Prete, which wee carried the thirtieth of October, which was but collusion of the Courtiers for their owne advantage. The Frankes which were in the Court came after to our Tent and told us, that the great men of the Court were our enemies, and that this Frier had put into their heads, to counsell Prete Janni to suffer us not to returne, nor to depart out of his Kingdome. Because wee reported evill of the Countrey, and that wee would speake much worse when wee were departed out of the same, and that was alwayes the custome of these Kingdomes, not to suffer Strangers to depart which came into the same. Wee suspected thus much by that which wee had heard, and they confirmed the same. For wee knew very well, that John Gomez, and John Prete, Portugalls, (which were sent hither by Tristan de Acunna, Lord Governour of India, together with a Moore, which yet liveth and dwelleth in Manadeli) were not suffered to depart; because they threatned to kill them, if they departed: and likewise one Peter de Covillan a Portugall, and two Venetians.

Eastern Christians called Ghibetes: the Western Franks both in Africa and Asia, ever since the Expeditions into the holy Land, wherein the Franks were first and most, beginning at the Councell of Claremont in France. The old custome of Ethiopia, not to suffer strangers to depart. Christians detayned.

On Tuesday, the last of October, Prete Janni came downe from the Tents where hee lay, toward this Circuit where wee aboad; and when hee passed by hee saw our Tent, not farre distant from his, and sent a man to the Ambassador, to wish him to remoove his Tent, because the ayre was bad where the same stood, and yet our Tent stood in the same place which they had appointed us the day before. The Ambassador sent him word, that he had no people to remoove his Tent nor his stuffe, and that if he might have people, he would cause it to be remooved, whither soever it pleased his Highnesse. This day at evening came a message from the Prete, saying, That if the Ambassador or his companie, had any Crosse of gold

Crosse demanded.

or of silver, that hee should send it him, for hee desired to see it. The Ambassador sent him word, that neither hee nor his companie had any, and that one which he had brought with him he had given to Barnagasso, herewithall the Page departed, but suddenly returned againe, saying, That we should send him any that we had.

Wee sent him a Woodden Crosse of mine, with a painted Crucifixe, which by the way I carried in my hand, according to the custome of the Countrey. Immediatly he sent it backe unto us, saying; That he tooke great pleasure in beholding of it, because he perceived that wee were good Christians. [II. vii. 1074.]

The Ambassadour sent word unto the Prete by the said Page, that he had yet a little Pepper, to defray his owne and his companies charges, which hee desired to bestow upon his Highnesse, and also foure Chests to keepe apparell in, and that when it pleased him, he might send for them. The Page departing with this message, returned suddenly, saying; That the King desired no Pepper nor Chests, and that the Cloathes which he had given him, were bestowed upon Churches, and that the Pepper was given to the poore. For so it had beene told him, that the Grand Captaine of India had done, in giving all the cloathes sent him by the King of Portugall, unto Churches. The Ambassadour answered, That whosoever had told him any such thing, had not told the truth, because it was all laid up together, and kept in safetie. This answere beeing sent, there came another message, saying; That Prete Janni commanded, that the Ambassadour without all delay, with his whole Company should come unto him, and it was three houres at least within night. Forthwith we all beganne to put on our best Apparell, to goe whither we were sent for. When we were ready, another came which brought us word, that wee must not go; and thus we stayed at home in our dumps.

74. On Wednesday the first of November, two houres within night, Prete Janni sent for us by a Page, and having put our selves in order, we went our way, and comming *Going to the court by night.*

to the gate or entry of the first circuit or hedge, we found Porters, which caused us to waite there a good houre, in the cold and dry winde. From the place where we stood, we saw many lighted Torches, standing before the other part of the circuit of the hedge, and men held them in their hands. While wee stayed thus in this entry (for they would not suffer us to passe) our men shot off two Harquebusses, and suddenly there came a word from the King; demanding, why we had not brought many Harquebusses from the Sea. The Ambassadour answered, that we came not as Warriors, and that therefore wee brought not the said Armour with us; but that we brought onely these three or foure Harquebusses, to shew pleasure and pastime. While we waited heere, five principall men came unto us, among whom was one called Adrugas, to whom we were appointed at our first comming to the Court. As soone as they were come with the word of the Prete, forthwith they did their wonted reverence, and we in like manner, and began to set forward, and having gone five or six paces, both we and they stood still. They went on the side of us, as if they had led us by the hand, & on the one side of them, went two men with two Torches lighted in their hands, & two before them on the other side, and as they guided us, each of them in his course began to cry with an high voyce, Hurcha, Hiale, Huchia, Abeton, which signifieth; Him which you have commanded me (Sir) heere I bring unto you. And when one had made an end, another beganne, and so they followed one after another, and used this speech so long, untill we heard a voice from within, uttered by divers, which was, Cafacinelet, that is to say, Come yee in?

The Rites of admitting to presence.

Strange Ceremonies of State.

We went a little farther, and they began againe to stay, and uttered the foresaid words againe, untill they heard an answere from within, as at the first. They made above ten of those pauses, from the first entrance unto the second, and every time when they said within Cafacinelet, because it is the word of the King, they which were our guides, and wee with them, bowed downe our heads and

Ten pauses.

our hands to the ground. And having passed the second entry, they began to make another song, which was this; Caphan, Hiam, Caynha, Afrangues, Abeton, which signifieth; The Frankes which you commanded me here, I bring them, my Lord. And these he uttered as often as the other words before, and attended an answer within the house, which was like unto the former, and so from pause to pause, we came unto a Bed or Table, before which stood many burning Torches, which we saw in the first entry, and told them to bee eightie on every side, in even ranke, and that no man might goe out of the ranke: Those which held them, had before them certaine long Canes in their hands, which went over-thwart breast-high, and the said Torches stood all equall. *The presence.*

This Bed was placed within the entrance of a great house of earth, whereof we spake before, which is built upon very great Pillers of Cipresse; the roofe standing upon these Pillers, was Painted with certaine goodly colours, and it was Wainscoted directly downe from the top to the bottome. The covering of the roofe, was of the Grasse of the Countrey, which lasteth (as they say) the life of a man. In the entry of the house, that is to say, at the upper part thereof, were five Curtaines prepared, which hung before the said bed, and the middlemost of them was embroidered with Gold, and the others were of fine Silke. Before these Curtaines, on the floore was laid a great and rich Carpet, and neere unto it, two great cloaths of shaggy Cotton, like Carpets which they call Basutos: all the rest was covered with painted Mats, so that no part of the bare floore could be seene. And likewise from the one end unto the other, the whole roome was full of lighted Torches, like those which we had seene while wee were without.

While wee thus stood still from behind the Curtaines, there came a word from Prete Janni, saying, abruptly, that he sent not Matthew into Portugall, though it were granted that hee went thither with his Licence, seeing the King of Portugall had sent him many things, what was [II. vii. 1075.] *Manner of audience.*

become of them, and wherefore were they not brought as the King had sent them? And that those things which the Grand Captaine had sent him from India, were alreadie delivered? The Ambassadour answered, that if it pleased his Highnesse to vouchsafe to heare him, he would satisfie him in all points; and suddenly he began to say, those things which the Grand Captaine sent him were alreadie presented, and over and above, that he had given him part of that Pepper which he brought with him for his expenses. Touching the goods sent unto him by the King of Portugall, the cause why they were not brought unto his Majestie was, because the Ambassadour which brought them, named Edward Galvan, deceased in Camaran, and besides that certaine Portugals deceased in the Ile of Delaca, among whom were the Factor and Interpreter, that should have delivered the same; and finally, the Grand Captaine, being not able to recover the Haven of Maczua, through contrary winds, returned into India, and from thence departed home unto Portugall; to the Captaine which succeeded in his place. The King of Portugall not knowing of the death of the said Edward, but thinking he had beene come to the Court of your Highnesse, gave no further Commission, but only to come into the Red Sea to destroy the Moores, and to harken after his Ambassadour; which Grand Captaine, doubting that he should bee able to recover no Haven, as at other times they could not, would not bring the goods which the King of Portugall had sent him which are preserved in India, layed up together, and that hee desired onely to conduct Matthew thither with him, that if it were his chance to recover any Haven on the Coast of the Abissini, hee might there put him on shoare, and afterward send him those goods. And because it pleased God, that they arrived at the foresaid Haven of Maczua, which is in his Territories, although it bee in the hands of the Moores, the Grand Captaine determined to send unto him himselfe, Don Roderigo with these goods and Peeces wherewith he had preserved him, and that he should come in company

with Matthew, onely to see him, and to learne the way against another time, when it should please him to send the Ambassador of the King of Portugall, and that Matthew was departed out of this life at the Monasterie of the Vision. At the end of this Answere, returned another Message; saying, If three were slaine in Delaca, how escaped Matthew? Hereunto it was answered, that Matthew escaped because hee would not stirre out of the ship. And the Ambassadour besought him very humbly, to vouchsafe to give him audience, because he should understand the truth, and that likewise, hee would deliver him in writing, that which the Grand Captaine had sent him by word of mouth, besides the Letters, and that by this meanes he should understand the whole matter. Questions and Answeres passed too and fro, without any conclusion, and so they dismissed us. The next day hee sent us great store of Bread, Wine and Flesh, and two men which said, that they had charge to give us every day our dyet and other necessaries.

Italian and Bohemian and other clockes, begin at evening, the reckoning of 24. houres, as wee of 12. at midday and midnight.

75. On Saturday the third of November, the Prete Janni sent for us, and we went at twentie foure of the clocke, and comming to the first gate or entrance, while we stayed a while, there came a message, that we should shoot off our Peeces, but without Bullets for hurting no bodie, and within awhile after, they let us come in, and we used the like respite that we did before, and comming in betweene the Gates and the Curtaines, where we stood at the first, we saw the place of the Bed very richly trimmed, and decked as before, and all behind and before, was covered with embroydered cloth, and the people were more richly arrayed, and stood on both sides all in a ranke with their naked Swords and Daggers in their hands, and placed, as though they had bin to fight one with another. There were two hundred Torches lighted on both sides standing in a ranke, as they did the other day, and when wee were come in he began to aske us questions, and send us Answeres by the Cabeata, and by a Page called Abdenago, which is Captaine of all the Pages, with these

his Messages he carryed his naked Sword in his hand, and the first which he brought was this, How many we were, and how many Harquebusses wee had brought? and strait way there came another; demanding, Who had taught the Moores to make Hand-gunnes, and great Ordnance, and whether they shot at the Portugals with them, or the Portugals at them, and who were most afraid of the Moores or the Portugals?

Divers Questions and Answeres.

Each of these Questions came at severall times, and we made a severall Answere unto each of them. And touching the feare of the great Ordnance, wee said, that the Portugals were so well armed in the Faith of Jesus Christ that they were not afraid of the Moores, and had they feared them, they would not have come so farre off, without any necessitie to seeke them. Touching the making of Calievers, and great Ordnance, they said, that the Moores were men, and that they had wit and understanding as well as any of us.

He sent to enquire whether the Turkes had good Artillery? The Ambassador answered, that their great Ordnance was as good as ours, but that wee were not one whit afraid of them, because wee fought for the faith of Jesus Christ, and they against the same. Then he demanded who had taught the Turkes to make great Ordnance? Wee answered him as before, to wit, that the Turkes were men, and had understanding and capacitie of men in all perfection, saving in the Faith. Then hee sent to know, whether there were any in our company that could play at Rapier and Dagger, for that he would gladly see them play. The Ambassador appointed George de Breu and another tall fellow to play, which both did very well, and performed as much as was to bee expected, of men exercised and trained up in Armes, and the Prete might very well behold them from behind the Curtaines, and tooke great pleasure at them, as we were informed.

Rapier and Dagger.

[II. vii. 1076.]

When they had done, the Ambassadour sent to Prete Janni, beseeching him to give him audience, and to understand the message which the Grand Captaine of the King

of Portugall had sent unto him, and that he would dispatch him, that he might returne to their Fleet against the time of their arrivall, and not to put him to any more expenses without profit. An answere was returned, that wee were but newly come thither, and had not seene one third part of his Lands and Dominions, and that we should take our pleasures: For assoone as the Grand Captaine should come to Maczua, he would send to speake with him, and then we should depart, and if the said Captaine would build a Fortresse in Maczua, or in Suachen, or in Zeila, that hee would see the same forth-with furnished all things necessary. And because the Turkes are many and we few, when such a Fortresse were builded with on the Red Sea, wee might very well finde out a way whereby wee might passe to Jerusalem, and the Holy Land with an Armie. The Ambassadour answered, that all these were the very things which the King of Portugall desired, and that still hee besought him to give him Audience, and if hee were minded not to give him audience, that hee might send to him the Grand Captaines Letters, and all the whole Message in writing, which he sent him to deliver by word mouth. He tooke order that all things should be interpreted and written in the Abissin Tongue, and sent unto him: which the Ambassadour did, requesting him instantly to give him his dispatch. After this, the Prete Janni sent him word, that Seeing hee had brought him a paire of Organes, he should send him one to play thereon, and to sing, and so hee did. Then hee desired that we should dance before him after our manner. When the Dance was done, wee signified unto him that we were Christians, & prayed him to give us leave to sing Masse after our custome, according to the Church of Rome. Suddenly we received an Answere, that He knew well that we were Christians, and that since the Moores which were wicked and trecherous had their Prayers after their manner, wherefore should not we have the same after ours? And that hee would send us all things necessarie thereunto. Assoone as wee were come to our Lodging, they brought us three hundred great

Playing, singing, and dancing.

Loaves of Bread, and twentie foure Jarres of Wine, and the Bearer told us, that there were thirtie Jarres appointed for us, but that the Porters on the way had broken sixe of them.

§. XII.

Of the Questions moved to the Ambassadour, by the appointment of Prete Janni, at severall times by Interlocutors, and lastly, in presence: wherein many points of their Religion are opened.

76. THe Sunday following many Questions came unto our Tent from Prete Janni, to the Ambassadour, and all of them were concerning the Armour which hee understood, that the King of Portugall had sent him, and whether it should bee sent him out of India. The Ambassadour said, that the Armour and all things else which the King had sent him, should come the yeare following, and that the Grand Captaine would either send them or bring them himselfe, and so hee sent him word, and wrote him his Letters. Then he willed our men to shoot with their Calievers, within the great hedge, and that certaine of his people should shoot also, and whether any of us could make Gun-powder? It was told him, that there was none that could make the same, but that the Grand Captaine would send men with their Instruments to make Salt-peeter, and that hee would bring Brimstone with him in his shippes. Hee said that Brimstone might bee found in his Kingdome, so that there were Masters to make Salt-peeter, and that his Armies wanted nothing else, but the use of Artillerie, and men to teach them to make the same, because hee was able to bring unto the field an infinite number of Harquebusses, wherewith hee might subdue all the Moorish Kings about him.

And to this purpose a certaine Genoues which lived in the Court, told me, that hee had considered, that more

Salt-peeter might be made in these Kingdomes, then in any other place of the World, by reason of the infinite number of Cattell which were there, and that heere bee also Mountaines that yeeld Brimstone. He sent us word afterward, that he would have us shew him how we did put on those white Armours, which the Grand Captaine had sent him. Our men forth-with armed one of the company, where he might well see him. Then he sent for the Swords and Curasses, which the Ambassador and his company had brought, that hee might view them.

Sight of the Host.

77. On Munday at Evening, he sent for me, Francis Alvarez, to bring the Hosts unto him, which he desired to see. I brought him eleven of them very well made, not in boxes or pixes, because I knew the great reverence which they use to their Hosts, which is one Cake onely. And these Hosts had a Crucifixe upon them, and therefore I carryed them in a very faire Dish of Porcellan [II. vii. 1077.] covered with Taffata. I brought him the Surplice, the Chalice, the Altar-stone, the Ampull; and he viewed all, piece by piece, and willed me to open the Cloth wherein the Altar-stone was (which was sewed in a white Cloth) and so he did: which when hee had seene he willed to be covered. This stone on the upper side was very smooth, square, and well made, and on the nether side was somewhat uneven, according to the nature, and proportion of stones. He sent me word, that seeing in Portugall there were so good Masons, why had they not polished it on that side also; saying, that the things which belonged unto Gods Service, ought to be perfect and not imperfect.

The night being come, he sent for me that I should come to his Tent, and willed I should come in, and so I did. They set me in the midst thereof, which was all spread on the ground with exceeding fine Carpets. I stood foure yards distant from Prete Janni, which sate behind those Curtaines: he commanded me to apparell my selfe, as if I should say Masse, which I did. When I was apparelled, he caused me to be asked, Who gave us that apparell, whether they were the Apostle, or some other

Who prescribed Massing Apparell.

Saints? I answered him, that the Church had taken it out of the Passion of Christ. He willed me to tell him what every one of those pieces signified; and so I beganne with every part, to shew him what they signified, according to the Passion of our Lord. And when I came to the Manipulum, I told him, that it was a little Cord, wherewith they bound the hands of Jesus Christ. Then comming to the Stole, I told him, that that signified the great Cord, which they cast about his necke to lead him this way and that way, and that the Planet signified the apparell which they put upon him, for to mocke him* withall; Which when I had ended, he said againe with a very loud voyce, that we were true Christians, because we knew the Passion of Christ so perfectly. And whereas I had said, that the Church had taken this out of the Passion of Christ, he demanded, which was that Church? Because we held two head Churches in Christendome, the first of Constantinople in Greece, and the second of Rome in France.[a] I answered him, there was but one Church: and though it were granted, that Constantinople was the head in the beginning, yet it ceased now to be, because the Head of the Church[b] is there where Saint Peter was; because Jesus Christ said; Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church. And when S. Peter was at Antiochia, the Church was there, because the Head was there, and when hee came to Rome hee abode still there, and there the Head shall alwayes bee: and this Church ruled by the Holy Ghost hath ordayned things necessary to say Masse. Moreover, I proved this Church unto him, telling him, that in the Articles of our Faith, which the Apostles made, the Apostle Simon[c] saith: I beleeve in[d] the holy Catholike Church. But in the great Creed which was made in the Nicene Councell by three hundred and eighteene Bishops, against the Heresie of Arrius, they say: I beleeve in one Catholike and Apostolike Church; and this is the holy Roman Church, wherein Saint Peter

The Mysteries of it.

* *Thus indeed is hee mystically mocked, when Scripture and Preaching was turned into Jesture, Vesture and bodily exercise: as at Rome and in Abassia.*

[a] *Of this see before, all Westerne Christendome called Frankes in the East. From the Holy Land Expeditions.*

[b] *A briefe of Popish Faith.*

[c] *Simon Zelotes.*

[d] *This word (in) is twice here put in by some other Romish Zelotes, cont. August. Serm. de Temp.* 131. *credere Ecclesiam non in Ecclesiam, quia Ecclesia non Deus &c. c.f.* 181. *De verb. Dom.* 61. *Trat. in Jo.* 29. *&c.*

sate, upon whom God founded his Church, as he saith. And Saint Paul, a chosen Vessell and Doctor of the Gentiles, calleth it Catholike and Apostolike,[e] because in it are all the Apostolike powers, which God gave to Saint Peter, and to all the rest of the Apostles of binding and loosing. They answered mee, that I gave a good reason for the Church of Rome; but what could I say for the Church of Constantinople, which belonged to Saint Marke, and for the Church of Greece, which belonged to Saint John the Patriarke of Alexandria? Hereunto I answered them, that their reason strengthened mine, because Saint Peter was Saint Markes Master, and he sent him into those parts, and so that neither Marke nor John[f] could plant any Churches, but onely in the name of him which had sent them, which Churches were members of the Head, which sent those Preachers, to which Head all Authorities were given. And many yeares after, when Saint Jerome, and many other holy men had separated themselves, they ordaind Monasteries of austere and holy life, wherein they might serve God, and that the said Monasteries could not be established without the Authoritie of the Apostolike Church, which is that of Rome; and how can they make Churches in prejudice of the chiefe Head, if they were not builded, and made by our Lord Jesus Christ? They yeelded hereunto, and the Interpreter said that Prete Janni tooke exceeding great pleasure hereat.

[e] *Where?*

[f] *And wherefore then did Christ send the Apostles to preach to all Nations?*

Monasteries.

Then they asked me whether in Portugall, the Priests were marryed? I told them, no. They demanded, whether we held the Councell of Pope Leo[g] which was made at Nice? I told them, yea, and that I had alreadie declared, that the great Creed was made there. They asked me againe, how many Bishops were then with the Pope? I answered, that I had alreadie told them, that there were three hundred and eighteene. They replyed

[g] *No deepe reading either of the Priest or the Abassen. For Leo lived (but was not present, nor by his Deputies President, above one hundred yeares after the Nicene Councell) when that of Chalcedon was held. In the former Sylvester and Julius were Bishops of Rome, not Callers, or Rulers of the Councell, wherein Paphnutius withstood that adulterate inforced continency. Soc. Ec. hist. l. 1. c. 8. Sozom. l. 1. c. 22. &c. The Author here confounds divers Councels.*

againe unto mee, that it was ordained in this Councell, that Priests might marrie, and if this Councell were sworne and confirmed, wherefore were they not marryed? I told them that I knew nothing else of that Councell, but that the Creed was made there, and that our Lady might be called the Mother of God.

Afterward, they told me many other things which there were ordained and sworne, which Pope Leo brake, and prayed me to tell them what they were: I answered them, that I knew them not, but that in mine opinion if he had broken any of them, they might be some of those, which concerned Heresie, which at that time was very great, but that he had approved things necessarie and profitable, and that otherwise he should not have beene allowed, and canonized for a Saint as he is. Againe, he asked me concerning the Marriage of Priests, inquiring of me, whether the Apostles were married? I told him, that I never had read in any Booke, that the Apostles had Wives after that they went in company with Jesus, and although Saint Peter had a Daughter, yet he had her by his wife, before he was an Apostle, and that Saint John the Evangelist was a Virgine: and that I had read, that after the death of Christ, the Apostles preached constantly the Faith in him, and doubted not to dye for the same: And that the Church of Rome, which is the true Church, hath ordained and confirmed, that after the imitation of the Apostles, no Priest should have a wife, to the end they should bee more cleane, and more pure in their consciences, and should not bee busied all their time in bringing up their children, and providing for their living. Hereunto answer was returned me, that their Bookes commanded,* that they should be married, and that Saint Peter said even so.

[II. vii. 1078.]

*Petronilla (as her age is calculated) must be younger then Peters Apostleship. But that Peter did not give over his Wife, appeares in Christs visiting it, and healing his wives mother: in his leading about a Sister (would be more suspicious) and the whole tenure of Scripture & antiquity. Here are both in extreames, and leave the truth for others to take up.

They caused me to sing Gloria in excelsis, and certaine Verses of the Creede. At this conference, an Interpreter stood continually, and hard by him the Frier, which had conducted us in our way. This Frier had beene sometimes in Italy, and understood a little Latine. The Prete Janni

caused him to be asked, whether he understood that which I spake? He answered him, yea, and that I had said, Gloria in excelsis, and the Creed, as they say it.

78. The night that I stayed so long with the Prete, before morning, the Ambassadour was robbed in the Tent where wee lodged, and they stole away two Cloakes of cloath, two rich Hats, seven fine Shirts, &c. In the morning, the Ambassadour willed me and the Secretary to go to the Tent of Prete, to complaine and crave Justice for this robbery, and so I did. But because the Ambassadour had taken two Theeves, therefore while we were before the Tent of the Prete, a Woman came crying and craving Justice, and said; That the Ambassadour and his Company, the last night, by meanes of an Arabian, that knew the language of the Countrey, had taken away her Daughter by force, and led her to their Tent, of whom they had had their pleasure. And because her Sonne complained for the forcing of his Sister, they had taken him with the Arabian, which had deceived the Maid, and laid to their charge that they were robbed. When they had heard us and this woman, they made us both all one answer, that is, that Justice should be done, and so they dismissed us. The same day, the Frier which was with me before the Prete, the night past, came with a rich Tent, but halfe worne, saying; That the Prete had sent us it to say Masse in, and that immediately it should be set up, because the next day was the Feast of the Angell Raphael, and that we should say Masse in it every day, and pray to God for him. This Tent was Embroidered, and of Velvet of Mecca, lined within with very fine Cloath of Chaut. They told me, that foure yeares before the Prete had wonne it in the warre, which he made against the King of Adel, who was a Moore, and Lord of Zeila, and Barbora: and the Prete sent us word, that we should hallow the same before wee said Masse in it, because of the sinnes committed therein by the Moores. The same night it was presently set up, and on the morrow, we said Masse therein, and all the Frankes which were in the Court, for

Theeves.

Cunning trick.

A Tent sent to say Masse in.

fortie yeares space, came thither to heare it, as also many people of the Countrey.

79. The eight of November, the Prete sent for us, and forthwith we repaired thither, the Ambassadour would needs carrie the Chests and bagges of Pepper, which hee had promised him. When we were come unto the entry of the first hedge, they held us with certaine frivolous questions, concerning the Negroes which we had taken, for the goods which they had stolne from us: and the demands continued so long, that in the meane while they sent to loose the said Negroes, without any conclusion or remedy for the theft, and the Prete sent us three hundred Loaves, and thirtie Jarres of Wine, and certaine victuals of flesh from his owne Table, and so we returned to our Tent. They sent another time for us, and when we were come, we stood a great while upon certaine questions, why we tooke not our way from the Sea coast, toward the Kingdome of Dancute, which is farre the neerer way: and seeing we were Servants to the King of Portugall, why wee had not Crosses marked in our flesh upon our shoulder, because such is their custome, that all the Servants of the Prete have a crosse marked upon their right shoulders? They asked farther: seeing we had given away our Pepper, wherewith we would buy our Victuals for our journey, &c.

80. The twelfth of November, the Prete sent us five very great and goodly Horses to our Tent, praying the Ambassadour to come with foure others of his company upon the said Horses, to skirmish before his Tent: and it was very late, and the Ambassadour was not very well pleased that it was so late and darke: but streight-way there were so many Torches lighted, that it was as light as day. And here they skirmished in such sort, that they delighted the Prete very much, which skirmish being ended, wee returned to our Tent; whither suddenly the Prete sent us three Jarres of Wine, much better then any he had sent us before. The next day, he sent to the Ambassadour a Cup of Silver, very curiously gilt, and made after our manner, as well in the foot, as in the Bowle.

Skirmish on horsebacke.

Gifts.

On the foote were the Apostles graven, standing upright, and in the Bowle were certaine Latine letters, containing these words: Hic est calix novi Testamenti: A cloath of Gold for the Altar of our Church, and a Bason and Ewer made of black-wood, with red and white veines, as faire as ever we saw, to powre water upon our hands, and sent us word, that we should send him all our names in writing. They were suddenly carried him: he sent backe to know, what Roderigo signified, and what Lima signified, and likewise what was the signification of all the other names. The cause of this demand was, because in this Countrey they never give any proper name, which hath not some signification. The next morning, in the Tent of the Ambassadour, there was another theft committed; for while George de Breu was a sleepe, he had a Cloake stolne that cost him twentie duckats, and from us also were stolne certaine bagges of stuffe, neither use they any diligence to cause these things to bee restored unto us, because (as wee have said) there is a Captaine of the Theeves, which for the setting of the Prete his Tents, hath no other reward, but such things as they steale. This day the Prete sent us a Saddle for a Horse, wholly beset with stones of Cornallin, (this Saddle, besides that it was very heavy, was also very badly made) saying, That the Ambassadour should ride thereon.

[II. vii. 1079.]

Signification of names.

Theevery.

81. The Saturday following, the Prete commanded all the Lords and great men of his Court, to goe and heare our Masse, which they also did the Sunday following; but there were farre more on the Saturday; for besides our Masse, we baptized also: and as farre as we could gather by their gestures, and as the Frankes told us which we found in this Countrey and the Interpreters which were with us, they marveiled much, and greatly praised our service; saying, That they could not speake against it, but onely because we gave not the Communion to all those that were present at the same, and likewise to those which were baptized. The eighteenth of the said moneth, the Prete sent for me, and moved many questions unto me, and

among others, how many Prophets had prophesied of the comming of Christ. I answered him, that in my judgement all of them had spoken of the same, to wit; one of his comming, another of his Incarnation, another of his Passion and Resurrection; all which concerned Christ. Likewise, how many bookes Saint Paul had made? I answered him, That it was one Booke onely, divided into many parts, that is to say, Into many Epistles. Hee asked me likewise, how many Bookes the Evangelists had made? And I made him the same answer. Also, he asked, whither we had a Booke divided into eight parts, which all the Apostles, being gathered together at Jerusalem, had written, which they call Manda and Abetilis? I answered, that I never had heard of any such Booke, and that it was not to be found amongst us. Hee said, That they observed all the Commandements written therein.

A strange Booke fathered upon all the Apostles.

82. On a Tuesday, we were sent for unto the Prete, and it was the nineteenth of November, and being come to the first gate or entry, we stayed a great while, the weather being verie cold, and the night well spent. Then we entred with the like pauses and stayes, as we had used twice before, and there was a farre greater assembly then before. And the greatest part had their weapons. There were also a great number of Candles and Torches light before the gates, so that it seemed as light as day, neither made they us to waite any long while, but that the Ambassadour and nine of us Portugals went suddenly in, even hard unto the first Curtaines: which when we had passed, we found others farre richer, and those also we passed, where wee found certaine rich and great Thrones, covered over with rich Tapistry. Before these Thrones, hung other Curtaines of farre greater riches, which they opened on both sides, wee standing neere unto them. And heere we saw the Prete Janni sitting upon a skaffold, very richly adorned with sixe steps to ascend thereunto. He had upon his head an high Crowne of Gold and Silver, that is to say; One piece of Gold, and another piece of Silver, and a Crosse of Silver in his hand. His face was

Admitted to the sight of the Prete.

The habite and stature of Prete Janni.

covered with a piece of Blew Taffata, which was to bee mooved up and downe, so that sometimes all his face was seene, and sometimes all covered. On his right hand stood a Page, cloathed in Silke, with a Crosse of Silver in his hand, whereon certaine Pictures were engraven, standing upright, which from the place where we stood, we could not perfectly discerne: but afterward I had this Crosse in my hand, and saw those Images. The Prete was apparelled with a rich garment, Embroydered with Gold, and his Shirt was of Silke, with wide sleeves, which were like unto a Surplice. Before him downeward, hee was girded with a rich cloath of Silke and Gold, like the Rochet of a Bishop spread abroad, and he sate in Majestie, after the manner that they paint God the Father upon the wals. Besides the Page which held the Crosse, there stood on each side another Page in like apparell, each of them holding a naked sword in their hands.

His person described.

In his age, colour, and stature, he seemeth to be young. Hee is not very blacke, but of the colour of a Chest-nut, or of ruddy Apples, which are not very Tawny, and sheweth a great grace in his colour and countenance, and is of a meane stature, and is said to be three and twentie yeares old, and so he seemeth to be. Hee hath a round visage, great eyes, an Hawkes nose, and his beard began to bud. In his presence and pompe, he seemeth to be a great Lord, as in very deed he is. We stood the space of two speares length from him: questions and answeres passed too and fro, and all by the Cabeata. On every side of this Throne, stood foure Pages in rich array, every one holding a burning Torch in his hand. When these questions and answers were ended, the Ambassadour delivered the Grand Captaines Letters to the Cabeata, which were translated into the Abyssin tongue, and he presented them to the Prete, who read them very readily, and when he had read them, he said: As these be the Letters of the Grand Captaine, so would to God they had beene the Letters of the King of Portugall his Father; howbeit, that these Letters were most welcome unto him,

[II. vii. 1080.]

and that he gave God most hearty thankes, for having granted that great gift unto him, to behold that which his Ancestors had never seene, neither did he thinke he should have seene himselfe, and that his desires should be fully accomplished, if the King of Portugall would build Fortresses upon the Ile of Maczua, and in the Towne of Suachen; because he doubted greatly, that the Turkes our enemies would fortifie in them, which if it came to passe, they would greatly disturbe both him and us Portugals: and for this purpose he would give us all things necessarie, as well people to worke, as Gold and Victuals: and to be short, whatsoever wee should stand in need of: And that in his opinion, besides the building of the said Forts, it was needfull to take the Citie of Zeila, and to build a Fort in the same, because it is a place which aboundeth with all kind of Victuals: and having taken this Citie, they might make sure worke, that no Victuals should passe to the Cities of Aden, Zidem, Mecca, and into all Arabia; and unto Toro and Suez: which Townes being deprived of these Victuals, should be in a manner undone, seeing they cannot have Victuals but onely from these parts: that he would binde himselfe to finde all kind of Victuals, Gold and People, to defray all this charge, and for our Fleete: And on condition, that some meanes might be found to open a way, whereby hee might joyne himselfe with Christian Princes, he would spare nothing that he had in the world. And in this discourse of taking these Townes, and making of these Forts, we spent a great time with exceeding great delight of the Prete.

This thing is now too truly come to passe.

83. The next day, being the twentieth of November, I was called for by the Prete, and among others, he moved these questions; that I should declare unto him the lives of Saint Jerome, and Saint Dominicke, and Saint Francis, and of what Countrey they were, and wherefore in the Letters of the Grand Captaine mention was made, that the King of Portugall had builded Churches unto these Saints, in the Townes which he had taken in the Kingdomes of Congo, Benin, and of the Indies. I answered, that Saint

Jerome was borne in Sclavonia, and Saint Dominicke in Spaine, and gave him large information of their orders, referring my selfe to the Booke which I had of their lives. Suddainly there came an answere, that I should shew him the lives of these Saints, seeing that I said that I had them. After this, they came with another question, whether wee did all things that the Pope commanded us? I said, yea: for so wee were bound by the Article of our holy Faith, which confessed One holy and Catholike Church. Hereupon they answered me, that if the Pope would command them any thing which the Apostles had not written, they would not doe it: and likewise if their Abuna or Patriarke would commaund them any such thing, they would burne such a Commandement. After this, came another question, Why there are not so many bodies of Saints in Ethiopia, as there be in Italy, Germany, and France? I answered him, That in those Provinces many Emperours had raigned, whose Ministers being Pagans, were very cruell, and that they which were converted to the Faith of Christ, were so constant in the same, that they chuse rather to dye for it, then to worship Idols, and that therefore there were so many Martyrs and Virgins. Touching this point an answer was returned, that I said the truth, which he greatly delighted to heare so plainly delivered, and asked whether we knew, How long it was since Ethiopia received the Christian Faith? I sent him word, that I thought, that within a short time after the death of Christ, this land was converted by the Eunuch of the Queene Candaces, which was baptized by *the Apostle Saint Philip. An answere was sent me, that by this Eunuch there was no more converted but the Country of Tigrai, which is in Ethiopia, and that the rest was converted by force of Armes; as also he proceedeth in daily converting of divers Kingdomes by the said force of Armes, and that the first conversion of the Queene Candaces, was ten yeares after the death of Christ, and that from that time unto this present, it had beene converted by Christians, &c.

The Pope belike is Church and all.

**It was Philip the Deacon.*

Most part of Ethiopia converted by force of Armes.

84. The next day, the Prete sent for my Booke, which

is called, Flos Sanctorum, saying; That I should shew them the lives of the said Saints: I sent him my Booke, which presently they sent me backe againe by two Friers, saying, That the Prete willed them to write the name of every Saint, in the Abissin tongue, and to place the same upon every figure. The next day, the said Friers were with their Booke to translate these lives. I durst not go to speake with the Prete, unlesse I carried with me the Booke of the Kalender, because they asked me the day of every Saint, and would needs have me tell it them immediatly. On Saint Katherines day, being Sunday, the Prete sent certaine Canons and Priests, which (a Venetian Painter, called Nicholas Brancaleon, which had lived above fortie yeares in this Countrey, and understood the Abyssin tongue, was their Interpreter) and that every thing was excellently well handled, saying, That one alone said Masse, and that they gave not the Communion to all the standers by.

Single Communion misliked.

This very day being Sunday, when wee were gone to bed, the Prete sent for us, and being come unto the first Curtaines, he caused us all to put on our best apparell, and to come into the presence of the Prete, who sate upon his Throne in the very same sort that he sate before. And here he talked with us of many matters, and among other things, that the Frankes which were in his Court might depart this Realme, when it pleased them, and the Ambassadour also with his Company, and that one Franke should stay behind, called Nicholas Muzza, by whom hee would send his Letters, which were to be made in Gold, and that therefore he could not write so soone.

They come againe into the Pretes presence.

§. XIII. [II. vii. 1081.]

Of the Progresse of Prete Janni. Their Wrestling, Baptisme, Masse passage; of the dangerous Straits comming to Saint Georges Church. Many other Questions. The Pretes preparations in his Travell.

85. THe five and twentieth of the said moneth of November, the Prete remooved in this order. He mounted on Horse-backe with two Pages onely, and passed before our Tent, skirmishing and managing of his horse. And suddenly a brute went through the Campe, that the Negus was departed. And every man hastned to follow after as fast as they could. He caused fiftie Mules to bee delivered us, thirtie five to carrie our Meale and Wine, and fifteene to carrie our other Stuffe, with certaine slaves, and we were recommended to a certaine Lord, called Ajaz Raphael. Ajaz is the title of his Lordship, and Raphael his name, who gave us every day an Oxe. Wee departed, and on the Wednesday came unto the Court, and lodged in a great open field upon a Rivers side: Eftsoones, there came a very honorable Frier to visit us, which is the chiefe of the Kings Secretaries, and a great Divine, and also the Nebret of the Friers of Chaxumo, and said, that hee came to visit us on behalfe of his Lord.

86. The second of December, Lazarus de Andrada, our Portugall Painter, being neere the Kings Tent, was asked whether he would wrastle; and hee wrastled, misdoubting no danger at all: and at the first bowt his legge was broken, he brake another Portugals arme. This Wrastler of the Prete, was called Gabmariam, which signifieth, The Servant of Mary, and was a Moore, and is broad-shouldred, and a strong fellow, and worketh cunning with his hand in Silke and Gold. This day came newes from his Grand Betudete, which was in Warre against a King of the Moores, that he had vanquished him;

and sent much Gold and slaves, and the heads of certaine great men which he had slaine.

At this time one Master Peter Cordiero a Genoues, had a Sonne borne of his Wife, which was a Negro, who requested me to baptize him within eight dayes, because they baptize not their male children before the end of fortie dayes. I baptized this childe the tenth of December, and thither repayred great store of people, and those of the most honourable and principall of the Court.

Baptising of a childe.

87. Departing from this Countrey, we tooke our journey by that way, by which wee came unto the Court. And so great was the throng of people which travelled on all sides, that for ten or twelve miles space, the people were so neere one another, that it seemed to bee the Procession on Corpus Christi day: and scarcely the tenth part are well apparelled. The rest are all clad in skinnes and other base apparell, and carrie all their riches with them, which are onely certaine pots to make Wine in, and Dishes to drinke in. And if they make no long journey, these base people, carrie their poore Cottages all whole and covered as they are, and if they goe any long journey they carrie nought but the rafts onely, which are certaine small Poles; and the rich men cause their Tents to be carryed with them, which are very good and of great price. I speake not of the great Gentlemen and Lords; for with every one of them is mooved as it were a Citie or a good Towne, as namely, their Tents carryed partly upon slaves backes, and partly upon Mules. We Portugals, and the Frankes have oftentimes considered the number of these Mules, and take them to be above fiftie thousand. The Horses are but few, for albeit there are very faire ones, yet because they know not how to shooe them, they quickly marre their feet: and if the Prete travell any long journey, all the Townes are full of furbated Horses, which are faine to follow softly after. The Mules of carriage are innumerable, and they ride as well on Male as Female Mules. There are great store of Hacknies which carrie burthens, and yet their feet are not furbated as the Horses be.

Multitude of people.

Very poore.

Above 50000. Mule in the traine of Prete Janni.

Few good horses because they cannot shooe them.

There are many He-asses more serviceable then Hacknies. They make many Oxen also to carrie burthens, and in the plaine and Champaigne Countries, the Camels carrie burthens.

88. The Prete seldome travelleth in the high way, neither doth any man know whither hee goeth; but the Altar-stones, that is, their Churches, which are thirteene doe keepe the high way, although the Prete goe out of the way, and all the people commeth after in the way, untill they find a white Tent set up, and straite way every man taketh up his lodging in his place, and many times the Prete comes not to this Tent, but lyeth in Monasteries and other Religious Houses. In this Tent which is erected, they use continually to sing and play upon Instruments, as though the Prete were there in person, but not so cunningly as when he is there present. The Altar-stones are carryed with great reverence, and alwayes by Priests that say Masse, and there be foure of them which carrie the same on their shoulders upon a square Table, and foure Priests come behind to change courses in carrying of the same. They are covered with rich Embroydered Clothes and cloth of Silke, and two Clerkes goe before with a Censor and a Crosse, and another goeth ringing with a small Bell, and every man and woman that heareth the same, goeth out of the way: and if hee bee on horse-backe hee strait-way lighteth, and giveth place, that the Church may passe. Likewise there alwayes goe with the Court foure Lions, each of them led with two Chaines, one before and another behind, and every bodie maketh roome for them. We wayted on the Court till the twentieth of December, and came unto those terrible Mountaines where the gates are, whereby we passed when we came first into the Countrey, and there they lodged us.

Thirteene moveable Court Churches.

Altar-stones carryed by Priests.

[II. vii. 1082.]

After that the Tents of the Prete were erected, strait-way they beganne to make a very high Scaffold neere one of his Tents, because the Prete would shew himselfe to his people on Christmas day. And commonly he sheweth himselfe thrice a yeare, that is to say, on Christmas day,

The cause why Prete Janni sheweth himselfe to the people thrice a yeare.

on Easter day, and on Holy Rood day in September. And the cause why he thus sheweth himselfe thrice, is, because his Grand-father, whose name was Alexander, was kept three yeares secret after his death by his Servants, who governed the Countrey all the meane-while: for untill that time, none of the people might see their King, neither was he seene of any, but a few of his Servants. And at the request of the people, the Father of this David shewed himselfe these three dayes, and this King also doth the like: They also say, that when he goeth to warre, he alwayes goeth open, that all men may see him, and also when he travelleth.

89. On Christmas Evening at after-noone, the Prete called for me, and asked mee what Feast kept the day next following? I sent him word, wee kept the Feast of the Nativitie of Christ. He asked me, what Solemnitie we used? I answered, that we kept our usuall manner, and the solemnitie of three Masses. Hee said, that they did all things like unto us, save that they used but one Masse, and willed me to stay one of those three Masses which I would my selfe. Six of us went and we prolonged the Mattins with Lessons, Hymnes, Psalmes, and Prophesies, and searched all such things as wee could best sing and thunder out: and the Prete never departed from the gate of his Tent, which was as I have said, neere unto our Church: and two Pages never ceased to goe and come, and to inquire what it was the which we sung, specially when they perceived us to change the tune of the Psalmes, Hymnes, and Responsories. When this was done, and one man confessed, it began to be broad day, and I sent them word, that I would say Masse, and strait way we began a Procession, with a Crosse carryed up before us, and an Image of our Lady, and two Torches about the Crosse: and wee beganne the Procession neere the Circle within our Tent. Suddenly the Prete sent unto us to make our Procession about his Tents, and sent us foure hundred great Candles of white Waxe, to carry them lighted before us, and would have us beginne our Proces-

sion with our Portugals, and the white people, and that his owne people should follow after. When the Procession was ended, which reached a great Circuit, wee began our Asperges, and I went to give Holy Water to Prete Janni, which I might easily fling from our Church, because he was neere unto us. There were with him, as I was informed, the Queene his Wife, Queene Helena his Mother, and the Cabeata, with other his familiar friends. In the Tent of our Church stood all the great Nobles and Lords of the Court, which could stand in the roome, and the rest stood without: and from our Altar unto the Prete his Tent all the way was open, because he desired to see the whole Service of the Masse.

90. The Procession, Masse, and Communion being ended, the Ambassadour and all the rest of his company were permitted to goe home unto their Dinner, and I onely with mine Interpreter was stayed behind. Strait way that old Father, the Kings Schoole-master came unto mee, and said, that the Prete Janni greatly commended our Service, but desired to know what reason we had to suffer the Lay-people to enter into the Church, as well as the Clergie, and that hee was informed, that women also came into the Church. I answered him that the Church of God was not shut up against any Christian, and that if Christ stood alwayes with open armes to receive all that come unto him into his glory in Paradise, why should not wee receive them into the Church, which is the way to passe into Paradise? and as touching women, although in old time they entred not into Sancta Sanctorum, yet the merits of our Lady were such and so great, that they were sufficient to deserve, that the feminine sexe might enter into the House of God.

Merits of our Lady for women.

They sent me word, that they had fourescore and one Bookes of the old and new Testament, and would know whether we had any more, or no? I sent them word, that wee had above ten times fourescore and one Bookes, which were drawne out of the aforesaid Workes, with many and more perfect Expositions. They told mee that they knew

Bookes of Scripture.

well, that wee had more Bookes then they, and therefore he desired me to tell him the names of those which they had not. And so they held me with Questions and Answeres untill night, with Messengers that ceased not to trot up and downe. I stood on my feet leaning upon a staffe, and Questions came unto mee not onely from the Prete Janni, but also from his Wife and from his Mother Queene Helena: and I answered them as God assisted me. At length, I became so wearie and hungry, that I could not stand any longer upon my legs, and they gave mee leave to depart. I was no sooner gone away, but a Page came running after me, and said, that the Prete requested mee very instantly to give him the Canopie that was over my head, praying me to pardon him, that he had stayed me so long without meat, and requested me so soone as I had dined, to returne unto him, because he desired to know other things of me. After I was come to our Tents, and had scarce dined, there came a message unto mee to pray mee to returne, and so I was constrained to goe thither, and brought them with me which had sung Masse, and there we sung a Complen, as well as we could. And the Prete with the Queene continually shewed exceeding great attentivenesse.

[II. vii. 1083.]

The Service being ended, he commanded the Tent of the Church to be taken downe, because he meant to depart that night to passe those bad passages, which are on these mightie high Mountaines whereof we have spoken before, and so hee did: for at mid-night wee heard a great noyse of Horses and Mules, and every body saying, The Negus marcheth. And forthwith wee put our selves in order, and followed him. And when we came to the first passage, we were constrayned with Lances to make our way behind and before us, so great was the furie and the throng, and the multitude of people which pressed us behind. Wee travelled till wee over-tooke the Kings Tents, which were pitched in the midst of those great Trenches, which are betweene the Rivers before mentioned: heere wee rested untill mid-night, and till the Prete beganne againe to

Remove at mid-night.

march, and we with him: and before morning, we were gotten out of those ill passages. And we heard afterward, that the same night in those passages there perished very many men, women, Asses, Mules, and laden Oxen: and in this second passage, called Aquiafaghi, as wee have said before, it was told mee that a great Lady being upon a Mule, beeing led by two of her Servants, all of them being tyed together, fell downe from that great heigth, and were torne in pieces before they came to the bottome: so terrible and fearefull are those Rockes and downefals, that it seemes they goe downe to Hell, to him that beholdeth them. This was our journey without keeping holy the Octave of Christmas, which in that Countrey is not observed. I have said before, that the Court stayed in other places five or sixe dayes in remooving, but at these passages they stayed three weekes, and the stuffe of the Prete was above a moneth in passing, although they passed every day.

Horrible down fals.

Octaves not observed.

91. The eight and twentieth of December, 1520. we drew neere unto a Church which wee saw before, as we came into the Countrey, but we were not thereat, which is called S. Georges, under which they set up the Pavilion of the Prete, and we lodged in our appointed place. The next day very early, the Prete sent to call us, and signified unto us that wee should see the Church, which is great and all painted round about, the walls and paintings are very convenient, where are many goodly Histories well set forth, and made in due proportions by a Venetian, called Nicholas Brancaleon, of whom we spake before, and here his name is so put downe in writing, although in this Countrey they call him Marconius. The walls which are without the body of the Church, and meet under the covered circuit, which is like a Cloyster, were all covered from top to the bottome with whole pieces of Embroydered Cloth, of Velvets, and other rich Cloth of Silke. When we came into the gate of the open circuit, and were entring into the covered circuit, they caused the Clothes to be lifted up, which were hanged over the principall gate, which seemed to bee covered over with plates, which at the first

Saint Georges Church.

Riches thereof.

blush wee tooke to be of Gold, because they told us so; but when we came neerer, wee perceived, that they were but plates of Silver, but gilt over, and it was laid so cunning as well upon the gates, as in the Windowes, that it could not be mended.

The Cabeata, which is so great a Lord, was the man that went with us and shewed us every thing. And the Prete also was present, but environed with his Curtaines: yet when we passed by him he might see us and we him. Whereupon when he saw us, hee could not containe himselfe, but needs he must send to know of us, what we thought of that Church and of those paintings. We answered him, that they seemed unto us to bee things that belonged to a great Lord and King, which answere pleased him not a little. The roofe or covering of this Church is framed upon thirtie six Pillars of wood, which are very thicke, and as high as the Masts of Gallies, and covered all over with Wainscot, which are painted, like as all the wals round about.

Foure rich Canopies of state.

After divers fashions, hoping that I should have beene dispatched, there were fetched out of the Church foure great and rich Canopies, which so soone as I saw them, I greatly wondred at although before I had seene many great and rich ones in India, which doe shadow those Kings, but none of that greatnesse and richnesse, whereat they rejoyced that brought them, and ranne to tell it unto the Prete, who suddenly sent for me unto him, and standing in the gate of his Pavilion with the Frankes, which remayned in the Court, he willed them againe to be shewed unto one in their presence, commanding me to view them well, and to tell him what I thought of them. I answered him, that they were exceeding faire, and that I never had seene in India, where many of the Kings use them, neither fairer, nor richer. Then he commanded, that they should be set up on the ground against the Sunne, so that they made a shadow like unto a Tent, and willed them to tell me, that when he travelled, and would rest himselfe and his wife together, he rested himselfe under the shadow of one of

those Canopies, and tooke his repast, and slept under the same. These Canopies might well be of the bignesse of a great Cart-wheele, so that ten men might well stand under the shadow of one of them, & were covered all over with Silk. After all these Questions and Answeres, hee sent to know what wee desired most to drinke, whether Wine of Grapes or of Honey, or of Zauna, which is made of Barley. His travelling was after this manner: he rode uncovered aloft, with a Crowne upon his head, compassed with redde Curtaines, very long and high: onely behind him and on both sides, and he was in the midst. They which carryed the said Curtains, were on the outside of the same, & bare the same aloft upon smal Speares. Within the said Curtaines goe six Pages, which they call Lagameneos, which signifieth, Pages of the head, because the Mule which the Prete rideth on, hath a very faire ornament above her bridle, which hath in the cheekes of the bridle, two Cordons of Silke with goodly Tassels, and one of these Cordons, one Page holdeth on one side, and another on the other side, which lead the Mule, as it were by the head: then follow two other Pages likewise, one on the one side, and another on the other side, which lay their hands on the necke of the Mule, and two follow after in the same manner with their hands upon the buttockes, almost upon the Crouper. Without the Curtaines and before the Prete March twentie of the Principall Pages in very good array, and before the said Pages goe sixe Horses, very faire and richly furnished, each of them being led by foure men, very well apparelled, to wit, two by the head, & two behind, with their hands upon the Crouper, in such sort as the Prete his Mule was led. And before these Horses goe sixe Mules, sadled and very well furnished, and every one of them likewise have foure men to lead them as the Horses were led. And before the said Mules, goe twentie principall Gentlemen riding upon other Mules, with their fine Serges* about their bodies. And then wee Portugals went before the said Gentlemen, for this place was appointed unto us. Neither may any Footmen or Horse-

[II. vii. 1084.]

Divers Wines.

The manner of the Pretes riding in progresse.

**Bedene.*

men, either on horse-backe or upon Mules approach neere him by a great distance, for there bee Curriers which alwayes runne before upon horsebacke, and if their Horses be tyred, they light and take others, which cause the people to stand out of the way, so that there is no bodie to be seene in the way. The Betudetes march with their Guard a great distance out of the way, and one goeth on the one side, and another on the other, at the least a Caleever-shot distance off: and if the way be Champaigne, sometimes they goe a mile and an halfe off, according to the qualitie of the Countrey. And if the way bee rockie and strait, and so continue any long space, and that it bee necessary that every man must passe that way, the said Betudetes divide themselves a mile and an halfe asunder, and one goeth before, to wit, hee which is on the right hand, and hee on the left hand commeth behind, with each of which Officers may be about sixe thousand persons, and as I said before with these men alwaies goe foure Lions chained with great Chaines, both before and behind. They march also which carrie the Churches and the Altar-stones, whereunto they doe great honour and reverence. Another thing the Prete carryeth with him whithersoever he goe, for hee never stirreth without it, which are one hundred Jarres of Wine of Honey, and as many of Wine of Raisins, every one of which Jarres may containe sixe or seven draughts of Wine, and they are as blacke as Jet, and are very smooth and finely made with a cover of Earth, and then stopped up, and no man dare bee so hardie as to come neere or to take any of them without the Prete his licence. They carrie likewise one hundred Paniers painted over and closed, full of Wheaten bread, and these came after the Prete, not farre distant from him, and they carry them in a ranke, and they came one after another, that is to say, first a Jarre, and then a Panier, and behind them came sixe men which are as it were Stewards of the house. And when they are come to the Prete his Pavilion, they unlade all these things, and carry them in, and afterward he sendeth some part thereof to whom he pleaseth.

Curriers.

Betudetes with great guards.

The Priests.

§. XIIII.

How the Prete came to the Church of Macham Celacem, and of the Procession wherewith they received him; Divers Messages: Their twelfth Baptisme of the Abunas Circumcision, Orders, Consecration of the Church and Translation of Nahu. Divers Questions and Discourses.

93. THe first of January, 1521. we came unto a great Church, which when wee came that way first, and passed neere the same, they would not suffer us to see. The Church is called Machan Celacem, which signifieth, The Trinitie. Three miles before wee came at the Church, the Prete commanded eight Horses well furnished to be given unto us, wherewith we should ride before him skirmishing, managing and turning our Horses far better then they could, whereat he took great delight. When we were come within a mile of the Church, there came forth an infinite multitude of people to receive us, and there were so many Crosses, Priests and Friers of divers Monasteries and Churches, that they could not be numbred, and to our judgement they were above thirtie thousand. And we thought that the Friers came from farre Countries, because in this Kingdome of Amera, there were no Monasteries, because all the great Churches are the burials of their Kings. There were above two hundred with Miters, which are made like unto great and high hoods of Silke. And likewise sixtie foure Canopies of those great ones, which might well be told, because they carried them aloft above the people: but they were not so faire and rich, as those of the Church of Saint George. All these Canopies belonged unto Churches, where Kings were buried, because at their death they leave the same unto them. This great multitude of people assembled, belonged partly to the Churches and Monasteries, and part of them were of the Countrey, which came to see the

Machan Celacem.

[II. vii. 1085.]

Two hundred Mitred.

The Prete rode open.

Prete, who rid all open, whom they never saw ride so before.

The Prete having lighted at the Church, and having made his Prayers, returned to his Pavilion, and straightway sent for me, and willed that the Ambassadour and his Company should goe to their lodging. Heere he demaunded of me, What I thought of this great meeting and entertainment, which was given unto him by this great multitude, and whether the King of Portugall had any such great entertainment, and of so great number of people? And that this people were farre more then they seemed to be, because the most part of them were naked, and therefore appeared not to the beholders so many as they are, and that our people in France are well apparelled, and in order, and seeme to be many more then they be; and that I should goe rest me with the Ambassadour, whom I met upon the way. Againe, hee sent me word, that this Church was newly built, and that there was never any Masse said in it, and that it was the Custome, that as many as entred thereinto, should give some offering, and that the Ambassadour should give his Weapons, and I should give my Cap which I wore, and likewise each man should give somewhat.

Custome of offering in Churches.

94. The day following, the Prete sent us word, that we should come and see the foresaid Church, whither he was gone before. This Church is very great and high, and the Wals are of white stone, wrought with Iron Chizels, with very goodly worke, upon which they lay no Transames, because they would not beare them, for the stones are not joyned one with another, nor seamed together, but onely laid one upon another, without any Ligaments or firmenesse: and they seeme very faire, to a man that knoweth not how they are framed within. The chiefe gate is made all of plates, as the gate of the Church of Saint George is, and betweene these plates are counterfeit stones, and Jewels set with very good Pearles, all very well set in. Above the wall of the principall gate, are two Pictures of our Lady: very reverendly, and well

Description of the Church.

made, with two Angels, all drawne with Pensill. They say, that a certaine Frier drew them very lively, and I my selfe was acquainted with that Frier. In this Church are three Iles built upon sixe Columnes, and the said Columnes are built of pieces of Free-stone, laid one upon another, and very well wrought: and the circuit without, and covered like a Cloyster, is built upon sixe Columnes of Wood, as great as the Masts of Gallies, and very high, and upon the said Columnes, is Timber laid very flat, which maketh a very thicke Roofe; and doubtlesse, it is a wonderfull thing to thinke, how these people which are without any great wit, were able to set up these Pillers of Wood which are so high. About the Church are sixteene Curtaines hanged, running which way so ever you will, and they are as deepe as the whole piece is, which are Embroydered Cloathes, very rich and stately, and every Curtaine is of seventeene pieces fastned together.

Artlesse people.

Curtaines.

95. The fourth of January, the Prete sent us word, that wee should remoove our Tent, and our Church, and should cause it to bee carried a mile and an halfe from thence, where they had made a Poole like a Pond or Lake, full of Water, wherein they went to baptize themselves upon twelfth day, because this is their custome to baptize themselves every yeere, on the same day that Christ was baptized. And so the next day being the Vigil, we went and saw a great circuit enclosed with an hedge in a very large field, and they sent to know, whether we would be baptized or no? I sent them word, that the manner of our Church was to baptize us once only in our Infancy.

Prete Janni useth to be baptized once a yeare: as also his subjects.

All that night an exceeding great number of Priests, ceased not to sing, untill the morning over the said Lake, saying, that they blessed the said Lake. About midnight they beganne the baptisme, and they say (which I beleeve also to be true) that the first which was baptized, was the Prete, and next unto him the Patriarke, Abuna Marke, and the Queene the Prete his Wife. And these three persons had cloathes about their privities, but all the rest were starke naked, as they came into the world: And about

the rising of the Sunne, when the baptisme was in the greatest heate, the Prete sent for me to come and see him, I went thither, and stayed there till three of the clock, to see how they were baptized, and they placed me at an end of the said Lake, over against the Prete, and they were baptized in this manner.

The manner of the baptisme of these people.

The Lake hath a great bottome, and it is plaine, and cut into the ground, very right downe and square, and boorded round about, and in the bottome with Plankes, and over those Plankes, it is covered with course Cotton-cloath, made like a Cerf-cloath. The Water was conveyed thither by a little Gutter, such as they use to Water Gardens withall, and ranne into the Lake through a Pipe, at the mouth whereof hung a great Sacke, to straine the Water which ranne into the Lake. And at my comming thither, the Water ceased running, because it was already full of Holy Water, whereinto they had cast Oyle. This Lake had on the one side five or sixe steppes, and over against them about sixe yards distant, was made a little enclosure of wood, wherein stood the Prete, which had a Curtaine of blue Sindall before him, being halfe slit in twaine, and through this slit he might see those that were baptized, for his face was turned toward the Lake: in which stood that old Father, the Schoole-master of the Prete, with whom I had conference on Christmas day at night. This old man was naked as hee came out of his Mothers wombe, and almost dead for cold, because that night was a great Frost, and hee stood in the water up to the shoulders, for of that depth the Lake was where they entred, which were to be baptized, downe by the said steps starke naked with their backes toward the Prete, and when they went out, they shewed their fore-parts as well women as men. These people came neere to the said Schoole-master, and he laid his hand upon their heads, and thrust them downe thrice under the water; saying, in his owne Language: I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, crossing of them in stead of blessing. And if they were little children, they

[II. vii. 1086.]

A great Frost.

Three dippings.

went not downe all the said steps, but the said Schoolemaster came unto them, and dipped them downe after the manner aforesaid. And as I have said, I stood on the other side over against the Prete, so that when he saw their backes, I saw the fore-parts of those which were baptized.

This Poole or Lake, was compassed and covered with Tents of divers colours, so well placed and ordered with such store of boughes of Orenge-trees, Limons, and Citrons, that it seemed to be an exceeding faire Garden. The great Tilt that hung over the said Lake was very long, and all full of red and blue crosses of Silke, which gave a great grace thereunto.

The Abuna.

96. The next day after the baptisme, I went to visit the Abuna, whom till then I had neither spoken withall, nor seene, but onely at the Baptisme, beeing almost dead for cold, where I could not speake unto him. He tooke exceeding pleasure at my visiting of him, and would not let mee kisse his hand, but rather would have fallen downe upon the ground to kisse my feet. And being set downe upon a Couch, the beginning of his speech was, that he gave most heartie thankes to God for our meeting together, and that hee conceived exceeding great pleasure when those things were told him, which I had so often spoken unto Prete Janni, and especially concerning that Baptisme, in that I had uttered the truth so freely in his presence, wherein hee would not beleeve the Abuna himselfe, because he alone was of that opinion, and that if he had one companion or two to helpe to backe him in telling of the truth, that hee would draw the Prete from many faults and errours, wherein he and all his people were plunged. And while we were talking of this matter, there came in a white Priest, the Sonne of a Gibete, that is to say, of a white man borne in this Countrey, and he asked me why we were not circumcised, seeing that Christ was circumcized? I answered him, that it was true, that Christ was circumcised, and that he would have it so, because he would fulfill the Law, which at that time was

His courtesie.

Circumcision is used in the Countrey of Prete Janni.

used, because hee would not be accused before the time for breaking of the Law, but that shortly after, hee commanded that Circumcision should cease. This Priest forth-with replyed, that he was the Sonne of a Franke, and that his Father would not suffer him to be circumcized, and that when he came to the age of twentie yeares after the death of his Father, on an Evening going to bed uncircumcised, the next morning he found himselfe circumcised: and how might this come to passe, if God would not have Circumcision? I answered him, that this was a notable deceit: for though it were granted that God had not forbid Circumcision, yet hee was not so worthy a person, that God would shew this Miracle upon him, that is to say, of an imperfect man to make him perfect: and that if it were as he had said, that going to bed whole, he was found the next morning circumcized, it might be the Devill that had done the same to doe him dishonour. The Abuna, and as many as were in the house, laughed exceedingly at this speech, and tooke great pleasure thereat: and this Priest afterward became an especiall friend to me and to all the Portugals, and came daily to heare my Masse.

Miracles pretended.

After this the Abuna caused Wine and Fruits of the Countrey to bee brought in, and would needs make us a little Banquet, and sent unto our Tents good store of Bread and Wine, and one Oxe. The eighth of January, the said Abuna, determined to give Orders, and I went thither to see the manner which hee used in giving of the same; which was in this wise: A white Tent was erected in a great Champaigne field, where were assembled betweene five and sixe thousand persons to receive Orders. Hither came the Abuna, riding upon a Mule, and my selfe was in his company with an infinite number of others. And sitting on his Mules backe in the midst of that so great Assembly, hee made, as it were, a Sermon in the Arabian Tongue, and one of his Priests expounded it in the Abassin Language. I asked my Interpreter, what it was that the Abuna said: he told me that he said, that

Orders given to thousands at once.

A Sermon.

if any man there had two Wives or more, although any of them were dead, he should not become Priest, and if he did take Orders, he did curse and excommune him with the curse of God.

This speech being ended, hee sate him downe in a Chaire before the said Tent, and three Priests sate downe before him upon the ground, every man with his Booke, and certaine others which directed this businesse, caused all those which were to take Orders, to set downe on the ground upon their heeles, and all of them stood in three very long rankes or allies, and every ranke had one of those Priests, which held the Bookes and examined them shortly, so that some reade not past two words: and after this man went another Priest, with a Bason full of a white tincture, and with a plate made like unto Seales dipped in the said tincture, and with the same they made a marke upon the bare of their right arme, which beeing done, they rose from that place, and went and sate downe in the midst of the fields upon certaine Hillockes of Earth, where they that were examined must stand, and there were very few which went not over thither. This Examination being ended, the Abuna went into his Tent and sate in a Chaire, and this Tent had two gates, through which they caused all the Examinates to passe, one after another, and as they were presented before the Abuna, comming in at the one gate strait-wayes, he layed his hand upon their heads, and said certaine words which I understood not, and then passed out by the other gate: neither was there any one of them to whom this Ceremonie was not done.

[II. vii. 1087.] *Their manner of giving Orders unto Priests.*

Then he tooke a Booke in his hand, and read a great while on the same, holding a little crosse of Iron in his hand, and made many signes of the Crosse therewith upon the whole Companie. This ended, a Priest went out of the gate with a Booke and read, as it might bee, the Epistle or the Gospel, and strait-way the Abuna said a Masse, which continued no longer time, then a man might thrice say over the Psalme of Miserere mei Deus: and strait-way he ministred the Communion to all those

Two thousand three hundred fiftie six Priests.

Priests which were Massing Priests, and were in number two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, for they make these Priests of the Masse by themselves, and the Clerkes by themselves another day. And the Abuna told mee, that the Clerkes were ordayned to the degree of Deacon, as Saint Stephen was. Yet I saw him make Clerkes and Priests altogether in one day, and that at oftentimes, because hee made them and gave them Orders, very often, and alwayes in great numbers, because they come to him out of all the Kingdomes and Territories of the Prete, for there is none that can give Orders but he. They are not registred nor have any Letters of Testimonie or Certificate of their Orders. And because I have spoken of the number of two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, I could not have knowne the same, unlesse I had beene told it by him which had the charge to count them, and I thinke he told me true.

None but the Abuna can give orders.

97. The next day being the ninth of Januarie, the Prete sent for me; When I was come unto him he said, that he understood that I had beene to see his Priests consecrated, and asked mee what I thought of them. I answered, that I had seene two things, which though they had bin told me and confirmed by Oath, yet I would never have beleeved them, to wit, the multitude of the Clergie, the Crosses and Miters which were at the receiving of his Highnesse, and the entertainment which he made them. The second, was this so great and infinite number of Priests, which received Orders altogether, and that me thought that Ceremonie was very well performed; but that the dishonestie of the Priests wherein they came to take Orders, displeased mee not a little. Strait-way I was answered, that I needed not to marvell at any of these things: for as touching their meeting of him, there were no Priests that came thither, but onely those which belonged to the Churches of his Grand-father and Predecessor, which were builded in those parts, and that they bare those Miters, Canopies, and Crosses which were left unto them: and that the Priests which received Orders

were but a few, in comparison of the number that they were wont to be, for alwayes they are wont to make five or sixe thousand, and that now they were so few, because they knew not of the comming of the Abuna, and that I should tell him what dishonestie I had seene: which was contrarie to the Order of the Church? I answered, that it seemed to mee a very dishonest and shamefull thing, that the Priests which were to bee admitted to the ministration of the Masse, and were to receive the bodie of Christ, should come almost all naked, shewing their Privities: and that Adam and Eve so soone as they sinned saw themselves naked, and when they were to appeare before God did hide themselves: and that these beeing to receive the Sacrament, which is much more, are not ashamed to shew all their dishonestie and that I had seene a Frier which was starke blind, which never had eyes, and another which was lame of his right hand, and foure or five which were lame of their legs, to have received Orders of Priesthood, which ought to have beene sound, and to have all their limmes sound and perfect. Suddenly hee sent me word againe, that he was highly pleased, that I had marked every thing particularly to tell him my opinion, that afterward things might be amended, saying, that hee would take order for the Priests, that they should not goe naked, and that touching those which were lame, I should conferre with Ajaz Raphael, which was present at this giving of Orders. This Ajaz Raphael, is that honourable Priest and great Lord, to whom wee were recommended when wee came first unto the Court.

No Priest ought to bee blind, lame, or maymed in bodie.

Ajaz Raphael.

The tenth of Januarie, the Abuna made Clerkes. These are not examined, because they make them of all Ages, even children that are carryed in the armes and cannot speake, untill they bee fifteene yeares old, whiles yet they have no Wives, but if they have Wives they cannot bee Clerkes: and those which take Orders to be Priests of the Masse, while they bee Clerkes, may take Wives, and so become Priests: for if they become Priests before they take Wives, afterward they may not marry.

Clerkes or Deacons of children.

The men beare the children in their armes, and cannot speake nor goe, because the women may not come within the Church. Their crying seemeth to bee like the crying of so many young Kids, because they are there without their Mothers, and are halfe starved for hunger: for this [II. vii. 1088.] Ceremony is not ended untill night, and they are enforced to continue without eating or sucking, because they must receive the Communion. It is certainly knowne, that these little ones are not able to reade, and the great ones also can reade but little.

Infancy and illiterature admitted.

Manner of making Clerkes.

And they make them after this sort. The Abuna sitting in a Chaire, which is in a Tent placed in a Church, caused these Clerkes to passe along before, and having read a while in a Booke, he pulleth from each of their Temples a tufte of haire: then hee readeth a Booke, and causeth them to passe by a second time, and to touch the Keies wherewith they open the gate of the Tent, and they put a Cloath upon their heads, and at every one of these actions they must once passe by: and likewise another they put a blacke Earthen Dish in their hands, in stead of the Ampulle, because they have no Ampullas to serve at the Masse, and at each of these Ceremonies they read a little while, which being ended, the Abuna saith Masse. And it is a fearefull thing to behold the danger which these little Infants suffer, which perforce they make to swallow downe the Communion, by powring water downe into their throats, as well because the Host is made of course Dough, as also by reason of their tender age, and the continuall mourning which they make.

How they make very Babes to receive the Communion.

In the end, the Abuna prayed me to goe and dine with him at his Tent, and heere hee desired me to tell him, what I thought of this Ceremony, whereat I was present all the while, and had seene every thing particularly, and said that the Prete had sent him word to talke with mee concerning this Ceremony: I said, that his Ceremony liked me very well, But to admit Infants new borne unto Orders, and great Lubbers without learning, me thought

it unseemely to thrust Asses into the house of God. He answered mee, That God had sent him hither to tell the truth, and that he did nothing, but as He was commaunded, and that the Prete had willed him to make all the Children Clerkes, and that they would learne in time to come, because he was now very old, and they wist not when they should have another Abuna, seeing this Countrey heretofore had beene three and twentie yeares without an Abuna, and that not long since, they had sent two thousand ounces of Gold to Cairo, to have an Abuna, and by reason of the Warres betweene the Soldan and the Turke, they had sent none, and yet they had detained the Gold, and that now God had caused me to come thither to tell them the truth, that this Countrey might speedily be provided of an Abuna, because hee was not of any long life. After this, I went many times to see these Ceremonies, of giving Orders to these Priests and Clerkes, because every day in a manner they received Orders, in great multitudes, which came thither daily, and they observed not the Ember-weekes, nor the Lent. And if at any time there were any intermission of giving these Orders, straight-way some would come unto me, and take acquaintance of me, although I knew them not, beseeching mee for Gods sake, to pray the Abuna to give them Orders, because they dyed for hunger while they waited there: and I besought him in the Evening, and straight-way he commaunded the Tent to bee set up, to give Orders the next day following. And certainly, I never requested him, but immediatly he did the same, for he bare me exceeding good will, and tooke me as if I had beene his owne Brother.

Abassia without an Abuna three and twentie yeares.

98. The cause why this Countrey continued three and twentie yeares without an Abuna, they say was this; That in the time of the great Grand-father of this present King, whose name was Ciriacus, the Father of Alexander, which was the Father of Nahu, the Father of this present Prete Janni, the Abuna dyed: and the said Ciriacus stayed ten yeares, and would send for none, saying; That he would take none from Alexandria, and that if none came from

Ciriacus affected to Rome.

Rome, he would have none at all, and that he would rather have all the soules of his people to perish, then to receive an Abuna from the Countrey of Hereticks, and at the end of ten yeares he dyed, without having of any Abuna; and his Sonne Alexander stood stifly in the same purpose, for the space of thirteene yeares. At length the people complained unto him, saying, That now there were scarce any Priests or Clerkes remaining to serve the Churches, and that if they were decayed, the Churches also would grow to decay; and consequently, the Christian Faith. And the said Alexander sent for an Abuna to Cairo, where at that time the Patriarke of Alexandria remained, which sent him two, that the one might succeede the other, and both of them were living while wee were there. And during our aboad there, Abuna Jacob dyed, which was to succeed this man who now liveth: who told me, that he came into this Country fiftie five yeares past, and that he was as white and hoary-headed, as he was at that instant, and when he departed out of Cairo he was about fiftie, or five and fiftie yeares old, so that he thinketh he is about one hundred and ten yeares of age. And truly, he that beholdeth and considereth him well, would take him to be no lesse.

Age of the Abuna.

And farther he told me, that the Prete which sent for him, was a most Christian Prince, and that the Saturdaies were not kept holy as long as he lived, nor any of these Jewish Ceremonies were observed, and that they did eate Hogges flesh, and flesh although it the throat were not cut: for all these things belong unto the old Law: and that it was not long, since two Frankes came unto this Court, to wit: one Venetian, called Nicholas Brancaleon; and one Portugall, called Peter de Covillan, which when they came into the Countrey, before they came into the Court, began to fast and keepe the customes of the Countrey, (for as yet in many places, the Saturday was kept holy) and did not eate meates that were forbidden. The Priests and Friers seeing this, which tooke upon them to know the things continued in the Bible, much

Fewer Jewish Ceremonies.

Peter de Covillan.

[II. vii. 1089.]

better then of any other Bookes, came to complaine to the Prete, saying; What thing is this, that these Frankes which now come from the Kingdomes of France, being both of them of severall Countries, do observe the ancient customes of the Abyssines: how then commaundeth this Abuna, which is come from Alexandria, that we should observe those things which are not in our Bookes, and hereupon the Prete Janni forth-with commanded, that they should againe observe the ancient customes of the Abysinnes. Abuna reported all these things unto me, giving many thankes to God for our arrivall. This Abuna lived in his Tent after this manner, (for I never saw him in an house but once.) He sitteth continually upon a Couch, covered with a faire Cloath, as the great Lords of this Countrey use to doe. He hath his Curtaines about the said Couch, and likewise over the same. His apparell is White, that is to say, Made of most pure and fine Cotton Cloath which commeth out of India, where they call it Cacha: and it is made like a Cardinals Cloake or Paviell, which is joyned and buttoned together on the breast. He hath also a Scaporall,* which is likewise closed before, made of Blew Silke Chamblet, and on his head a great broad Miter made likewise of Blew Silke. Hee is, as I have said, a very old man, of small stature, and bald: his Beard is very white, but small, and long in the midst; for in this Countrey the Church-men shave not their Beards: he is very gracious in his speech and gestures, as any man may be: he never speaketh, but he giveth God thankes. When he goeth forth to the Tent of the Prete, or to give holy Orders, he rideth upon a goodly Mule, being very well accompanied, as well with men riding upon Mules, as others following him on foote; he carrieth a little Crosse of Silver in his hand, and they carrie three Crosses upon staves on each side of him, which reach up higher then he is on his Mule. He carrieth with him whither soever he goe, two high Canopies which are to be set on foote, as great as those of the Prete, but not so rich. Moreover, foure men goe before him with Whips,

Heere are omitted prophecies of the Frankes, &c.

The habite of Abuna Marke.

**Scaporall.*

His pompe.

which make the people give way on both sides: the ground is covered wheresoever hee travaileth with Children, Young men, Friers, and Priests, which all runne crying after him. I enquired what they said, and I was answered; that they said, May it please your Lordship to make us Clerkes, and God Grant you a long life.

Consecration of the Church Machan Celacem.

99. The twelfth of Januarie, 1521. was a very great assembly of Clerkes and Priests in the said Church, and they continued all that night with Singing and Musicke, and said, That they did consecrate the same, wherein as yet no Masse had beene said, but they said it in another little Church which was neere adjoyning, wherein the Father of this Prete was buried, and that they would remoove and carrie him into this great Church, which he begunne in his life time, and his Sonne had finished, and that they were thirteene yeares since he deceased, and on a Sunday in the morning, they said Masse there. This Church hath now at the first foundation thereof, about foure hundred Canons, with great revenues, but when the number shall increase, as it is fallen out in other Churches, they shall not have sufficient to sustaine themselves. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee were called for, and they caused us to goe to the said Church, where there were gathered together above two thousand Priests, and as many Clerkes, which were assembled before the principall Porch of the great Church, and in the circuit which is like a Cloyster, and the Prete stood compassed in his Curtaines within a Clozet, which useth to bee placed upon the steppes of the principall gate, and all the Clergie stood before him, which said a long Service, with singing, musicke, dancing, and leaping. Which being ended, he caused all the people, and the Clergie, and us, to goe forth of the Church, and they placed us toward the North, willing us not to stirre from that place: and all the Clergie and people went to the little Church, where the Kings Father was buried, which also was towards the North, and therein entred as many as could stand. And as we stood heere, an exceeding great Procession in very good order, beganne to passe

Foure hundred Canons.

Two thousand Priests, and as many Clerkes.

betweene us and the Church, and they carried the bones of the dead King to the great Church, and the Patriarke Abuna Marke went in this Procession, being very feeble, and two men held him up under the armes, by reason of his old age. Then followed the Queenes, to wit, Queene Helena, the Prete his Mother, and the Queene his Wife, each of them under a blacke Pavilion, in mourning wise, (for before they used white Pavilions) and likewise all the people were clad in blacke cloath, weeping and howling with mightie cryes, saying; Abeto, Abeto, that is to say, Our Lord, Our Lord. And they pronounced the same with so abrupt and pitifull a voyce, and with so great abundance of teares, that they made all the multitude to weepe. The Coffin wherein the bones lay, was carried under a Pavilion of Embroydered cloath of Gold, compassed about with Curtaines of Damaske, and so they entred into the Church by the side-gate, where we stood, and as many people as the place would hold; and we went to this Ceremony at the Sunne rising, and returned to our lodging at night, by Torch-light.

Translation of the Kings body.

The Patr. and Queenes.

100. Straight-way we were led into a Tent which was newly set up, and was placed on the backe side of the great Church in that circuit, and it was very long and flat, and all the Roofe was covered with Crosses, made of Silke, like those of the Tent which was placed over the Lake, where they were baptized, and within it was dressed with exceeding faire Tapistries, so that it seemed to be a Hall very well furnished: and here he sent us word to recreate our selves a little for his sake, refreshing our selves, and discoursing of our private matters. And while we thus discoursed a good while, we saw comming in very good order, many Jarres of Wine, and a great basket of fine Bread, and great store of meate borne in great Platters, made of black earth, very faire, and excellently wrought, which seemed to be of blacke Amber. The meate was made of divers sorts of Flesh, dressed after sundry fashions, somewhat after our manner, among which, were Hennes all whole, great, and fat, some sodden, and some

[II. vii. 1090.]

A royall feast.

Cunning Cookery.

roasted: and in other Platters came other Hens, which seemed to be Hens indeed, but were onely the skins, in such sort, that they had taken out the flesh and all the bones, with wonderfull diligence, so that the skinne was not broken in any part, but was perfectly whole, and then mincing the flesh verie small, and mingling it with certaine delicate Spices, they filled the same againe with it, which, as I have said, was perfectly whole, and wanted nothing but the necke and the feete, from the neather joynt downeward, neither could we at any time discerne how they could get out the bones, or how they might flay them, and yet could perceive no rupture at all. We fed very well of these Hens, to our contentment, because they were so good and delicate. Then brought they in grosse and fat meate, so handsomly drest, that wee knew not whether it were sodden or roasted. Afterward certaine White-meates were brought in, in other Platters, and meats of other colours, made partly of flesh stamped, with the sinewes taken out, and part of Birds, and divers Fruits of the Countrey, and in some of them was store of Butter, in others Hennes suet: of every one of them we tasted, which seemed unto us very good and delicate: and we wondred how it was possible, that they should have so good Cookes in that Countrey. Among the Jarres of the Wine of Raisins, which were all of that Earth like blacke Amber, there was one of Crystall Glasse, with a great Bowle of Crystall, all gilded over, and another great Bowle of Silver, Enamuled all over with foure exceeding fine stones, which seemed to be Saphires set in the same, standing in a square case, beset with many Rubies, and this Bowle was very faire and rich. When we had eaten as much as we thought good, the Prete sent unto us, requesting us to sing and dance, and to recreate our selves after our owne manner.

Jarres of blacke earth and Crystall.

Church singing and dancing.

101. The eight and twentieth of January, he willed us to come unto the great Church, and caused us to be placed before his Curtaines, which were above the place of the steps, which are neere unto the principall gate. Here was

an infinite multitude of Clerkes, which, as they did at the mooving of his Fathers bones, did nought else but sing, dance, and leape, and in their leaping, did alwaies touch their feete with their hands, first one foote, and then another: and when we had stayed there a good while, he sent to aske us, whether they sung after this manner in our Countrey? We answered him, no: because our singing was more quiet and plaine, as well in voyces as in body; for we neither danced nor stirred a whit. He replyed; Seeing that our custome was such, whether we thought that his was ill done? We sent him word, that the things belonging unto God, after what manner soever they be done, seemed alwaies to be wel done. This ceremonie being ended, they began to goe about the Church with five and twentie Crosses, and five and twentie Censers, carrying their Crosses in their left hands, as it were Standards, and the Censers in their right hands, casting Incense upon them without any spare. And upon the steppes where we stood, were two great Latton Basons, gilded and wrought about, full of a kind of Incense, sweeter then that which is brought into these parts: and as often as they passed by, they cast great quantity thereof into the Censers, and they which went about in Procession, were clad in very rich Copes, and Hoods, made after their fashion, and so were they which danced and sung.

102. The nine and twentieth of January, the Ambassador and all the Frankes (whereof some were come to this Court before us) with all his Company, went to visite the Abuna Marke, because he had not as yet spoken with him. We found him as before, sitting upon a Couch. The Ambassadour would have kissed his hand, but he would not suffer him, but gave him the Crosse to kisse which he alwaies carried in his hand, and so he did to all the rest. As soone as we were set, the Ambassadour said, that hee was come to visite him in the name of the Grand Captaine, and prayed him to pardon him, that hee came no sooner to him, because they would not suffer him to visite any body. The Abuna answered him, that he ought not to

marvaile thereat, for it was the custome of that Court, not to suffer any stranger to goe unto any mans house, and that this was not by the consent of the Prete, which was a good and godly man, but of the Courtiers which are malicious. The Ambassadour told him, that the King of Portugall was informed of his bounty and holinesse, by his Brother Matthew, and also by others, and that therefore he besought him to keepe the Prete Janni constant and immutable in this enterprize, of chasing and destroying of the Moores. The Abuna answered, That he was no Saint, but a poore Sinner, and that Matthew was none of his Brother, but was a Merchant, and his friend, and although hee came with lies, yet was it manifest, that his comming was ordained by God, seeing it turned to so good service and profite, &c.

Matthew was a Merchant.

[II. vii. 1091.]

§. XV.

A Discourse of Peter Covillan: Of the Pretes gifts and presents, and the Portugals quarrels, and their licence to depart out of the Countrey.

The Storie of Peter Covillan.

103. WHereas I have spoken often in this Booke of Peter de Covillan Portuguez, being an honourable person, and of great credite with Prete Janni, and all the Court; It is convenient that I should declare how he came into this Countrey, and the cause thereof, as he hath oftentimes told me himselfe. But first I will say, that he is my spirituall sonne, and that I have oftentimes confessed him, because in three and thirtie yeeres while he lived in this Countrey, he told me that he never was confessed, because the custome here is not to keepe that secret which is uttered in confession, and that therefore he went into the Church, when he confessed his sinnes unto God. His beginning was thus: He was borne in the Towne of Covillan in the Kingdome of Portugall, and being a boy, he went into Castile, and gat into the service of Don Alfonso Duke of Sivile; and when the warre began betweene Portugall and Castile, hee returned home with Don John de

Confession not used here.

His life in his youth.

Gusman, brother to the said Duke, which placed him in the house of Alfonso King of Portugall, who for his valour presently made him a man at Armes, and hee was continually in that warre, and served also abroad in France. After the death of King Alfonso, he was one of the Guard of the King Don John his sonne, untill the time of the treasons, when he sent him into Castile, because hee spake the Castilian Tongue very well, to spie out who were those Gentlemen of his Subjects, which practised there against him. And returning out of Castile, he was sent into Barbarie, where he stayed a time, and learned the Arabian Tongue, and was afterward sent to conclude a Peace with the King of Tremizen: and being returned, he was sent againe to the King Amoli bela gegi, which restored the bones of the Infant Don Fernando. At his returne, he found that the King Don John, desiring by all meanes that his ships should find out the Spiceries, had determined to send by land certaine men to discover as much as they might. And Alfonso de Paiva was chosen for this enterprise, a Citizen of Castle Blanco, a very skilfull man, and very expert in the Arabian Tongue.

Alfonso de Paiva.

When Peter de Covillan was returned, King John called him, and told him secretly, That having alwayes knowne him loyall and his faithfull servant, and readie to doe his Majestie good service, seeing he understood the Arabian tongue, he purposed to send him with another companion, to discover and learne where Prete Janni dwelt, and whether his Territories reached unto the Sea, and where the Pepper and Cinamon grew, and other sorts of Spicerie, which were brought unto the Citie of Venice from the Countries of the Moores; seeing hee had sent for this purpose one of the House of Monterio, and one Frier Anthony of Lisbon, Prior of Porta de Ferro, which could not passe the Citie of Jerusalem, saying, That it was impossible to travell this way without understanding the Arabian tongue, and therefore seeing he understood the same well, hee prayed him to under-take this enterprize, to doe him this so principall service, promising to reward

P. Cov. sent to discover the Spices, and Prete Janni his Countrey.

him in such sort, that he should be great in his Kingdome, and all his Posteritie should alwayes live contented. Peter answered him, That he kissed his Majesties hands for the great favour which he had done him, but that he was sorry, that his wisedome and sufficiencie, was not answerable to the great desire he had to serve his Highnesse; and yet neverthelesse, as his faithfull servant he accepted this message with all his heart.

His journey.

And so in the yeere 1487. the seventh of May, they were both dispatched in Saint Arren, the King Don Emanuel alwayes there present, which at that time was but Duke, and they gave them a Sea-Card, taken out of a generall Map of the World, at the making whereof was the Licentiate Calzadilla, Bishop of Viseo; and the Doctor Master, Roderigo, inhabitant of Pietre Nere; and the Doctor Master Moyses, which at that time was a Jew: and all this worke was done very secretly in the house of Peter de Alcazova, and all the forenamed persons shewed the uttermost of their knowledge, as though they should have beene Commanders in the Discoverie, of finding out the Countries from whence the Spices come, and as though one of them should have gone into Ethiopia to discover the Countrey of Prete Janni, and as though in those Seas there had beene some knowledge of a passage into our Westerne Seas; because the said Doctors, said, they had found some memoriall of that matter. And for the charges of them both, the King appointed foure hundred Cruzadoes, which were given them out of the Treasurie of the Garden of Almarin: and (as I have said) the King Emanuel was alwayes present, who at that time was Duke. Besides this, the King gave them a Letter of credit in all parts of the Levant, that if they fell into any necessitie or perill, they might be succoured and aided thereby. One halfe of these foure hundred Cruzadoes, they desired to have in readie money, and the other halfe they gave to Bartholmew Marchioni a Florentine, to be payed them in Naples.

A consultation for the seeking out of the South-east passage.

The small beginning of the Portugal greatnesse in the East.

And having received the Kings blessing, they departed

from Lisbon, and came unto Barçelona on Corpus Christi day, and thence unto Naples on Saint Johns day; when their Bills of Exchange were payed them, by the Sonne of Cosmo de Medices. From Naples they went unto the Ile of Rhodes, and here they found two Portugall Knights, the one called Frier Gonsalvo, and the other Frier Fernando, in whose house they lodged; and after certaine dayes, they tooke their voyage for Alexandria, in a ship of Bartholmew de Paredez; having first bought many Jarres of Honey, to shew that they were Merchants. When they were come to Alexandria, they both fell grievously sicke of an ague; and the Cadi tooke all their Honey from them, supposing they would have dyed. But being recovered, they were payed as they would themselves, and having bought sundrie sorts of merchandize, they went to Cairo, *Cairo.* where they stayed till they found companie of certaine Moores, called Magabrini, of the Kingdome of Fez and Tremizen, which went to Aden, and in their companie they went by Land to Tor; where taking ship, they sailed to Suachen, upon the Coast of the Abyssins, and from thence unto Aden. And because it was the time of the Monsons or Motions, when those Seas cannot be sailed, they divided themselves the one from the other, and Alfonso passed into Ethiopia, and Peter made his choice to goe into India, as the time served him for to doe. And they agreed together, to meete at a certayne time in the Citie of Cairo, that they might be able to advertize the King of their discoverie.

Peter de Covillan, when time served, tooke shipping, and sailed directly to Cananor, and passed thence to Calecut, and saw the great quantitie of Ginger and Pepper *Calicut.* which grow there, and understood, that the Cloves and Cinamon were brought thither from farre Countries. Then he went toward Goa, and passed thence to the Ile of Ormuz, and having informed himselfe of certayne other things, he came in a ship toward the Red Sea. Hee landed at Zeila, and with certayne Merchants, which were Moores, *Zeila.* he travelled those Seas of Ethiopia, which were shewed

The chief end of Covillan his voyage, was to discover the Seas, on the back-side of Ethiopia.

him at Lisbon in a Sea Chart, to the intent hee should use all his industrie to discover them. And he went so farre, that he came unto the Towne of Cefala, where he learned of the Mariners and certayne Arabians, that the said Coast might be sailed all along toward the West, and that they knew no end thereof, and that there was a great Ile very rich, which was above nine hundred miles in length, which they call, The Ile of the Moone. And having understood these things, being very glad thereof, he determined to returne unto Cairo, and so he came backe to Zeila, and from thence passed to Aden, and then to Tor, and lastly to Cairo, where he stayed a great time, wayting for Alfonso de Paiva, and at length, had newes that he was dead.

Madagascar, or the Ile of the Moone.

Aden and Tor.

Paiva dead.

Whereupon he determined to returne into Portugall: but it pleased God, that two Jewes, which went to seeke him, by good lucke found him, and delivered him Letters from the King of Portugall. One of these Jewes was called, Rabbi Abraham, borne in Beggian. The others name was Joseph de Lamego, and was a *Shoo-maker. These having beene before in Persia and in Bagadet, told the King many great matters, which they had learned concerning the Spiceries, and the riches which were found in the Ile of Ormuz, wherof the King conceived great pleasure, and commanded them to returne thither againe to see the same themselves; but first, that they should seeke out Peter de Covillan, and Alfonso de Paiva, which hee knew were determined to meet together at a time appointed in Cairo. The contents of the Kings Letters were, that if all the things given them in commission, were searched out by them, then they should returne, because hee would reward them; but if they were not all discovered, that they should send him particular information of those things that they had seene, and then should doe their best endeavour to search out the rest, and above all things, to discover the Countrey of Prete Janni, and to cause Rabbi Abraham to see the Ile of Ormuz. For which cause, Peter de Covillan, purposed to advertise the King of all which hee had seene along the Coast of Calicut, touching the

*Calzolato.

Spiceries, and of Ormuz, and of the Coast of Ethiopia, and of Cefala, and of the great Iland of the Moone, concluding, that his ships which traded into Guinea, sayling along the Coast, and seeking the Coast of that Iland, and of Cefala, might easily enter into these Easterne Seas, and fall upon this Coast of Calicut, for all along there was Sea: he had understood, and that he would returne with Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and after his returne he would seeke out Prete Janni, whose Countrey stretched unto the red Sea.

And with these Letters, he dispatched Joseph de Lamego the Jew. And he and the other Jew going againe to Ormuz, and returning to Aden, hee willed him to goe and carrie newes to the King that hee had seene the Ile of Ormuz with his owne eyes. And himselfe passing into Ethiopia, came into the Court of Prete Janni, which at that time was not farre from Zeila. And having presented his Letters unto him, who at that time was called Alexander, hee was very courteously entertained, and had great honour done unto him, and was promised that he should speedily be dispatched. But in the meane while, he departed this life, and Nahu his brother succeeded in his stead, which saw him, and made very much of him, but would never give him leave to depart. Afterward Nahu died also, and his sonne David succeeded him, which raigneth at this present, which would not suffer him to depart, saying, that hee came not thither in his time, and that if his Predecessors had given him so great Lands and Revenues, he ought to enjoy them, and to lose none of them: and therefore, seeing they had not given him licence, neither might he give him leave to depart; and so he remained still in the Countrey: and they gave him a wife, with very great riches and possessions, by whom he had children, whom we also saw. And in our time, when he saw that we would depart, he was exceeding desirous to returne into his Countrey, and went to crave leave of the Prete, and we with him, and were very instant on his behalfe, and besought him very earnestly, yet for all that

His comming to Prete Alexander.

Nahu succeedeth.

David, the present Prete.

[II. vii. 1093.]

wee could not obtaine leave. Hee is a man of great spirit and wit, and of his qualitie hee hath not the like in all the Court, and can speake all the Languages, as well of the Christians as of the Moores, Gentiles, and Abassins: and of all things which hee hath knowne and seene, hee can yeeld as particular account, as if they were present. And therefore he is very gracious with the Prete, and all the Court.

104. Returning to our Voyage, or rather to our Historie; The dayes following, the Secretaries ceased not to write the Letters which wee were to carrie with us to the King and to the grand Captaine, and they bestowed much time and labour in making them: for their manner is not to write one to another, but their demands, answers, and messages, are all done by word of mouth. And while we were there, they beganne by little and little to learne to write; and when they wrote, they alwaies held before them the Epistles of Saint Paul, of Saint Peter, and of Saint James; and those which studied in them, were taken for the most learned and wise among them. They wrote the Letters to the King in three Languages, The Abassin, the Arabian, and the Portugall; and after the same manner were the Letters made unto the Grand Captaine. The Grand Betudete comming unto us, which is the Lord that standeth on his left hand, brought mee a Crosse of Silver, and a passing faire Staffe wrought with inlayd worke, saying, that the Prete sent me these things in token of the government which he had given mee in the Iles of the red Sea; I gave his Highnesse thankes in the best manner that I could. There came another message from the Prete, that he had given order that thirtie Mules should be given unto us to carrie our goods. And moreover, that he had sent thirtie ounces of Gold to the Ambassadour, and fiftie for his companie; and that George, and those which were with him, had received their part; and withall, that he had sent one hundred loads of Meale, and as many hornes of Wine of Honey, to serve us in our Voyage, and willed that we should not trouble the poore Husbandmen by the

The use of writing was not in Ethiopia in these dayes.

Gifts.

The Present which Prete Janni sent the Ambassadour for his part.

way, because he was enformed, that in our comming to the Court we had wasted the Countrey through which we travelled, and that certaine Captaines were appointed for us, which should conduct us from place to place, even to the Sea side, to wit, that every one should furnish us through their Countreyes with all things necessarie: and forthwith they appointed us to a sonne of the Cabeata, because we were to travell a great way through his fathers Territories, which are those where the great Church standeth, wherein the bones of the Prete his father were layd: which Church (as I have said) hath foure hundred Canons, and over the said Canons there is a sonne of the said Cabeata, which is a Licanate, that is to say, The head over all the rest of the heads.

105. This day at evening, were thirtie ounces of Gold brought to our Tent for the Ambassadour, and fiftie for us, and a great Crowne of Gold and Silver which was the Crowne of Prete Janni: and it was not so faire for the worth thereof as for the bignesse, and it was in a round Chist lined with Cloth, and without with Leather, and it was presented by Abdenago, the Captaine of the Pages, which said unto the Ambassadour, that the Prete sent that Crowne to the King of Portugall, and that he should say unto him, that a Crowne is not wont to be taken from the Fathers head, but onely for the Sonne: and that he was his Sonne, and that he had taken the same from his owne head to send it to the King of Portugall, which was his Father, and that he sent him the same as the most precious thing that he had at that instant, offering him all the favours, ayde, and succours, as well of Men as of Gold, and Victuals, which he should stand in need of for his Fortresses and Fleets, and for the Warres which he would make against the Moores in these parts of the red Sea, even unto Jerusalem.

The present which Prete Janni sent to the King of Portugall with exceeding great offers.

The first day of Lent, wee beganne our Voyage, and the sonne of the Cabeata went with us, through whose Countreyes we were to passe, and Abdenago Captaine of the Pages; for, afterward we were to passe through his

Territories. And we travelled the next day, farre distant one companie from the other, untill we came to Manadeli, a Towne in the Kingdome of Tigremahon.

There was a quarrell twixt Bren and the Ambassadour, and Fernandez had wounded the Factor. Manadeli.

106. Being come to this Towne of Manadel, which is wholly inhabited by Moores, who are peaceable Tributaries to the Prete: and one Stephen Pagliarte, as it seemeth, fell out with a Moore, which strooke out two of his teeth, and certaine of our people comming running thither at the noise of this garboile, they brake one of our mens heads with a stone. Abdenago ran downe, and caused certaine of these Moores to bee apprehended, which had done the harme: but because it was night, there was nothing else done. The next day he sent us word to come unto the place where he held these two Moores prisoners, and caused us to sit downe on the grasse: and hee sate downe likewise, leaning with his shoulders against his Chaire. And there causing the prisoners to be brought, he began after their manner to demand Gold of them. Then he caused them to be stripped and cruelly beaten, demanding how much they would give us: they began to promise one ounce of Gold, two, and three; but still beating of them, they asked how much they would give; at length they came to seven ounces, and herewithall they ceased to beat them, and the Gold was given to those that were hurt, and the parties which were beaten were sent bound to Prete Janni. Wee went on still on our Voyage unto Barua, where wee lodged, when we came into this Countrey. While wee stayed here a long while, there came a Messenger of the Prete, and one of the Moores which were beaten with him, with the head of the other, saying unto us, that the Prete would needs understand and examine the whole matter concerning those Moores, for the hurt which they had done unto the Portugals, and that he had caused his head to be cut off which he found to have done the wrong, the which he had sent us, that we might be assured of the trueth, and might know whether that were it or no: and the other which hee had not found in fault, hee had also sent us; and that wee might doe with

Manner of justice.

[II. vii. 1094.]

Barua.

One of the Moores beheaded.

him what we thought good, either kill him, or free him, or make him a Slave.

107. Two Great men were sent to us from the Court, which seeing the enmitie and rancour that was betwixt the Ambassadour and Bren, which came from words to blowes, they wist not what course to take concerning our matter, seeing it is a custome in that Countrey, that no great personage may goe from the Court without licence, nor come to the Court unlesse he be called for: therefore the said Lord stood in doubt, what they should doe concerning us; because, on the one side, they durst not leave us; and on the other side, to bring us to the Court in such great rancour, being not sent for, they feared they might incurre some great punishment; yet at length, they chose rather to returne to the Court, although they should suffer some great punishment.

A Court custome.

The particulars of the Ambassadours wilfulnesse against Bren an Ethiopian, are omitted.

108. These Noblemen having considered that the Monson was past, wherein the grand Captaine was to come for us, and that they could not pacifie us, determined to carrie us backe to the Court: and we set forward altogether with the Franks, and as we came to the Towne of Bacinete, before mentioned, whither the fame of our falling out was come, all the Countrey-people put themselves in Armes, and would not suffer us to passe, and such numbers of Friers came downe an hill, with Bowes, Arrowes, and Staves, that they seemed to be flocks of Sheep; and here we had a great skirmish, and many of both sides were wounded, howbeit wee beat them backe, and made them runne away. The aforesaid Noblemen, while we were lodged here, put the place to the sacke, as if they had beene Moores, and tooke away their Barley, Hens, Capons, Sheepe, and whatsoever they found in the houses. And departing from hence, we travelled in two companies; to wit, George de Bren, and all those that were with him; and the Frier, and we with the Ambassadour, and the Lords, Andrugaz and Garveta, and wee came to Manadeli, where they wounded our men, and here we found the Moore which fled from the Ambassadour, who was nothing at all

A skirmish.

afraid: and having past two miles beyond this place, we met with Barnagasso, which came from the Court, and brought order from the Prete, what the said Lords should doe with us. Which while we sought to know, we assembled all together in a Corne-field under a great Tree, where the said Lords were highly rebuked of Barnagasso, because of our returning without licence, saying, that they should goe to the Court and receive their punishment there. Then he began to crie out upon the Ambassadour, and George de Bren, commanding the Ambassadour to give him the Crowne and the Letters, which he carried unto the King and the Grand Captaine. The Ambassadour and George de Bren uttered very uncivill and dishonest speeches one against another: for which cause the Barnagasso committed us to certaine Captaines, to conduct us severally one from the other, in such sort as wee came to that place, and so we returned with him toward his Territories. By this time the Winter was begun, which was exceeding terrible and cruell with huge raine.

Here the Authour ceaseth to speake any more of his Voyage.

§. XVI.

Of the time and day when their Lent beginneth in the Countrey of Prete Janni: and strange abstinences, and other bodily exercises, with other their holies. Of the Troglodites, and Goraises.

Ethiopian Lent long and strict.

109. IN the Countrey of Prete Janni, they beginne their Lent in the Munday after Sexagesima, which is ten dayes before our Shrovetide; and after the day of the Purification is past, the Priests, Friers, and Secular men generally observe a great Fast for three dayes, and they say, they doe fast the penance of the Citie of Ninive. And many Friers eate not above once in these three dayes, and then they eate but Herbs without Bread: and they say, that there are many women, which then will

not give sucke to their children past once a day. The generall Fast of the Lent is Bread and Water; for although some would eate Fish, yet they could not have it, because they have not the Sea neere them. In the Rivers there is great abundance of Fish, which are very good, but they know not how to take them. They eate no Milke nor Butter, neither drinke Wine of Grapes, nor of Honey; but their common drinke is of Zauna, which is made of Barley, or of Millet, or of Aguza: for of each of these Graines they make a severall Wine, which in taste is like unto Ale. There are also many Friers, which for devotions sake eate no bread all the Lent, and others all the yeare, and all their life time.

Zauna.

[II. vii. 1095.]

As I went on a time with the Ambassadour toward the Court, in a place called Jannamora, a Frier fell into our companie: and because I would pleasure him, I caused him to ride upon a Mule, and lodged him in my Tent. The first day, I invited him to eate with me, because it was Eventide and supper time, and he excused himselfe, that he had no lust to eate. In the meane space, the Novices (sixe or seven of which went with him to receive orders) came with Agriones, which are Herbs of that Countrey, and gave him an handfull without Salt, or Oyle, or any other mixture, and those he eate alone without Bread or any thing else. Whereof when I had asked the said Novices, they told me that they never used to eate any bread. When I doubted of this, I caused him diligently to be watched night and day; for, on the day he went on foot by my Mules side like unto a Lackey, and on the night he slept by my side, and lay on the ground in his apparell, and I alwaies saw him eate Herbs called Agriones and Rabasas, and when they could find none, sometimes he tooke Mallowes and Nettles, and when they passed by any Monasterie, he sent the Novices to gather some Garden-herb, and if they found none, the Novices brought him Lentiles, so long steeped in a gourd of water, that they began to grow, and he fed of them: which I would needs taste of, and found them to be the worst

Jannamora.

The fasting and abstinence which some use in the Lent.

Who hath required these things at your hands.

meat in the world. This man travelled thirtie dayes with us unto the Court, and afterward stayed three weekes with us in our Tent, and never eate any thing else but the things aforesaid. Afterward I saw him in the Towne of Caxumo, where the Prete caused us to stay eight moneths, and when hee understood that I was there, he came to visite me, and brought me certaine Limons. Hee wore an habite of Leather without sleeves, and his armes were naked; whereas I embraced him, by chance I thrust one of my hands under his arme, and found that hee had about him a girdle of Iron of foure fingers broad, and I led him by the hand into our chamber, and shewed him to Peter Lopez my cousin, and wee saw the said girdle, which was joyned the one end with the other, with certaine points, as if they had beene to peg in a piece of wood*: and this girdle was fastned upon his flesh: and the said Frier tooke it in very ill part, and seemed as though hee had received great wrong, and suddenly departed, so that wee never could see him after.

**Comesaria da ficcare un legno.*

Very strange kind of penance.

After this, we saw many other Friers which wore the like girdles of Iron in the Lent; And we heard say, that there were others also, which during all the time of Lent, did never sit, but alwaies stood upright. When we heard that there was one of these in a Cave sixe miles off, we rode thither, and found him in a frame made of wood, of that bignesse, that he only might stand within it. And it looked like an old Chist without a cover, and his hips were besmeared with Chalke and Oxe-dung, and where his buttocks stood, he had an open place three fingers broad: he had likewise another open place where his knees touched, and before him hee had a little Deske of wood, whereon lay a Booke. His habite was an Haire-cloth, made of the haire of an Oxe tayle, and underneath the same, upon his flesh he wore an Iron girdle like to that above-said, and he shewed us the same willingly. In another Cave adjoyning, dwelt two young little Novices, which provided him victuals, which was nothing but Herbs, and for this our visitation, he became our great friend. These Caves

A frame to stand in without sitting.

seemed to have beene made in old time to doe the like penance; for there were Graves in them.

Supererogation, if not super-arrogation. Obedience better then sacrifice.

In the Towne of Barua, in another Lent, I saw two Friers in the Church of the said Towne, that is to say, without the Church gate, which were in the like Tabernacles, one on the one side of the Church, and another on the other side, which did eate the said Herbes, and steeped Lentiles, and I went to see them often times, wherewith they seemed highly to be pleased; and if I went not to them, they sent to visite me, and they wore upon their flesh a Sack-cloth, and a girdle of Iron. And it was told mee, that one of them was a kinsman of the Prete, and they continued in this penance untill Easter day, and when Masse was sung, they went out of the same.

Standing in water, like Josephus his Pharisie.

Having heard report, that in the aforesaid Towne of Caxumo, every Wednesday and Friday in the Lent, many Friers, Priests, and Nuns stood all night in the water up to the necke, when we could not be perswaded to beleeve the same, John Scolaro, my cousin Peter Lopez, and I, went thither on a Wednesday at night, and were astonied, beholding so great a multitude of them, which were in the water up to the necke, and it was told us, that they were Canons, and the wives also of Canons, with Friers and Nuns, and there were seats of stone made by the waters side, and where the water was shallow, there was one stone, whereupon they sate untill the water reached up to their necke, and if the water were more deepe, they layed another stone there, and so all the said Lake was full of people, which came from all the Countrey round about: and in this time of Lent, there are great frosts and cold in the night. And having talked with Peter de Covillan, concerning this matter, he assured me, that they used to observe this custome in all the Dominions of the Prete, and also, that there bee many which doe not onely eate no bread all that time, but also went into mighty Forrests, and into certaine monstrous deepe Valleyes, lying betweene exceeding high Mountaines, where they may finde water, whereas no other people come, and there they

Frost and cold.

[II. vii. 1096.]

Going into Forrests and Valleyes for Penance.

doe their Penance all the time of Lent, and for proofe hereof.

I was on a time with the Prete, in a Towne called Dara, which is neere those great and deep Trenches (whereof I have spoken before) into the which, a great River falleth downe headlong from an high Mountaine into a Bottome, and the water of this River, breaking in the Ayre, became as white as Snow. As we stood aloft, Peter de Covillan shewed mee a Cave in this Bottome, which we could hardly discerne, and said, that in the same there was a Monke which they held for a Saint, and under this Cave, there seemed to bee a Garden: On the side of this Bottome, and not farre off, hee shewed mee such another Cave, wherein a white Man was dead, which was knowne to have beene twenty yeeres in that Desart, and that the time of his death was not knowne. Onely when they saw him no more in this Mountaine, they went to see his lodging or Cave, and they found it closed up on the inside with a good Wall, so that none might goe in or out thereat: and the Prete being advertised hereof, commanded, that by no meanes it should be opened or touched.

Heremites.

The generall fast in lent of Friers and Nunnes.

110. The generall fast in Lent, which the most part of the Friers and Nunnes, and the Priests also doe observe, is to eate once, from two dayes to two dayes, and that alwayes in the night time. They fast not on Sundayes: The like doe many old Women when they are going out of the world; and so they reported that Queene Helena did, as often as shee fasted at any time in the yeere, that shee did not eate above thrice in the weeke; to wit, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. In the Kingdome of Tigrai, which is a Kingdome subject to Barnagasso, and in the Kingdome of Tigremahon, every body eateth flesh in the Lent, on Saturday and Sunday, and they kill more Oxen on these two dayes, then in all the yeere beside. And if they will marry their first or second Wife, they marry them the Thursday before our Shrovetide, for upon their marriage they have licence to eate Flesh, Milke, and

Queene Helena eate but thrice in the weeke.

Customes of Tigrai.

Butter, for two moneths space, at what time soever they will. And therefore, that they may eate the same, they marry Wives, and drinke Wine. In all the other Territories, Kingdomes, and Signiories, they fast all the Lent, as well great as small, Men as Women, Male-children as Female, without breaking the same in any point, and so they doe almost all the Advent. *Polygamie.*

On Palme-Sunday they say their Service after this manner: They beginne to say Mattins about Mid-night, and they continue their singing and dancing, carrying painted Images uncovered in their hands, untill broad day, and at the houre of Prime, they all get boughes and hold them in their hands at the Gate, for the Women and Laymen may not come into the Church, and the Priests stand singing in the Church, with boughs in their hands, and sing very loud, making oftentimes the signe of the Crosse, with the said Boughs, and going about without the Church, they come unto the principall Gate, into which, sixe or seven of them enter, as we are wont to doe, which they shut, and he stands without which is to say Masse, and they sing both within and without the Church, as wee doe: and then hee which stood without, commeth in and sayeth Masse, and giveth the Communion unto all. On the holy Weeke, or Weeke before Easter, no Masse is said, save on Thursday and Saturday. And their ordinary custome, which all Noblemen and Gentlemen use at all times in the yeere, of saluting one another, is: When they meete together once a day, they kisse their shoulders, and embrace one another, and one kisseth the right shoulder, and the other the left. These salutations are not used this weeke, but when they doe meete, they speake not one to another, but passe by without lifting up their eyes; and men of any quality, are apparelled all in Blacke or in Blew, and they doe no kind of worke, but all the whole day is spent in great devotions, and singing in the Churches, and alwayes there is no Candle lighted. *Palmesunday.* *Weeke before Easter.* *Custome of Saluting.* *Silence.*

On Holy-thursday at Eventide, they make the Maunday, that is to say, the Ceremonie of washing of Feet, and *Mandy-thursday.*

all the people assembleth together unto the Church, and the chiefe Priest of the Church, sitteth on a Chaire like unto a Trevit, girded with a Towell, and a great Bason full of water before him, and beginneth to wash the Feet of the Priests; which being done, they beginne to sing, and sing all night, and the Priests, Friers, and Clerkes goe not out of the Church, neither eate, nor drinke, untill Saturday after they have said Masse.

Good-Friday. On Good-Friday about noone, they trim up the Churches according to their abilitie and riches, for there be some Churches which are hanged all with cloth of gold and crimson, and chiefely, they decke up the principal Gate, because there is the standing place of all the people, and they hang up a Crucifixe upon the Cloth, made of printed Paper, and over the same is a little Curtaine which covereth it, and they sing all night and all day, and reade the Passion; which being done, they uncover the Crucifixe, and straightway all the people fall prostrate on the ground, beating one another with Wandes, and Cuffes, and Fists, with great fury, jowling their heads one against another, and also against the Wall, and make so bitter mourning, that any heart of Flint would bee mooved to teares with pure devotion. This lamentation and sorrow continueth two houres at the least. After this, two Priests goe to every gate of the circuite, which are three, which goe into the Churchyard, and stand at all these gates, one on the one side, and another on the other side, with a little Whip in their hands, which hath five great thongs of Leather upon it. And all they that were before the principall gate came out through one of these three gates stripped from the waste upward, and as they passe, they bow downe their bodies, and these Priests with the Whips doe nothing else but lay on them as hard as they can, as long as they stand still: some passe by, and have but few stripes, others stay and receive many: but the old men and old women stand there halfe an houre, untill the bloud trickle downe their bodies, and so they lye all night in the Cloyster of the Church. And at mid-night they begin their Songs, which

Of their great lamentation and beating one another, upon Good-Friday at night.

[II. vii. 1097.]

Whippings.

Easter Eeve.

Easter day.

continue untill the next day at Evening, and then they begin Masse, and all receive the Communion.

On Easter day at mid-night, they begin their Mattens, and before day they make a Procession, and at breake of day they say Masse: And they observe this weeke untill the Munday following, the Apostles Sunday, and so they keepe seventeene dayes holy, that is to say, from the Saturday before Palme-sunday, untill the said Munday.

111. Upon a time we were in the Lent at the Court of Prete Janni, which lay on the borders of a Countrey of Gentiles, called Gorages, a Nation (as they say) very malicious, and none of these will be made slaves, for they had rather die or kill themselves, then serve the Christians. The place where the Court lay was out of the Countrey of the said people: which, as it was told us, have their Habitations under the ground, that is to say; they make Caves wherein they live. But the Court was lodged by a goodly River, the chanell whereof ran low in a deepe bottom, and on the banks on either side the Countrey all was a most goodly greene Champaigne, but the Earth within a foot deep was a sandie Rock, like the Rocke Di glali de Charnache in Portugall. On all places on the sides of this River, were exceeding store of Houses digged in the Mountaine, one above another: and the biggest of them had their doore no larger then the mouth of an Hogs-head, whereby they might easily creepe in, and over the doore was an hole made where they fastened a Cord, whereby with their hands they climbed up. In which Houses abundance of the poore people of the Court were lodged: and they said, that these Houses were able to receive twentie or thirtie persons with their stuffe.

Gorages.

Troglodytæ, Cave-dwellers. People living in Caves under the ground.

There was also by this River a very strong Towne, which on the side toward the River was hewen into the mightie Rocke, and toward the Land there was a Ditch cast, fifteene fathomes deepe, and six fathomes broad, and both the ends thereof reached unto the River: and in this Trench all round about it were Houses digged like to those aforesaid, but in the midst of this circuit which

Towne in a Rocke.

was like a plaine field, there were little Houses made with wals and roofes, wherein at this time Christians dwell, and there is also a good Church. The entry into this Towne is digged under the ground, through this sandie Rocke, all made like a Vault, where a man would not thinke, that any Mule or Oxe could enter in, and yet neverthelesse they passe well enough.

Not farre from this Towne, going up the River is a great Rocke very steepe from the top to the bottome, and on the top thereof is a plaine field, and in the mid-way up this Rocke, there is a Monasterie dedicated to our Ladie, and here they say, was the Palace of the King of this Countrey of Gorages. This Mountaine or Rocke looketh toward the East, and they goe up to this Monasterie with a woodden Ladder, which may bee placed and remooved, for they take it away every night for feare these people Gorages, when the Court is not there. Afterward they goe up a paire of staires of stone, and on the left hand is a Ladder, and fifteene Cels of Friers, which all have windowes very high over the River. Then there are their Butterie, their dining roome, and Chambers to lay up their Corne; and turning on right hand, passing through a darke way, a man commeth unto a great height, where the principall gate of their Church is, which is not made of the said Rocke, but it seemeth in ancient time, that there hath bin a great Hall with wals about it, which is very lightsome and broad, for it hath many windowes over the River; To this place come some small number of Friers. Many people come hither from the Court to receive the Communion, both for the devotion of this place, and also by reason of the fame, which these Friers have to be men of good life, and because they suffer many miseries, by reason of the wrongs which these bad Neighbours of theirs, the Gorages doe continually unto them. And because the Court doth alwayes lodge after one manner, that is to say, all the people of the Court, that part on the left hand which belonged to the great Betudete, lay over against these Gorages: and very few dayes passed, wherein we heard

Monasterie of our Ladie ascended by a Ladder, and stone staires.

not this newes: This night, the Gorages have slaine fifteen or twenty men of the great Betudete, and no man would succour them, because that being in the Lent by reason of the severe Fast, no man had any courage to fight for weaknesse, and faintnesse of body, neither would they breake the season upon any occasion. *I will have Mercie and not Sacrifice.*

On the holy weeke, and Easter day being hard at hand, the Prete sent us word to prepare our selves to say Masse before his Tent, because he would heare the same. I sent him word, that all should be readie, but that we lacked a Tent, because that which we had before was all broken and spoyled by the raine. He sent us word, that he would send us a Tent, and cause the same to be set up, and that as soone as he called for us, we should come presently with all things necessary to say Masse. And it was not past mid-night, but hee sent for us, and straitway wee went thither, and were brought before the gate of the Prete, which wee found in this manner: A great part of the circuit of the hedge was broken and taken away, and from the Tent of the Prete to the Church of holy Crosse, stood above sixe thousand Waxe Candles lighted, and all in a ranke, and the distance might bee as farre as a Peece of great Ordnance might shoote: and the breadth from the one side to the other of them that held these Candles, was as farre as one could strike a Ball at twice, and all the way was plaine and equall. And there stood above fiftie thousand persons behind them, which held the Candles, so that they which held the Candles, made as it were, an hedge that could not be broken, holding Canes before them bound all along together, and the Candles fastned upon them round about the way. Before the Tent of the Prete, rode foure Gentlemen on horse-backe, solacing themselves, and they placed us next unto them. [II. vii. 1098.] *Six thousand Candles.*

In the meane while, came the Prete forth of his Tent, mounted upon a Mule as blacke as a Crow, and as bigge as a great Horse (whereof they say, he maketh great account: and alwayes when he travelleth, will have this Mule come after him, and if he ride not upon the same, *The Pretes habit.*

Sometime carried on mens shoulders.

hee sitteth on a Litter which is carryed on mens shoulders) and he came forth clad in an Embroydered Robe, which reached downe to the ground, and likewise his Mule was covered all over. The Prete wore his Crowne on his head, and held a Crosse in his hand, and on both sides of him went two other Horses, and they went even with the head of the Mule, but not hard by him, for they went afarre off, and were adorned and covered all over with Embroydered Cloth of Gold, and seemed to bee enclosed in Gold, by reason of the great glittering thereof. They had great Crownes upon their heads, which came downe to their very bits, and in the tops thereof were great plumes of Feathers. As soone as the Prete was come forth, those foure Noblemen which rode before, departed away, and were seene no more, and those which came to call us as soone as the Prete was past, placed us after him, so that no bodie else could come there, nor passe the raile of the Candles, saving onely twentie Gentlemen, which went a good space before the Prete on foot: and in this order we came to the Church of holy Crosse, where the Masse of the Resurrection was to be said: and here alighting and going into the Church, he entred into his Curtaines, and we stayed at the gate, out of which great numbers of Church-men immediately comming, were accompanied with a farre greater number then that which was without, and they began to make a great procession, placing us in the end of the same next unto the first degrees and states of honorable calling: and after the Procession was done, as many went into the Church as could stand therein, and the rest stayed in the fields, and they caused us also to enter in, placing us hard by the Curtaines of the Prete.

Crowned horses.

Procession.

As soone as Masse was done, and that they began to give the Communion, the Prete sent us word, that we should make our selves readie to goe and say Masse, because the Tent was now set up, and that he would come presently. We went our way with those which called us, which brought us where there was a blacke Tent set up, hard by the Tent of the Prete, which when we saw to be

Black Tent.

blacke, we thought that they had done it to disgrace us: and suddenly the Ambassador said unto me; Father, yee shall do well not to say Masse: for this is done to try us: answered; neither doe I meane to say Masse, let us goe hence to our Tents; And this was done at the breake of the day.

After our refusall and expostulations, the Prete sent us word to have patience, because hee would see condigne punishment executed on them which had done the same, and prayed us to goe into that blacke Tent, because that seeing it was not good to say Masse in, yet it was good enough to dine in; and so we went into it: And hither was sent unto us a royall Dinner, with infinite and excellent viands of sundrie sorts of flesh, and excellent Wine both white and red, which were very strong, and of an excellent smell. Peter de Covillan was with us, and was present at all which passed that night. And at Dinner, he told us, that all this was done of purpose, to trie what estimation we had of Gods matters, and of the Church, and that from henceforth, they would take us for very good and perfect Christians. All this Lent, we were very well provided of meat and drinke, and of good store of Fish, and of store of Grapes which were then ripe in that Countrey. As soone as we had dined, That old Father which baptized the people, came unto us, and told us, that the Prete sent us word, that though wee had said no Masse that day, yet at least he would have us say Masse the next Sunday, and that he would take order, that we should have a good Tent provided for us, wherein we should say Masse according to our manner for the soule of his Mother, which was deceased a full yeere past; and that they likewise did say the Tascar, that is to say, The commemoration for the dead, and that we also should say the same after our manner.

Masse for the Pretes Mother deceased.

[§. XVII.

[II. vii. 1099.]

§. XVII.

Don Lewis de Meneses Letters: King Emanuels death; Their Rites of mourning, Fatigar and Xoa. Mafudi his many mischiefes and death in battell.

112. ON the Sunday, being the Octave of Easter, we went thither, and found a great white and new Tent set up, with Curtaines all of silke, below overthwart the midst thereof, after their manner, and it was placed very neere the Tent of the Prete, and there the Frier, which now commeth Ambassadour with us, and other Priests, sang a Nocturne for the dead with us, and we said Masse, and before we had finished the same, there came unto us two packets of Letters, which Don Lewis de Meneses had sent us, which was come with a Fleet for us to the Haven of Maczua, and the Letters came by two wayes, and the Messengers arrived at one instant. There were also Letters directed to the Prete, wherein he requested him of all favour, that he would dispatch us without delay, that we might be at Maczua the fifteenth of Aprill, because he could stay for us no longer, as well because the mooving of the Sea, which is the fit time to depart out of the Red Sea, would passe away, as also because there was great need of his presence in India. And it so fell out, that the same day whereon the Letters were delivered, the terme of the fifteenth of Aprill expired. It was also written in the said Letters, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life.

Letters from Maczua.

The death of Don Emanuel.

Shaving and Blackes for mourning used.

And because it is the fashion of this Countrey, when their friends die, to shave their heads, and not their Beards, and to cloath themselves in blacke apparell, wee beganne to shave one anothers head, and while wee were doing this, in came they which brought us our dinner: who when they saw this, they set downe the meate upon the ground, and ranne to tell it unto the Prete, which suddenly sent two Friers unto us, to understand what was fallen out.

The Ambassadour could not answere him for the great lamentation which he made, and I told them as well as I could, that the Sunne which gave us light was darkned, that is to say, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life, and suddenly all of us began to make our moane, and the Friers went their way. Immediately at that instant were cryes made, that all places where Bread, Wine, and other Merchandize were sold, and all other Tents of Officers and Judges should be shut up, and this continued for three dayes, in the end whereof his Highnesse sent for us, and his first message unto us was; who did inherit the Kingdomes of the King his Father? The Ambassadour said, the Prince, Don John, his Sonne. As soone as he understood this message, they say, that hee rejoyced greatly, and sent us this word, Atesia, Atesia, that is to say, Be not afraid, be not afraid, for yee are among Christians, the Father was good, the Sonne will also be good, and I will write unto him. At length hee was content, that wee should send John Gonsalves our Factor to the Sea, with a Letter of his owne and ours also, and gave him a very goodly Mule and rich apparell, and ten ounces of Gold, and with him went two of the Prete his Kinsmen.

Sale forbidden.

As for our selves which did solicit him with all importunitie, hee drew us along for the space of sixe weekes, and in the end he gave us very rich Garments, and to foure of us he gave chaines of Gold, with Crosses hanging at them, and every man his Mule: I had one of those Mules which went as though she would flie in the Aire, and that without any hardnesse in the World: and for the rest of the company, fourescore ounces of Gold, and one hundred Loaves for our journey which we were to make. Being departed from the Court, we had not travelled very farre, but the Messengers returned which wee had sent unto the Sea, and signified unto us, that Don Lewis was departed a good while since, and though we knew that we could not over-take him, because the motion of the Sea would not suffer him to stay for us, yet neverthelesse

Rich gifts.

Don Lewis departed.

wee went thither, and found that he had left us great store of Pepper, and certaine goods for our maintenance, and there were Letters of his directed to the Prete, and unto us.

It was determined by the greater part of us, to send halfe of the Pepper to the Prete, and that the other halfe should remayne for our use, and that the Factor and I should goe on this message. For all this, Don Roderigo would needs goe himselfe, and would carrie all the Pepper, hoping that the Prete would give him some great present, because it is a thing most esteemed, which may be brought into these Countries. And with these our Commodities we departed the first of September, and went faire and softly with our Mules, and these carriages of our goods, and came to the Court about the end of November, and found the Prete in the Kingdome of Fatigar, which is in the uttermost part of the Kingdome of Adel, under which Adel, is Barbara and Zeila. This King is greatly esteemed among the Moores, and counted for a Saint, because he maketh continuall warre against the Christians, and is furnished by the Kings of Arabia, and the Lords of Mecca, and by other Kings which are Moores, with Armour, Horses, and whatsoever he will have, and he on the other side sendeth them infinite numbers of Abissin slaves, which he taketh in warre. From the place or field where wee found the Court unto the first Mart-towne of Adel, is a dayes journey, and from that Mart-towne to Zeila, are eight dayes journey.

Fatigar.

Barbara and Zeila.

The King of Adel a mortall enemy unto Prete Janni, & therefore esteemed a Saint.

[II. vii. 1100.] *Fatigar described.*

This Kingdome of Fatigar, for as much as we have seene thereof in our going and comming, is for the most part Champaigne, that is to say, all low hils; wholly manured, and sowed with Wheate, Barley, and other Seeds, and there are mightie Champaigne fields sowed all over with Corne. There are also infinite Herds of Cattell of all sorts, to wit, Goates, Sheepe, Oxen, Mares, and Mules. From this Champaigne we saw a far off a Mountaine higher then all the rest, not of stone, but covered all over with Trees, and also manured, wherein are many Monas-

teries and Churches environed with manured fields; in the top of which Mountaine there is a Lake twelve miles in compasse, from whence were brought unto the Court great store of fish of sundry sorts, and those very good, and I saw not such store in any other place. Here grow sweet Oranges, Citrons, and Indian Figs, in such abundance, as it is incredible. Peter de Covillan told me, that the said Mountaine was so great, that he travelled eight dayes journey about the foot thereof, and that he tooke measure thereof, and that the Lake on the top of the Mountaine was twelve miles in circuit. When the Court departed, we travelled two dayes and an halfe, before we came to the foot of this hill, and when we came neere it, it seemed very high, and in every part fruitfull. Many Rivers fall downe from the same, wherein is taken great store of fish.

A Lake of twelve miles compasse on top of a mountaine.

We travelled a day and an halfe on the back-side at the foot of this Mountaine, and leaving the same, we went out of the Kingdome of Fatigar, and entred into the Kingdome of Xoa, and here we delivered the Pepper to the Prete, and the Letters of Don Lewis, which we had translated into the Abissin Tongue, and could not receive any Answere at all. This Voyage which the Prete made into this Kingdome, grew upon occasion of making certaine partitions and divisions, betweene him and two which were his Sisters, by Father and Mother: for Nahu his Father had five Wives. These partitions were of the Lands and Goods, which remayned by the death of his Mother. Here we stayed foure daies, wherein they cast Lots, what part should fall to each one of them. And Peter de Covillan assured mee, that there were Countries in these portions, which could not bee travelled about in ten daies journey. When this division was made of the portion, which fell unto the Prete, he caused the same to be divided in two parts, which he gave unto two of his little Daughters. The hils were covered with Oxen, Goates, Horses, and Sheepe. The Clothes of Silke and Gold, were likewise divided, whereof there was great

Xoa.

Partition by lot.

quantitie, and he gave the greatest part of the Clothes of Silke unto the Monasteries and Churches, which belonged to his Mother, in this Territorie. From hence we came *Dara.* to the Towne of Dara, where Peter de Covillan shewed the Woods unto us, wherein I said, that the Friers led so strait a life, and where that white man dyed, whose Cave was closed up.

A famous warriour. 113. This Storie was told me by many, and especially by Peter de Covillan, of a Moore Captaine called Mafudi, a man of such courage and valour, that of his great Prowesse after his death, many Songs were made, which are sung even to this day by many people in the Court. They say, that for the space of twentie five yeares together in the Lent, every yeare he made in-roads, and spoyled the Countrey of Prete Janni, and because in this time, the Fast which is great, taketh away the strength of the people, so that they are not able to fight, therefore hee made inroads without any danger through those Countries, and sometimes hee entred above threescore miles. And one yeare he came into the Kingdome of Amara, or into the Kingdome of Xoa, or into the Kingdome of Fatigar, and sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another: and he began to make these in-roads in the life of King Alexander, which was Uncle to the King, for the space of twelve yeares together, who being dead without Sonnes, his Brother Nahu succeeded him, which was the Father of this present King, and he did the like in his daies. This present Prete Janni, began to raigne when he was twelve yeares of age, & til he grew to be seventeen yeares old, Mafudi ceased not to make these in-roads, and warres in the Lent: and they say, that they were so great, that in *Nineteene thousand Captives.* one of them he led away nineteene thousand Abissins Captives, whom hee sent all to the house of Mecca, causing them to bee presented to the Kings of the Moores, where being enforced to become Renegados, they grow to bee very couragious and valiant men, because they get out of the straitnesse of fasting, and enter into the fatnesse, and abundance of the vices of the

Moores. Hee also carryed away a great multitude of all sorts of Cattell.

On the foure and twentieth yeare of his Invasions, when hee entred into the Kingdome of Fatigar, all the people fled unto a Mountaine, and Mafudi environed them about, and tooke them, and burnt all the Churches and Monasteries therein. I have said before, that through all the Countrey of Prete Janni, there are certaine called Cavas, which are men at Armes, because the Husbandmen in these Countries goe not to warre. There were many of these Cavas in these Kingdomes, which together with the Husbandmen were retyred into the said Mountaine. Mafudi tooke them altogether, and put them by themselves, and the poore Husbandmen he dismissed, sending them away that they might sow the fields with Corne the next yeare, for him and his Horses: and to the men of Armes, he said; Yee Cowards, which eat the bread of your King, and so badly defend his Territories, passe by the Sword; and so five thousand men at Armes were slaine, and he returned with great victorie, and without any impeachment at all.

Husbandmen no Souldiers.

The Prete being much moved with this Act, and especially at the burning of the Churches and Monasteries sent Spies into the Kingdome of Adel, to know by what part Mafudi meant to enter: and understood, that he meant to come with great troupes into the Kingdome of Fatigar, in the time of Wheate and Barley Harvest to destroy them. The Prete having learned, that he came not in the time of Lent, at which time they are forbidden * to fight, resolved to wait for him by the way, and this he did against the minds of all his great Courtiers, he set forward with his people and Court onely, without sending for any from farre Countries, because he would not be discovered, and travelled day and night: and on a morning at breake of day, hee set up his Pavilions, in a Towne where the first Market of the Kingdome of Adel is held, which is a dayes journey from the Citie of Adel, where we found him when we carryed him the Pepper. Here

[II. vii. 1101.]

**Crueltie of Superstition.*

(they say) is a great passage, which the King of Adel had passed the day before, and was entred three miles into the Countrey of Prete Janni, and was gone out of the way; when it began to be broad day, they saw one another.

Mafudi, which was a man of great valour, and was never knowne to flee, as the Abissins use to sing of him; as soone as he saw the Pavilion of the Prete, and the red Tents, which are never wont to be set up, but at great Feasts, and entertainments of Princes, said unto the King of Adel: Sir, the Negus of Ethiopia is here in person; and this is the day of our death, doe what you can to save your selfe, for my part I meane here to die: and the said King being fearefull, escaped with foure others on horse-backe, among whom was the sonne of a Betudete, which then remayned with the King of Adel, and is now with the Prete in his Court (for they make no great account to run away, and become Moores, and if they will returne againe, they are baptized anew, and are pardoned for their fault, and become Christians as they were before) and hee told us all these things particularly. As soone as the King of Adel was gotten to a safe place, which was with great speed; the Prete Janni signified to his Armie, after hee knew that the King was fled, that they should receive the Communion, and recommend themselves unto God, and after breake-fast, should set themselves in order: and at nine of the clocke they began to arrange themselves in battell array, and to march against the Moores, keeping alwayes their Tents and Pavilions armed.

King of Adel fleeth.

The Battell betwixt the Negus and Masudi.

Mafudi, which was resolved not to flee, and saw death before his eyes, desired to end his dayes with some notorious and honourable action, and therefore spake unto certayne Christians, inquiring of them, whether there were any Knight so hardie among them, that hee durst fight with him. Hereunto a Frier offered himselfe, called Gabriel Andreas, which slue him in combat, and strooke off his head, and for this his victorie, he is much honoured in the Court, and we our selves were acquainted with him. The rest of the Armie gave the onset upon the

Masudi slaine by Gabriel Andreas a Frier.

Moores, and discomfited them, which could no way escape, because the Prete his Tents were placed in the principall passage; and another passage which was farre off, and whereby the King of Adel fled, was by this time also taken.

After this victorie, the Prete Janni rested in his Tents, and the day following made an inroad through the Kingdome of Adel, untill he came to certayne Palaces of the said King, which he found quite abandoned, the Gates whereof the Prete strooke thrice with his Launce, and would suffer no man to enter in or come neere them, because it should not be said, that hee came thither to rob; for if the King had beene there, or any body else, hee would have beene the first that should have entred in, and made them faire warre: and when he found no body therein, he would suffer none to enter into them, and so returned backe. This battell was in the moneth of July; and it is said, that it was on the very same day, that Lopez Suarez destroyed and burnt the Citie of Zeila, at the sack whereof I my selfe was, and the Moores which were taken told us, that the Captaine of Zeila was gone with the King of Adel, to warre against the Negus of Ethiopia. And oftentimes the Prete sent to shew us foure or five bundles of Swords, with hilts of silver, but grossely made, and told us, that he had won them in the Warre against the Soldan of Adel; and the Tent which he sent us of embroidered cloth and velvet of Mecca, he also wan in the said Warre, and wished us to hallow it before we said Masse therein, because the Moores had committed many sinnes in the same.

Fides pietasque viris qui castra seqq.

Lopez Suarez tooke Zeila in the yeere 1517.

The head of this Mafudi was carried for three yeeres space with the Court, even untill our comming thither, and on every Saturday, Sunday, and other Holy-dayes, which the common people keepe; all the Boyes and Girles did nothing else but sing Verses, made after their manner, in the praise of this Victorie, and at this day their singing passeth throughout all the Court, and I thinke it will continue to the worlds end. Gabriel Andreas, as I have said,

is a Frier, and a very honorable Person, and a Gentleman of very great revenue; and besides this worthy Act which he did, he hath done many other, and the report is, that he is very eloquent, and a friend to the Portugalls, and understandeth very well the holy Scriptures, and the things that concerne the Christian Faith, and hath great delight to talke of them, although King Nahu caused the tip of his tongue to be cut off, for his over-much talking.

Gabriels tongue cut.

114. He sent us word, that he purposed to write to the Pope of Rome, whom they call, Rumea Negus Lique Papas, which signifieth, King of Rome, and head of the Pope, and that I should make him the beginning of the Letter, because they are not wont to write, and knew not how they should write to the Pope. I sent him word, that I would make the beginning for him, and that they should adde the rest which they meant to write, or request at his hands. When wee came thither, we found all those which they hold most learned and wise with many books, and they asked me where mine were. I answered, that I had no need of books, but onely to know his Highnesse purpose, and that we were to bee governed according thereunto. Forthwith, by a chiefe man, as well in authoritie as in knowledge, which was there present, and by his office is called Abucher, which signifieth, A chiefe Chaplaine; the Prete his intention was delivered to the Frier, and he told it me, and I set my selfe to write, and made a briefe Preface, which forthwith was carried to his Highnesse in my hand-writing. Which having seene, hee sent mee back againe, and forthwith we translated it into his language, and returned it againe unto him. Within a while there came a Page, which said, That the King liked very well of that which I had written, and marvelled much, that it was not taken out of books, commanding, that it should be written in a faire hand, and in two Papers, and that his learned Priests should studie their books, for the rest which should be added to these Letters. The Copie of the Letter which I made, is written in a Paper by it selfe, and beginneth in

[II. vii. 1102.]

Learning all in bookes.

this manner: Right happy and holy Father, &c. Three dayes they bestowed in making of the other Letter, and above fifteene in making a little Crosse of gold, which weigheth one hundred Cruzadoes, which also I was to carrie to the Pope.

115. At this time the Prete Janni determined to send an Ambassadour into Portugall because that hitherto he had sent none, and he sent for Don Roderigo and me, and told us, that hee purposed to send a man of his with us unto the King of Portugall, to the end, that his desires might sooner take effect: and asked us, whether we thought, that Zaga Zabo the Frier, who alwayes kept us companie, were sufficient for this Ambassage, seeing hee understood our language, and had beene before-time in our Countries. We answered him, That he was most sufficient, and was a man which understood us, and we him. He sent us word, that wee should take him with us in our companie. The next day he sent us againe very honorable apparell, and thirtie ounces of gold, and one hundred loaves of bread for our voyage, and yet wee stayed a good while after: The Prete sent a Messenger unto us, appointing us to returne unto the Towne of Chaxumo, where (as I said before) we had beene a long time: and here he furnished us with five hundred loades of Graine, with one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe, with one hundred earthen Pots of Honey, and another hundred of Butter, and sent for the Ambassadour which went with us, twentie loades of Corne, twentie Oxen, twentie Sheepe, twentie pots of Honey, and as many of Butter.

Zago Zabo Ambassadour.

116. While we aboade in the Towne of Chaxumo, the said Zaga Zabo was advertized, that a certayne little Lordship, which he had, was taken from him: whereupon he prayed me, that I would goe with him to the Court to demand Justice. When we came thither, we found, that his Adversarie was Abdenago, Captaine of all the Pages of Prete Janni, for here is no office but hath an Head above all the rest. And because all Suites and Answeres are

made to the Prete by Pages, we had no meanes at all to make the Prete acquainted with our suite; howbeit, wee were aided by one Ajace, which is a great Lord: and though he were a great friend of Abdenago, yet made he the Prete acquainted with the cause of our comming.

Hearing of the Cause. Our Judges were appointed, Ajaz Daragote, and Ajaz Caite, to whom we imparted our request; and they appointed us a time the next day, when the Sunne should be in such a place, shewing us the place in the skie: and the Proctor of Abdenago was there present, and Zaga Zabo the Ambassadour was there in person. When the day was come, both parties disputed and alleaged greatly for themselves, and they concluded in words, for in their Courts they write nothing at all; and the Judges gave sentence by word of mouth, after this manner; That the

Zaga Zabo lost the day. Mannor and Lordship, which Zago Zabo demanded, was a very small thing, and in former times subject to another great Lordship, whereof Abdenago was Lord, and that it was right, that as the great Winde passeth over all the Earth, so Abdenago, which was a great Lord, might not be hindred from entring upon this, but that he ought to enter upon this little Signiorie.

When we heard this sentence, we were much amazed, and went to complaine unto the Prete, which sent us word to goe to our lodging, and be of good cheere, for all should be well, and that the next day we should repaire to the chiefe Justice, which should see us dispatched, and herewithall we departed. The next day we waited upon him at his Tent, who received us with a cheerfull countenance, saying, That he had a commandement from the Prete to dispatch us, and that we should stay for him at his Tent, howbeit, we would needs goe with him untill hee went to speake unto the Prete. Where, after he was gone in, and had stayed a while, hee came out with two Pages, which

The Lord chiefe Justice miserably beaten. led him to the place where offenders are beaten, and there calling two which doe this office, they stripped him, and throwing him downe upon the ground, they tyed his hands unto two posts, and his feet straight, with a thong

of Leather, which two men held fast. These ministers of Justice stood one at his head, and another at his feet, smiting him oftentimes, and for the most part on the backe; and when the Prete commanded them to touch him, the stripe pierced unto the bones, and of these stripes he had onely three. I have seene this chiefe Justice beaten three times besides, and within two dayes after, he returned to his office: because they are not ashamed hereof, but rather say, that the Prete meaneth them well, and is mindfull of them, and shortly after bestoweth his favour on them, and putteth them in office. [II. vii. 1103.]

When this chiefe Justice was beaten, there were sixtie Friers in new apparell present, which was yellow, after their custome. And when the chiefe Justice his punishment was ended, they tooke an old Frier which seemed to be a man of account, and was Head of the rest, and beat him after the aforesaid manner, but he was not touched to the quicke. After him they tooke another which was above fortie yeeres of age, who seemed to be a man of much honour, and they beate him as they did the rest, and this last was twice touched to the quicke. While this was done, I inquired the cause, and what fault the Friers had committed: it was told me, that the last Frier which was beaten, had taken to wife a daughter of a Prete Janni, that is to say, of Alexander the unckle of this David, and that he was separated from her, and had taken another sister of this present Prete, which being very dishonest, and doing what she listed, her husband fearing to put her away, in regard of the Prete, and because also in this Countrey the faults of women are not regarded, he forsooke this second wife, and tooke againe the first: and the Prete having commanded him that he should receive his sister againe, he would not obey it, but went and became a religious man: and the Prete having committed this cause to the chiefe Justice, to consider whether hee might become a Frier lawfully or no; the Justice gave sentence, that hee might lawfully take upon him the habite of a religious man, and for this cause, the Justice was punished.

Yellow Friers.

Womens faults neglected.

The father of the Friers was beaten, because he had given him the habite; and this third man, because he received the same: and immediately he was enjoyned to leave the same, and to take againe the sister of the Prete; and by this meanes wee could not have audience for the space of fifteene dayes.

§. XVIII.

Death of Queene Helena, Tributes of Goiame, and other Provinces. Succours given to the Queene of Adea. Apprehension of the two Betudetes and Tigremahon: their sentence, and the execution. Expedition of the Negus to Adea. Strange Oxen. The Pretes Tent-court, and manner thereof; Places, Courts, and courses of Justice, with other parts thereof described. His Treasuries.

Goiame, the government of Queene Helena.

117. QUeene Helena had beene dead some eight or nine moneths, which governed the greatest part of the Kingdome of Goiame, when as many as came newly to the Court, went to bewaile her in her Tent, which as yet stood upright in the old place, and wee did the like, when wee came anew to the Court after her death. And the Prete having sent unto that Kingdome the grand Betudete to receive the Gibre, which is the yeerely tribute of the King; at this time the said Betudete came to the Court with the Gibre, which was three thousand five hundred Mules, three hundred Horses, and three thousand Bassuti, (which are a kind of clothes which great men weare upon their Litters, and they are made of Cotton, shaggie on the one side, like unto Carpets, but not so course; and great personages lay them upon their Beds; and they are of so great price, that one of them is worth an ounce of Gold at the least, and sometimes * three or foure ounces, yea and five ounces) and above three hundred Cotton clothes of small value, whereof

Gibre, or tribute of Goiame.

Bassuti.

**One Copie hath* 30000. *which seemeth better to agree with that which followeth.*

two are worth but a dramme of Gold, and sometimes lesse: and, as wee have said, an ounce is worth a Pardoa, which is three quarters of a golden Ducat of Portugall, and it was told me, that he brought thirtie thousand drachmes of Gold.

I my selfe was at the presenting of this tribute, and saw it all; and it was in this manner. The Betudete came on foot naked from the girdle upward with a cord tyed about his head, like unto a wreath of a Castilian Carrier, and comming within audience of the Tent of the Prete, he said three times this word in short space, Abeto, Abeto, Abeto, which signifieth Lord: and answere was made him but twice in his Language, Who art thou? Who art thou? And he said, I which call, am the least of thy house, which saddles thy Mules, and tyeth up thy Cattell, and doe other businesse which thou hast commanded mee, and I bring thee that which thou hast injoyned mee: and these words were spoken three times; which being ended, a voice was heard, saying, Come, come forward. And he comming neere did reverence before the Tent, and passed by. After him came the Horses one after another, all led by the heads by servants. The first thirtie were sadled, and in very good order, the rest which followed were deare of two drachmes of Gold, and many were not worth one dram a piece, and I saw them afterward sold for lesse, and there might be some three thousand of them. After these Hackneys * came the Mules in like order, to wit, thirtie which were sadled, faire, and in good order; the rest were little young Mulets like those Hackneys, and there were Mules and Mulets, of one, of two, and of three yeeres old, and not past, and none of them saving those which were sadled, were fit to bee ridden: and they passed by as the Betudete and the Horses had done. After the Mules, came the Cloathes called Bassuti, and one man could carrie but one of them, they were so weightie. After the Bassuti passed, the cloathes made up in Fardles, and one man carried ten of them; and there were about three thousand men, that carried Bassuti, and three thou-

Strange ceremonies.

**Ronzini.*

[II. vii. 1104.]

sand men that carried those other Cloathes; and all these were of the Kingdome of Goiame, which are bound to bring the said Gibre. After these cloathes, came ten men, each of them bearing a Charger upon his head, made like unto those wherein they doe eate, and were covered with Greene and Red Sindall. After these Chargers, came all the men of the Betudete, which passed by one after another, as hee himselfe had passed. In these Platters was the Gold put, which was commanded to bee borne unto his lodging, with the rest of the tribute, which was done accordingly. In this Procession were spent above ten houres, that is to say, From the morning untill evening.

Queene of the Moores.

About fifteene daies before our comming to the Court, thither came a Queene of the Moores, Wife unto the King of Adea, which was the Sister of one, which was sent to be the Wife of Prete Janni, whom he refused, because two of her fore-teeth were too great, and therefore she was married unto a great Lord, which was the Barnagasso, and is now a Betudete. This Queene came to crave succour of the Prete, because a Brother of her Husbands was risen up against her, and tooke her Kingdome from her. She

Her traine.

was well accompanied like a Queene, and brought with her fiftie Moores, which were very Honourable persons, and very well apparelled, riding upon Mules, and one hundred men on foote, and sixe Maids of Honor mounted upon Mules, and they were people which were not very blacke. She was received with great honour, and was called for within three daies after her comming, and she came before the Tent of the Prete, being her selfe enclosed in a blacke Litter. She changed her apparell twise that day, once in the morning, and againe at evening, and both times she was clad in Embroydered Cloath of Velvet, and in Moorish smocks of India: and the Prete sent her word, that she should take her ease, and put away all sorrow, because she should have her whole desire, and that shee should stay for Barnagasso, and Tigremahon, at whose comming she should presently depart.

Within eighteene daies after her comming hither, she was againe apparelled after the former manner, and the next day, the foresaid parties arrived at the Court, and each of them brought the Tribute which they are bound to pay unto the King. And with them came the Cavas, that is, The men at Armes of their Kingdomes, with many other Noble-men. They being arrived, the Prete commanded, that the Betudete should first shew his tribute of the Kingdome of Goiame. After him the Barnagasso began to give his Tribute, which were one hundred and fiftie exceeding faire Horses, and the first day they did nothing else but runne and prance, and the next day he presented great store of Cloath of Silke, and great store of passing fine Cloathes of India. I was not at this presentment, because I felt not my selfe well. When this was done, the next day very early, Tigremahon began to present his Tribute, which were two hundred Horses, fatter, fairer, and better then those of Barnagasso, because they came from a farther Countrey, yet both of their Horses were of Egypt and Arabia, and all this day, they did nothing else but view Horses. The next day they presented more Cloathes of Silke, then ever I saw together in my life, and the whole day was bestowed in presenting, counting and receiving of the same. The Munday following, about noone, came Balgada Robel, a great Nobleman, subject to Tigremahon, to present his Tribute by himselfe, which were thirtie Horses, all of Egypt, great like * Elephants, very fat, and a Xumagali, that is, a Gentleman without Title upon each of them; and eight of these Xumagali had good Curasses like unto ours, part covered with Velvet, and part with Cordovan, and their studs gilded. They had also Helmets like ours upon their heads. Balgada Robel himselfe was one of these eight: the other two and twenty had shirts of Maile, with long sleeves, which were very well fastned to their bodies: they had thirtie Javelins, and Maces of Iron like unto the workes, and all of them weare Blue wreathes about their heads, with long haire which waved in the wind.

Tributes of Barnagasso and Tigrai.

**An hyperbolicall speech.*

Their Armes.

A.D. 1521-26.

Succours for Adea.

118. Of the Cavas, that is, The men of Armes which came with Barnagasso and Tigremahon, and with the Gentlemen of their Companies, the Prete Janni appointed, that fifteene thousand of them, with a Noble-man named Adrugaz, which is often spoken of in this Booke, should goe immediatly into the Kingdome of Adea, and pacifie that Kingdome, and that the Queene should follow soft and faire. And forth-with the Queene and Adrugaz departed, and it was reported, that they should travaile through the Countrey of the Prete, thirtie daies journey, before they could come into the Kingdome of Adea. The next day after the Queenes departure, the Prete commanded the Grand Betudete to be apprehended, which had brought him tribute from the Kingdome of Goiame. Likewise he caused the other Betudete to be taken, whose name is Canha, he caused also Tigremahon to be taken; which being apprehended on a morning before day, the Prete departed, and all the Court with him, and we after him.

Apprehension of great men.

And as the Ambassador of the Prete, and I stood by a Rivers side, watering our Mules, this Betudete that brought the Tribute passed by us, and said unto mee, Abba Barqua, which signifieth, Father give me your blessing: I answered him; Ihezeria Barqua, that is to say, God blesse you. He answered with teares, which trickled downe his cheekes: Father, pray to God for me, for at this time I shall end my daies. His prison was a little Chaine, very thinne, of a fathome * long, like a Chaine to leade a Dogge in, with a little thin circle about his necke, and himselfe carried his Chaine in his hand.

[II. vii. 1105.]

A Chaine-prison.

**Un Braccio.*

On a Wednesday, we came to the place where the Tents of the Prete were set up, and that night it was said, that the Prete commanded the Betudete to bee brought to his presence, and so he was brought with two of his Sonnes. When they were come to the gate of the Tent, the Prete sent forth two Pages, to cause him to be brought to the backe-side of the Tent, because he would speake with him in his owne person, commanding the Guard and his Sonnes

to attend, and withdrew themselves a little from the gate of the Tent. Here they stayed untill the morning, when the Prete rid away, and all of us with him, without any newes at all of the Betudete, whether he were dead or alive, or what was become of him. His said two Sonnes, and three others which stayed at home, being all great personages, and worthy Warriors, made pittifull moane, and all their Fathers Servants, which kept an honourable house, like a great King. After this the Prete commanded, that they should not use any Servant of their Fathers, nor of their owne: and I have seene them riding all alone without any Servant, naked from the Girdle upward, with a blacke shaggy Sheepe-skinne upon their shoulders, and clad in blacke Cloath from the Girdle downeward, and all their Mules covered with blacke. Their owne Servants and their Fathers, were divided all, and walked mourning on foote, and drove their Mules sadled before them.

The kingdome of Oisa.

On a Munday, when we entred into the Kingdome of Oisa, there was a commandement, to observe the Feast of the Kings, or Twelfe-day, which they call, Tabuchete, on which day they observe their Baptisme, as I have said before. This day very early in the morning, these Sons of the Betudete went from house to house, that is to say, To the Tents of the great persons, as others were wont to come unto them, enquiring newes of their Father, whether he were living or dead, whereof they could learne nothing at all, untill fifteene daies after, when they were returned, which had conveyed him into the Kingdome of Fatigar, into a Mountaine, which is said to be in the uttermost Border of the Kingdome of Adel, which is very high, having a deep Valley in the midst thereof, and there is but one entrance thereinto: In this bottome or Valley, are all kind of Beasts and Oxen, but the men which came into it, dye within foure or five daies of an Ague, and that there they had left him without any man to waite upon him, saving certaine Moores which were to guard him untill he were dead. This newes increased their griefe

Chance and Change, &c.

A strange Valley used for a killing prison.

more then the first: and men beganne to speake of his death in the Court, that the Prete had put him unto the same, because he had lien with the Queene his Mother, and the report went so while shee was alive, and that hee had a Sonne by her, and that the Prete would not put him to death while his mother lived, because hee would not discredite her. And while these rumours went about the Court, Proclamation came forth, that no man should speake of the Betudete, on paine of his life. Suddenly this rumour ceased; And three moneths after, while wee were neere the Sea side, in the Territories of Tigremahon, there came a new report, that the Betudete was not dead, and that his Sonnes, by the helpe of the King of Adel, had wrought his escape. Immediatly there came other newes, that the Prete had beheaded twentie Moores, which guarded him, and two of his Servants, because they came to speake with him: and this we knew to be very true.

The cause of the Betudete his apprehension.

119. Also on a night, the Prete commanded that Tigremahon should be carried away, neither was there any man that could tell, to what place he was conveyed. The next day they sent to lay hold upon all that hee had in his Tents, and ceased not three daies together, to carrie, count, and deliver out course Cloathes, and many Chamblets, and very fine Cloathes of India. We were then in the Court sixe White men of us, to wit; I, and one Portugall, and foure Genoueses. To each of us the Prete sent sixe cloathes, to wit, three pieces of Chamblet, and three cloathes of India, and it was reported within few daies, that the Prete had sent Tigremahon into the Kingdome of Damute, into a wonderfull high Mountaine, which had but one way made by hand into it, and the top thereof was cleansed, and very cold. Hither they send men, whom they would speedily ride out of the way. And according as false newes came into the Countries of Tigremahon, that the Betudete was fled, so certaine newes came unto us, that Tigremahon was dead in that Mountaine for hunger and cold. At this time also, while wee were at the Court, the other Betudete which was appre-

Tigremahon dyed with hunger and cold.

hended, was deposed from his Office, and Arraz Nobiata was made Betudete, which had beene Barnagasso, and Balgada Robel was made Tigremahon, who came with thirtie Horses in such good order. And there ranne a great brute through all the Court, lamenting the death of the Queene Helena: for they muttered, that since her death, Both great and small went all to wracke, and that while she lived all were preserved alive and cherished, and that she was the Father and Mother of all men; and that if the Prete went forward on this fashion, all his Kingdome would speedily come to nought. *Queene Helena lamented.*

The Tabuchete or Baptisme being ended, the Ambassadour Zago Zabo, and I left off the prosecution of our suit, because we durst not proceede therein, by reason of the great and weightie affaires, which we saw to be in hand. The Prete sent for us, and taking away a Lordship, which Abdenago our adversarie held, and the other which we demanded, he gave them both unto the Ambassadour, and so dispatched us fully contented. Before wee departed, newes came from Adrugaz, which went with the Queene of Adea to succour her Husband, whereby the Prete was advertized, how the people would not obey her, and that whether soever she came, they fled away, and ranne into the Mountaines, and that his Highnesse must send more men. The Prete determined to goe thither in person, and to bring the Queene his Wife unto a Towne, wherein before we had beene with her, which is called Orgabra, being in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Adea, and there to leave his Wife, his Children, and all the Court; and so hee did. There went with him of the Portugals, George de Bren, Diego Fernandez, Alfonso Mendez, and Alvarenga, and five or sixe Genoueses. Upon their returne, they reported, that wheresoever the Prete travelled through the Kingdome of Adea, all the people came to do him homage, as unto their Lord, and that he would have gone a great deale farther, even unto Magadaxo; and that the Countrey was very fruitfull and full of Woods, so that they could not [II. vii. 1106.] *Orgabra.* *Magadaxo.*

travell, unlesse they cut downe the Trees, and so made their way. And that there was infinite store of victuals of all sorts, and great herds of all Cattell, which are very bigge, and that in this Kingdome there is a Lake so great, that it seemeth to be a Sea, and that a man cannot see from the one side to the other, wherein there is an Iland, where in times past a Prete Janni built a Monastery, and placed many Monkes in the same, although it were built in the Land of the Moores, which Friers for the most part dyed of the Feaver, saving a few that remained in a little Monasterie out of the Ile, by the Lakes side, which were found alive, and that the Prete forth-with commanded, that other Churches and Monasteries should bee built, and many Priests and Friers should be left there, and lay-people to inhabite the said Kingdome, which being pacified, he returned backe againe to the Towne where he had left the Court. This Kingdome payeth a great number of Oxen for tribute, and we have seene of them in the Court, and they are as bigge as great Camels, and white as Snow, and without hornes, and have very great and hanging eares.

A mightie Lake.

White Oxen without horns, as bigge as Camels.

120. The manner which the Prete observeth in disposing of his Court is, that alwaies hee lodgeth in the fields, for no other place were able to containe his traine; And if there be any high place, thereon they set up the Tents of the Prete, the backe parts whereof stand alwaies to the East, and the Gates unto the West, and they are alwaies foure or five Tents, all fastned together one to the other, and these are properly his habitations, environed about with certaine high Curtaines, which they call Mandekate, being wrought in Checker-wise, divided into black and white, and if you will stay there any long time, they compasse them about with an hedge, which is a good mile about, wherein they make twelve Gates. The principall Gate looketh toward the West, and behind the same a good distance off, are two other Gates, one on the one side, and another on the other, which serve for the Church of Saint Marie of Sion, which standeth toward

How the Prete is lodged in his Tents.

The hedge with twelve gates.

Saint Mary of Sion.

the North, and the other serveth for the Church of holy Crosse, which is towards the South. Next unto these gates, which serve for these Churches, as farre distant from these as the principall Gate is from the Gates aforesaid, are two other Gates on each side. That towards the South, serveth to goe to the Tents of the Queene, the Wife of the Prete, and that toward the North, serveth to goe to the lodgings of the Pages; and at all these Gates, stand severall Guards. I could not see the rest, for they will suffer no man to goe round about that hedge. This I wot well, that in all places wheresoever he lodgeth, they make twelve Gates: among which there is one, that serveth for the Pages of the Kitchin.

Behind these Tents, the distance of a Crosse-bow shot and more, are the Kitchins placed, and the Tents of the Cookes divided into two parts: To wit, the Cookes on the right hand, and the Cookes on the left hand. And when the meates are brought from these Kitchins, they use to carrie them after this sort, (according as I saw in the Citie of Orgabra, in the Kingdome of Xoa, as I stood upon an hill neere unto the Kitchins; for in other parts the Tents are set in the Plaines, that no man may see them.) There passed a Canopie of Red and Blew Crimzon, as it seemed of sixe whole long pieces sewed together, and they carried this Canopie upon certaine Canes, which in this Countrey are very good, strong, and so long, that they make Lances with them. Under this Canopie came the Pages, which carried the meate in certaine great Platters of Wood, which they call Canete, being made like plaine Patens of Wood, wherein we cleanse our Wheate, with a brim two fingers high, but they be greater, and in each of them were set many Dishes of black earth, wherein the meates were put, as Hens, Turtles, and other small Birds, and many fruits, and White-meates, which are for the most part made with Milke, and other things. There were also little Pipkins, as blacke as the dishes, with other Viands, and Broth of divers sorts. These meats which I speake of, which were carried in

these Platters, I say not that I saw them when they carried them, because I was a farre off; but I saw them, when they sent them to us, that they came in the same Platters, as they were brought from the Kitchin, without any Canopie, and the Pipkins were covered with their heads closed up with Paste: and these Platters which they sent us, were full of these Pipkins, which were seething hot. In all meats wherein they may put Ginger and Pepper, they layed on so much, that we could not eate of them, because they were so hot. Betweene the Kitchins and the Tents of the Cookes, almost behind the same, is a Church of Saint Andrew, which is called, The Church of the Cookes. No man may repaire unto the place where the Kitchins are, nor yet behind them.

Meats hot with spices.

[II. vii. 1107.]

Reverence to the Tents.

121. Two Crosse-bow shoots distant, before the gates of the Kings Tents, or of the hedge, if it be there, a long Tent is set up, which they call Cacalla, and this is the house of Justice or Audience. And betweene this Tent and the Tents of the Prete, no man passeth on Horse-backe, in reverence of the King, and of his Justice, but all doe light and goe on foot. Into this Tent of Cacalla, no man entreth: onely thirteene low Chaires of Iron are placed therein. The place where they sit is covered with Leather; and one of the said Chaires is very high, reaching as high as the brest of a man, and the other twelve are as low as our stooles. None of the Judges which heare the parties sitteth in these Chaires, (they onely stand there for a Ceremonie) for they sit on the ground upon the grasse, if there bee any, as many on the one side, as on the other, and there they heare the parties which contend, and every one according to his jurisdiction: because (as I have said) as the Cookes were divided into two parts, so are all others; to wit, on the left hand, and on the right, and Audience is given after this sort.

Court of Justice.

Manner of Suit.

The Plaintiffe delivereth his Action by word of mouth, and no man speaketh while he hath done. The Defendant speaketh against him as long as hee will, without any mans disturbance: when the Defendant hath done, the

Plaintiffe replyeth if hee will, and the Defendant answereth him the second time, if he thinke so good, without any disturbance. When they have done their Oppositions, and Answeres by themselves, or by their Proctors, there standeth up a man, which is, as it were, a Reporter; and hee repeateth over againe as much as the parties have said, and at length delivereth his opinion, which of them both hath best right. Then one of those Judges which sit downe, to wit, he that is the first, doth even so as the Reporter had done, to wit, he repeateth all that the parties have said, and at length delivereth, which of them he thinketh to have best reason. And after this manner, doe all the rest which sit and deliver their opinion: and they stand up when they speake, untill they come to the Chiefe Justice, which standeth up last, who having heard the opinion of all the rest, giveth his sentence, if there bee no need of proofe: but if they have need of tryall, they give them due and necessary respite. And all is done in words without writing.

Censure.

Other matters which the Betudetes and the Ajaz heare, they heare standing, because they stand before the Tents of the Prete, and before this Cacalla, and as soone as they heare the parties, immediately they goe with that which they say unto the Prete, and they enter not into his Tent, but onely within the Mandelate or great Curtaine, and there they speake, and then returne to the parties with the resolution of the Prete. And sometimes they spend a whole day in passing thus too and fro, according to the weightinesse of the causes.

Standing Audience.

122. A good distance before the Tent or House of Justice, on the right hand and on the left, are two Houses or Tents, as it were Prisons, to keepe men in Chaines; and they are called Maigues Bete, where the Prisoners are kept on both side, to wit, on the right hand, and on the left. And they are kept after this manner, that according to their fault and cause, such is their Prison and their Guards. The Prisoner is bound to maintaine the Guards which keepe him, and payeth them as long as he is in Prison.

Two Prisons.

Their manner of imprisonment.

Bound to find him whom you attache.

And if there be any that hath Fetters on his legges, when they bring him before the Tent of the Prete, where they have Audience, these Warders carrie him in their armes, to wit, two reach their hands one to another, and cause the Prisoner to sit upon their armes, which layeth his hands upon their heads, and the rest of the Warders follow him with their weapons, and so they goe and come.

There is another kind of Prisoners: for if you will have a man attached, you are bound to find him, if you will accuse him, and his Guard also to guard him. And this I know, because our Portugals caused certaine to bee apprehended, for Mules which were stolne from them, and because they sent meate unto the Prisoners, and to their Keepers, they made request to have them set at libertie. I knew another which was a Genouese, which had a Mule stollen from him, and the Thiefe confessed that he had stollen her, but that she was not in his possession, and that he had not wherewithall to pay for her. They condemned him to bee a slave, and hee was sold, and he was a very couragious fellow.

123. Right over against the Tents of the Prisons, a good distance off, are the Tents of the two Chiefe Justices placed, to wit, one on the one side, and another on the other, and betweene them is a Church, called, The Church of the Justices. And over against this Church, a good way from the same are foure Lions in Chaines, which are alwayes led, whithersoever the Prete Janni goeth. And a good way from the Lions, is another Church, which is called, The Church of the Christians Market, who sell in the same: for the greatest part bee Moores, especially the principall Merchants of goods, and wares sold by the great; and the Christians sell small wares, as bread, wine, meale, and flesh; because the Moores are not suffered to sell any kind of victuals; neither will any man eat of that which they doe dresse, nor of the flesh that they doe kill. This Market must alwayes be right before the Tent of the Prete: the least roome that the compasse of the Market taketh up, is a mile and an halfe, and sometimes

The Prete carrieth foure Lions about with him.

No Christian will eat of that which a Moore killeth or dresseth.

[II. vii. 1108.]

three miles and more. Although the Court change as often as it will, yet this Order of placing their Tents is alwayes observed. And from the Tent of the King unto this Market, the way is free and open, that is to say, there standeth no Tent at all, save onely the two Churches of the two Justices, and those of the Lions, and that of the Church of the Market. And these are a good way distant from all other Tents.

124. On each side of both the Churches, standing on either side of the Tent of the Prete, there is placed a very faire and goodly Tent, wherein they keep the Vestments of the Churches and another, where they keepe the fire and the flower to make the Corban, that is, the Communion Bread. And al other Churches have a Tent after this maner. Before these Churches are set up other great, long and wide Tents, like unto Hals, & these they cal Balagamie, wherin they keep the Apparell, Robes, & Treasures of the Prete, & as many of them stand on the one side as on the other; for they are double, as the rest of the Tents of the Officers of the Court are. These Tents have their Captaines which are over those that guard them; And the greater part of this people are slaves, which are Eunuches. Behind these Tents of the Wardrobe on the right hand, stand the Tents of the Queene the Wife of the Prete, and of all the women that wait upon her, and the Tents of Queene Helena, which was wont to be served in very great pompe: but none but women and Eunuches enter thereinto. On the left hand, are the Tents of the Pages: then the Ajazi have their lodging, because they take up a great roome, for they have many people under them, which are alwayes neere about them: after the Ajazi, lodgeth the Patriarke Abuna Marke, with a great number of Tents, because an infinite number of people come to bee admitted into Orders, so that he occupieth as much roome as were sufficient for a great Towne.

Vestries.

Double Tents and Captaines to each.

Abuna Marke.

On the other side lodgeth the Cabeata, which in like manner hath a multitude of Tents, and his lodging was

The Cabeata married.

wont to be next unto the Church of Saint Mary, because this Office was wont alwayes to be given to a Frier; but this present Cabeata being a Priest, and having a Wife, they place him next the Abuna. Then follow all the Noblemen in their places, and next unto them the people that are well apparelled, and then the common people, as the Taverners, and Bakers, which sell and make Wine, and use victualling. Then follow the Tents of the women hired to doe businesse, which they call Amaritas, and these are many, and they have many other Tents separated from theirs, wherein the strangers are lodged, which come to sell, to buy, and to traffique with the Court of the Prete. And hereof there be many richly and well apparelled. Next unto these are lodged all the Carpenters, on the one side, and on the other, and they take up a very great roome. The two great Betudetes with their people, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, doe lastly occupie the space of a Citie; so great a multitude doe they alwayes carrie with them, and are as it were, the Guard of this Court. And alwayes the Tents of the Prete are first set up, and strait-way every one knoweth his place, where he ought to set up his, whether on the right hand or on the left. And the Streets, Markets, and Churches are easie to bee seene. And this Campe or Lodging of the Prete Janni, extendeth it selfe for the space of sixe good miles.

The Pretes absolute Sovereigntie.

125. No great Lord, nor Governour of Territories, if hee bee in his Government may come forth, nor stirre to come unto the Court in any wise, unlesse he be sent for by the Prete: and being sent for he may not deferre his comming for any occasion: and when he remooveth hee leaveth there neither Wife, nor Children, nor any goods at all, for he alwayes feareth, that he shall not returne backe againe, because (as I have said before) the Prete giveth and taketh Governments at his pleasure: and if he taketh them from any, strait-way that Nobleman which is placed in his roome, taketh from him whatsoever hee findeth, and therefore they carrie every thing away, or

send them into other Territories. And when they come neere the Court with great triumph, they stay at least three miles distant from the Court, where they remayne oftentimes one or two moneths, without stirring from thence, so that they seeme to be forgotten, untill it pleaseth the Prete to thinke of them: yet cease they not, in this meane time, while they stay as forgotten, to enter into the Court, and to talke with other Noblemen, but not with triumph, nor well apparelled, but with two or three men, and naked from the Girdle upward, and with a sheep-skinne on their shoulders, and so they goe, and returne to their Tents, untill they have licence to repaire unto the Court; which being obtayned, they make their entrance with great triumph of Musicke and Drummes, and retyre themselves unto their place, which in former time was appointed unto them.

Manner of great mens comming to the Court.

And when any of them is lodged, hee goeth not out of his house apparelled, as hee did at his comming to the Court, but goeth naked, as I have said, although he came at his entrance apparelled with great pompe. And at this time all men commonly say: Now such an one is not in the Kings favour, because he goeth naked. And if hee hath any favourable speech from the Prete, incontinently he commeth forth apparelled, and then the people say, Such an one is in his Lords favour, and the cause is spread abroad, for which he was sent for. For the most part they returne unto their governments, and sometimes not: and if they returne, they are strait-way dispatched: if they be taken from them, they stay them five, sixe, and seven yeares, without departing from the Court, from whence they may not depart without licence. They are wonderfully obedient unto their King. Before they were not so greatly accompanied, but now they are as greatly abandoned, and now they ride upon a Mule with two or three men after them, for the rest which were wont to waite upon them, belonged to the governments which were taken from them, and those are appointed to wait upon the new Governour.

[II. vii. 1109.]

Honourable respect of souldiers.

126. If any Gentleman be called forth for the warres (as oftentimes wee have seene) his entry into Court is not forbidden, but presently he entreth, and passeth along as he commeth, with many people. These Gentlemen are not forbidden, that which I have spoken of, not to passe betweene the Tent of Cacalla, and the Tent of the King, neither on horse-backe, nor on Mule, because when they come to goe to warre, they enter into that space, even to the Tents of the King, and neere unto them they make their musters, skirmishing, and ranging themselves in battell array, as they thinke good, that the King may take pleasure thereat. And this wee have seene very oftentimes. These Souldiers stay not in Court above two dayes, for so they bee accustomed, for in two dayes they will assemble one hundred thousand persons together, if they will have so many, and as they come to Court they are speedily dispatched, for there they use not to give any wages, but every man bringeth his victuals with him, namely, Meale of Barley, and of Chiches, and of Millet parched, which is a good food to goe to warre withall: for they find Oxen and Kine every where as they go; and if it be in Wheate Harvest, this is the principall victuall carryed by those people unto the warre.

The case is now altered.

The Pretes Carriages.

127. All the Pretes Robes of Silke are laid in square Paniers made of wicker, which are foure spans long, layd two and two together, and are halfe so broad, covered with raw Oxe Hides with the haire on, and at every corner there is a chaine, which commeth over the cover, and hath in the midst a locke of Iron, wherein these Chaines are locked with a little Key. And as these are locked which carrie the Silke, so likewise are those which carrie fine Clothes of India, and they are borne upon mens heads, and are above five thousand or sixe thousand, and betweene every hundred goe certaine Souldiers. And because every yeare the Silkes and embroydered Clothes grow to such quantities, as wel of those which are payed for the Tributes of divers Realmes, as of those which the Prete sometimes causeth to be bought, and so great numbers are not spent,

and cannot be carryed with him in his travell, therefore every yeare they put them into certaine Caves, which are digged in Mountaines for this purpose: and one of these Caves we saw in our way, when wee came first to Court, which was neere to the gates, called before Badabaie, neere unto certaine deepe Vallies before-mentioned. At this Cave many Warders are continually, and every passenger payeth unto them a certaine Toll, which is appointed for this Guard. After the same manner that the Robes and Clothes of Silke are carryed, so is the Treasure likewise carryed in Chests, but somewhat lesser, which are covered with Leather, and locked, as those which carryed the Robes: and over the covering, the Chaines, and the Locke, is another raw Oxe-hide put, which is fastned with thongs of the said Hide, and there it dryeth and becommeth very strong. And these Chests of Treasure are wonderfull many, and alwayes goe with a great Guard, and likewise yearely many of them are put into those Caves, for they cannot carrie so many with them as doe increase, and multiply every yeare.

Caves for Treasuries.

This Cave which we saw, was three miles from the house of Peter de Covillan, and hee told us, * that the Gold in this Cave was sufficient to buy the one halfe of the World: for every yeare they put unto the same exceeding great summes, and hee never saw them take any out. Touching the Silke and Cloth of Gold, Peter Covillan told us, that oftentimes they tooke out thereof to give unto the Churches and Monasteries, as was done three yeeres before our comming thither, when the Prete sent exceeding great Offerings to Jerusalem, of Cloth of Gold and Silke, which he had taken out of those Caves, because of the great store that was therein. And the Offerings were so great, that they covered the wals of the Church of the holy Sepulchre.* He sent thither also a quantitie of other Gold. There are many more of these kind of Caves made after the same manner that this is, being all of them in the sides of the Mountaines, because they have no walled Cities or Castles, wherein they may

**Sic perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur?*

**The Turkes then warring against the Soldan, halfe of them were destroyed.*

No walled Castles nor Cities in all Ethiopia.

keepe such kind of things. The Ambassadour which went unto Jerusalem, to carry the foresaid Offerings, is called, Abba Azerata, who at this present is chiefe Guardian of the Sisters of Prete Janni, and carryed with him above fifteene hundred men, with other Gentlemen with Drummes; and I have heard of them which were with him, that they alwayes travelled by the way playing upon their Drummes, from the Citie of Cairo unto Jerusalem, and in their returne they came running away being halfe destroyed, because the Great Turke came against the Soldan of Ægypt, and against the said Citie of Cairo, whereby they were to passe.

[II. vii. 1110.]

§. XIX.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Of the Countries which border on Prete Janni: Moores, Gentiles, Amazones, Cafates, Damute, Goiame, Bagamidri, Nubia. Of Salomons Officers.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

128. WHile we were in the Towne of Barua, which is the head of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, there assembled a Caravan to goe to Jerusalem, and they were three hundred thirtie six Friers and Priests, and fifteene Nuns. And this was in the Christmas Holy-dayes: for they depart immediately after Twelfetide, and use to be at Jerusalem the weeke before Easter, travelling soft and faire as their manner is. They began their journey from a Towne distant from Barua, a dayes journey and an halfe, which is called Einacen, which is a Towne and a Territorie, abounding with all kind of victuals, and there are many Monasteries, and here they began to close up their Caravan, and it is a place subject unto the government of Daffila, which is under Barnagasso. When the said Friers departed, they made a very small journey, and in the Evening tooke up their Lodging, and presently set up the Tents of their Churches, whereof they had three, and began to say their Houres and Masses, and receiving the Communion; the next day, about nine

of the clocke, they began their Voyage, and they were all laden with victuals, and with Gourds, and Barrachios of water, and the Tents of their Churches, and the stones of their Altar were carryed upon Camels: and they travelled not above sixe miles a day. And because I would see their manner of travelling: I went two dayes journey with this Caravan.

The Pilgrims perish.

This Caravan, after they had passed Suachen, was assaulted by Arabian Moores, which overthrew those that were their guides, and tooke the Pilgrimes, and having slaine the old men, they sold the young men for slaves: and of three hundred thirtie sixe there escaped but fifteene, which went forward on their Voyage. And afterward I saw three of them, which declared unto me all their mis-hap, and they told me that this out-rage was done unto them, because they were the Portugals friends, and it is most certaine, that they are very odious unto their Neighbours for our sakes. Since the Massacre of these friends untill this instant, no man hath passed in Caravan to Jerusalem, but they goe thither secretly as Passengers, and these are accounted for holy men. And because the Inhabitants of Jerusalem are white people, when we came first into this Countrey, they called us Christians of Jerusalem. There is also another way by Sea, which is gone in a lesser time. They imbarke themselves at the Haven of Maczua, and sayle to the Haven of Tor, which is neere to Mount Sinai, and they passe in five and twentie dayes.

129. The Territorie, Kingdomes and Lordships confining upon the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, as farre as I can learne are these. First, beginning at Maczua toward the Red Sea and the East, on that Coast are Arabian Moores, which keepe the Cattle of great Lords that are under the Kingdome of Barnagasso. And these goe thirtie and fortie together with their wives and children, and have a Christian for their Captaine, and are all Theeves, and rob by the high way, and are favoured by the Lords whose Cattle they keepe. A little farther, you

Dangali. Della. enter into the Kingdome of Dangali, which is a Kingdome of the Moores, and it hath one Haven, called Della, and this Haven is neere unto the Streit of the Red Sea, entring into the Land toward the Abissins, and this Kingdome stretcheth unto the borders of the Kingdome of Adel, which belongeth unto the Lord of Zeila and Barbara: and these two Kingdomes meete in the in-land, upon the Confines of Prete Janni. And there is foure and twentie great Captain-ships or Lord-ships, which are called Dobas.

Kingdome of Adel. 130. Adel is a very great Kingdome, and stretcheth to the Cape of Guardafui, and in that part, a subject of his governeth; and this King of Adel is held for a Saint among the Moores, because hee maketh continuall warre upon the Christians: and of the spoiles which hee winneth, hee alwayes sendeth Presents to the house of Mecca, to Cairo, and to other Kings: and they returne unto him in recompence, Armour, Horses, and other things for his ayde. Of which King I have spoken in the one hundred and fourteenth Chapter. This Kingdome of Adel bordereth in some part with the Kingdome of Fatigar and Xoa, which Countreyes belong unto Prete Janni.

131. In the midst of the Kingdome of Adel, as you passe into the Countrey, beginneth the Kingdome of *Adea.* Adea, which is inhabited with Moores, who are subject to Prete Janni, and this Kingdome stretcheth unto Magadaxa.

Lord-ships of Gentiles. 132. Amidst the Kingdome of Adea, as you goe Westward, beginne the Lord-ships of the Gentiles, which are no Kingdomes, & border upon the Dominions of the Prete. The first of these Lord-ships, or Captain-ships, is called Ganze, and is inhabited with Gentiles and Christians. Next unto this is a great Lord-ship, almost as bigge as a Kingdome, and they are Gentiles, the slaves of which Countrey are made no great account of. They have no King, but many Lords in divers parts of the [II. vii. Countrey, and this Lord-ship is called, Gamu. And as 1111.] you passe farther toward the South-west, in the Kingdome

called Gorage. And with this Kingdome of Gorage, and Lord-ships of Ganze and Gamu, the Kingdomes of Oisa and Xoa, which belong to Prete Janni, doe confine together.

133. As yee travell toward the West, upon the said Frontiers of the Kingdomes of the Prete, especially upon the Kingdome of Xoa, there is a very great Citie and Kingdome, called Damute, the slaves of which Kingdome are highly esteemed by the Moores, who will not depart with them for any money. And all Arabia, Persia, and Egypt are full of the Slaves of this Countrey, which become perfect Moores, and great Warriours. The people of this Kingdome are Gentiles, although there be many Christians among them. I say thus much, because I have seene many Priests, Friers, and Nuns conversant in the Court of the Prete, which assured mee that there are many Monasteries, and Religious persons in that Countrey. This King is called, The King of the Gentiles. And the most part of the Gold which runneth currant in the Dominions of the Prete, is brought out of this Countrey; for they know better how to digge and refine the same: and great store of victuals is also brought from thence. And when we kept our Lent in the Countrey of Gorage, we had great store of greene and fresh Ginger brought from thence, and great store of Fish, and plentie of Grapes, which in Lent season were ripe in those parts. And after Easter we had many great Sheepe and Oxen.

Damute.

Gold of Damute.

Ginger.

And I was certified and assured, that on the Frontiers of these Kingdomes of Damute, and Gorage, as you travell toward the South there is a Kingdome governed by women, which may be called Amazones, according as it is recorded and written in the Booke of Don Piedro, the Infant of Portugall. But these women (if it bee true) in generall have their Husbands with them all the yeare, and live with them: they have no King but a Queene that hath no certaine Husband, but suffereth any man to lye with her, and to get her with child, and the eldest Daughter succeedeth in the Kingdome. They say, that

Amazones, the warlike wives of those parts.

they be very valiant women and great Warriours, and that upon certaine beasts which are very swift, and like unto Oxen. They are great Archers, and in their youth they cause their left brest to be dryed up, that it hinder not their shooting. They gather great store of Gold in this Kingdome, which is first carryed into the Kingdome of Damute, and from thence into many other parts. The Husbands of these women are no Warriours, because they will not suffer them to manage Armes.

A mightie huge River likely to be Zaire, which is said, springs out of the same Lakes with Nilus, of which Lakes perhaps one is in Damute.

In the Kingdome of Damute, they say, there springeth a most mighty River, which is contrarie to Nilus; for the one runneth the one way, and the other another. Nilus runneth toward Egypt, but the Inhabitants know not particularly whither this other runeth, but it is supposed to run westward unto the Kingdome of Congo. In the Kingdome of Damute, when the winter approacheth, and that they looke for raine showres, and lightning, although they be not enforced thereunto, they digge and delve the Earth very well, till the mould be fine, that the water which falleth may wash the same, and the Gold may remayne cleane, and most commonly they seeke it in the night by Moone-light, for then they see it glister. Also I have often seene the people seeking Gold in the aforesaid manner, in the Towne of Caxumo, which is in the Kingdome of Tigrai, and they told me, that they found it for the most part by night.

The manner of gathering Gold in Damute.

134. Travelling Westward, and as it were directly West, through this Kingdome of Damute, there are certaine governments of people, called Cafates, a Nation very blacke, and of great stature; and it is reported that they were descended of the race of the Jewes, but they have neither Bookes nor Synagogue. They are very subtile men, and of greater wits then any other people that are in these parts. They are Gentiles, and great Warriers, and alwaies are in warre with the Prete. They confine with part of Xoa, and Goiame. I was never there my selfe; but that which I say, I heard reported by our Portugals, which were there, when the great Betudete

Cafates, a Nation supposed Jewish original.

went against them with an Armie; and againe, when the Prete went in person: and they told mee, that these Cafates made great assaults upon them, and chiefly by night, when they came to stay and rob them: on the day-time they retired to the Mountaines and Woods, and namely, into certaine wonderfull deepe Valleys, which are among the Mountaines.

135. But leaving the South, and taking the West; another Kingdome lieth somwhat lower, belonging to the Prete, called Goiame, a great part whereof belonged to Queene Helena his mother. In this Kingdome springeth the River of Nilus, which in this Countrey is called Gion, and it issueth out of two Lakes, which are so great, that they seem to be Seas, wherein, as they report, are Tritons and Mermaids, and some have assured me, that they have seene them. Peter de Covillan told me, that he had beene in this Kingdome, by commandement of Queene Helena, to give order for the making of an Altar, in a Church which shee had caused to bee builded in that Territorie, wherein shee her selfe was buried, and that this Altar was made of wood, which they filled full with massie Gold: and the Patriarch Abuna Marke told me, that he did consecrate the Altar stone, which was great, and very heavie, that is to say, it was all Gold. We were certaine times upon the frontier of the said Kingdome, where we were informed, that this Church had great Guards appointed unto it, because of the great quantitie of Gold which was in the same: and all the Gold of this Kingdome of Goiame is somewhat base. I could not understand, with what People this Kingdome confineth on the farther side, which lieth in the West, only I heard say, that there were Desarts full of Mountaines, and that beyond them were certaine Jewes. I affirme not this, but only deliver that, which I heard spoken in generall by every bodie.

Goiame.

The River Nilus, otherwise called Gion, springeth out of two great Lakes, in the Kingdome Goiame.

[II. vii. 1112.]

Jewes to the west of Goiame.

136. At the end of this Kingdome of Goiame beginneth another Kingdome, which is the greatest in all the Dominions of Prete Janni, and is called Bagamidri.

Bagamidri a great Kingdome 600. miles long.

This runneth along by the bankes of Nilus, and therefore is very great, for it beginneth at the Kingdome of Goiame, and passeth along by the Kingdomes of Amara, of Angote, of Tigrai, of Tigremahon, and Barnagasso; and passeth above sixe hundred miles in length. Betweene the Kingdomes of Angote and Tigrai, at the end of them, are certaine Lordships, Westward toward Nilus, the people whereof are called, Agaos, which are partly Gentiles, and partly Christians. On the other side, I know not upon whom they doe confine, but I thinke they must border upon this Kingdome of Bagamidri, in which Kingdome, I was certified by many, that were there themselves, that there is a Mountaine contayning Silver in great abundance, which they knew not how to get out of the same, but in this manner, that where they saw any Cave, they filled it with wood, and set fire on it, as they use to doe in a Lime-kill, and this fire maketh the Silver to melt, which runneth all into barres, which is a thing almost incredible: neverthelesse, Peter Covillan told me, that I needed not to doubt, but that this was most true. I say, that which I have heard, and know, that this Silver is in exceeding great reputation, and desired of all men.

Agaos.

Mountaine of Silver.

137. At the end of this Kingdome of Bagamidri, toward Egypt, dwell certaine Moores, called Belloos, which are Tributaries unto Prete Janni, and pay great numbers of Horses. Toward the North, these Belloos border upon the People called Nubii, who by report were sometimes Christians, and subject unto the Church of Rome. I have oftentimes heard reported by a Syrian, borne in Tripoli of Syria, whose name was John, and conversed with us three yeeres in this Countrey of Prete Janni, and afterward went with us into Portugall, that he had beene in Nubia, and saw there one hundred and fiftie Churches, which to this day have all of them the Images of the Crucifixe, and of our Ladie, and other Images painted upon walls, and that all this is old and ancient worke. The Inhabitants are neither Christians, Moores, nor Jewes, but live with a desire to become Christians. All these Churches were

Nubia.

Their religion.

builded in certaine old and ancient Fortresses, which are in the Countrey: and looke how many Fortresses there be, so many Churches there are in them.

Famine of the Word, and miserable niggardise: whereas, how many of us are wearie of Manna, and fall a lusting?

While wee abode in this Countrey of Prete Janni, there came from Nubia, sixe men in forme of Ambassadors, to crave of him Priests and Friers to instruct them in the Faith; but he would send them none, saying unto them, that he had sent for his Abuna, that is, his Patriarch, from the Citie of Alexandria, which is subject to the Moores, and that therefore he thought it not convenient to give Priests and Friers unto them, seeing he had obtained them with so great travell by the meanes of others: and so they returned backe againe. These Nubians said, that in old time they had their Bishop from Rome, which being dead many yeeres agoe; and being not able, by reason of the Warres of the Mahumetans to have another, they were without Priests and Religious men, and by this meanes the Christian Faith began to be forgotten. These Nubians border upon Egypt, and this Countrey lieth over against Suachen, which is toward the East upon the red Sea: and the Dominions of these Nubians are on both sides of the River Nilus: and as many Fortresses as there be, so many Captainships be there also.

The Nubians for want of a Bishop and Priests are fallen from the faith of Christ.

This Suachen is that Towne, which standeth on the frontiers of the dominions of Prete Janni, and in the beginning of Egypt, and on the frontiers of these Lordships of the Nubians: and hath betweene it and them the Moores, called Belloos. As you come from this Suachen, and goe along the Sea-coast toward the Ile of Maczua, it is said, that the Countrey is so full of Woods, that a man is not able to travell through them. This is as much as I could learne and know, concerning the Kingdomes and Dominions of Prete Janni, on every side of the same, the greatest part whereof, I have heard by others, and the lesser part was seene by my selfe.

Salomons Officers.

138. Salomon is said to have appointed Officers to his sonne Meilech, when hee sent him from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, to the Saba, his mother. And truth it is, that unto

this day the said Offices continue in the race of them which then were sent hither, having succeeded from the father unto the sonne. Which Officers * hee gave him out of the twelve Tribes, to wit, out of each Tribe one Office, as [II. vii. 1113.] Chamberlaines, Porters, Surveyers, Ushers, Trumpetters, Captaines of his Guard, and other Officers necessarie for a King or Potentate in his Court: and these are much honoured, because they be Gentlemen, and descended of the People of Israel: and there be many of every Office, because the sonnes of the Chamberlaines, and all their off-spring carrie the name of that Office, and the like is to be said of all the posteritie of the rest. And all of

* The Prophecies of the Jewish rejection (not to mention their conversion prophecied) by that deluge of destruction verified, contrarieth this conceit of a Jewish Monke possessing so long so large a Soveraigntie, as all others tales of the Queene of Sabas sonne and his followers; hatched (it seemes) by some Politician, which to confirme a Soveraigntie (perhaps wonne by the sword) would devise dreames of so honourable descent. And if Salomon had this sonne, how is Christ descended of a legall sonne of Salomon by the line of Nathan, whenas Salomon his owne line (if he had any) ought to inherit? Neither doe the Jewish, or Gentile, or Christian Storie; or common reason, or Probabilitie subscribe to this Meilech-tale. And contrarie to Jacobs Prophecie, both before and ever since Shilos comming, Juda hath a Scepter and a Lawgiver in Ethiopia: yea, the partition wall was pulled downe, and had extended it selfe to Cham before Japheth was perswaded to dwell in the Tents of Shem: and yet, the Kings of Sheba and Saba are reserved by name to the second Salomon, to whom prayer should be made, and who should every day be praised, whom all Nations should serve, and whose name should be continued as long as the Sunne, Ps. 72. Neither would Christ himselfe vouchsafe any Nationall calling, till after his resurrection, to any but the Jewes. But it is absurd to be earnest in refuting so absurd a jest. Once, if this tale were true, they were neither good Israelites which neglected the Temple and legall Rites; nor are good Christians to admit so many of them. Yet is it likely, that some Jew, or Jewish Christians have corrupted their Christianitie by continuance of Circumcision, which the Ethiopians and Arabians have so many Ages before and since Christ used: And also many Ethnicke parts of Africa still doe: and made way to some Statiser to brew this headie liquor of Meilech, to arrogate Propheticall authoritie and Royall Nobilitie, though with injurie to Christ himselfe the heire of Salomon, and to the mysteries of Christianitie. See my Pilg. l. 7. c. 2. and 6. §. 4.

them are taken for such, saving the Pages, which were wont to be the sonnes of great Noblemen, and Lords; but now they are not: because (as I have said before) when the Prete sends for any great Nobleman, he sendeth him not word wherefore he sends for him: and when he was served by Pages, which were the sonnes of great Noblemen, they discovered his secrets; and therefore he put them from that Office, and used Pages within his chambers, which were Slaves, and the sonnes of Kings of the Moores, or of the Gentiles, which are daily taken by inroads which the Prete his people make: and if he see that they be towardly, hee causeth them to be instructed, before they be admitted into his presence: and if they prove discreet and good, he taketh them in, and useth them for Pages. Indeed hee useth the sonnes of great Lords for Pages abroad or without doores; as, for the Pages for his Bridle, when he rideth, and Pages of the Kitchin; but they come not into his Chambers, as is reported, and as we our selves have seene. Moreover, all the Canons, which they call Debeteres, descend of the race of those which came from Jerusalem with the sonne of Salomon: and therefore they are more honourable then all the rest of the Clergie.

§. XX.

The Frier-Ambassadours Signiories. Their departure and arrivall at Ormuz, and after at Goa: at Lisbon. Briefe Notes of Ethiopia, and Letters to the King of Portugall, and the Grand Captaine.

139. THe same day that the Prete departed toward the Kingdome of Adea, the Frier his Ambassadour, and I, departed toward the Lordship, which the Prete had given him. One of these Lordships contayneth eightie houses and two Churches, and belonged unto a little Monasterie, which the said Frier had before. The Lordship which was newly given unto him, was

Arras of the Cavas, that is, Captaine of the men of Armes, in the Countrey of Abugana, and they may be some eight hundred and more. About mid-Lent, wee came to the place where our people aboad, and wee thought long untill Easter, when the Portugals were to come for us. When Easter was past (about which time is the motion of the Sea) and we saw no body come for us, we remayned very sad, as we had been before. The moneth of July being come, when the Prete understood that the Portugals were not arrived, he gave order to his Ambassadour, and to a Nobleman of Abugana, whose name was Abive Arraz, that they should goe with us unto these Lordships, to furnish us with victualls: and because the Harvest was alreadie ended, hee commanded that wee should have five hundred loades of Corne, one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe: and that Zaga Zabo his Ambassadour should give us Honey to make us Wine. And having received those victuals, we returned to Barua, by the midst of Januarie.

140. On Easter Tuesday at mid-night, there came Letters from Don Hector de Silviera, Grand Captayne of India, that he was come for us, and was at Maczua: which Letters being read, we conceived all of us unspeakable joy. Don Roderigo the Ambassadour, would have had us depart without delay the next morning, but I would not, saying, That if we did so, they would take us for no Christians, and that we ought to stay till the Octaves of Easter; and immediately we dispatched one of our Portugals with a man of the Countrey, with our Letters, unto the said Don Hector, and sent another Letter to Zaga Zabo the Ambassadour of the Prete, who stayed behinde, that he should come with as great haste as was possible, and travell day and night toward the Sea-side, to the Towne of Ercoco, because the Fleet was come thither to fetch us away.

141. On Munday, being the Octave after Easter, we departed from Barua, the Barnagasso, and all we Portugals, toward Ercoco. The Barnagasso, what with his owne and

his Gentlemens traine, had one thousand men riding upon Mules, and above sixe hundred men on foot: and wee lodged sixe miles from Barua, in a Towne called Dinguil, *Dinguil.* standing in the midst of a great champaigne field, where every Munday at night great store of people meet together, to goe to the Faire of Ercoco, and they goe as it were in Caravan, for feare of the Arabians, and of the wilde Beasts of the Countrey. Here two thousand men joyned themselves with us, which went to the said Faire. And they said, they were but few, because the rest would not goe thither, for feare they should not finde water to drinke; howbeit, the people that went with Barnagasso, and we our selves, were all provided: and from the Towne of Barua to Ercoco, might bee some five and fortie miles, *From Barua to Ercoco five and fortie miles.* and we spent a whole weeke in this voyage. And on Saturday morning, we lodged neere the Towne of Ercoco, and came not unto our Ships.

On Tuesday morning, the Barnagasso with all his [II. vii. 1114.] Captaines and people, delivered us to Don Hector de Silviera, with exceeding joy and gladnesse, and sent us for a present fiftie Oxen, many Sheepe, Hens, Capons, and Fish, which hee had caused to be taken, to divide the same among our Ships. On Wednesday morning, came Zaga Zabo, the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, whom we went to meet with unto Ercoco, to accompanie him; and so Barnagasso came and delivered him to the Captaine of the Armie, and so we stayed attending for the motion of the * Sea, that is to say, the time for our departing, which **The Monson.* alwayes commeth betweene the foure and twentie or sixe and twentie of April, and the third or fourth of May: and if wee depart not at this motion, and in this season, there commeth none other till the end of August.

142. On the eight and twentieth of April, 1526. the *The Portugall Fleet of five sailes.* whole Fleet departed, which consisted of five Sailes, that is to say, of three great Galeons, and two Caravels, and wee arrived on the Ile of Camaran. The tenth of May, *Camaran.* when wee were over against the Citie of Aden, and *Aden.* when we began to launch into the mayne Sea, from whence

the Winter of India began to come against us full in our faces, and we sailed against the same, there began so great a Tempest, that the second night wherein we entred into the same, with extreme darknesse and rage of weather, we lost companie, not knowing what course any of our Consorts held. We sailed in this storme untill we came to the Streight of Ormuz: and the eight and twentieth of May, we came to the Haven of Mazcare, which belongeth to the Kingdome of Ormuz. Departing from this Haven, we arrived in the Citie of Ormuz, where the King our Master hath a Fortresse. Here Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, being Grand Captaine and Governour of the Indies, came forth to receive us on the Sea-shoare, who embraced us all; and the next day, after we had heard Masse, we went to speake with the said Grand Captaine, and presented unto him the Letter of Prete Janni, which we brought from Diego Lopez de Sequeira, which brought us into the Countrey of Prete Janni; which Letter the said Lopez Vaz did reade, because he was Successor to Diego Lopez de Sequeira. Then we presented him a Vesture of silke, having five plates of gold before, and five more behinde, and one upon each shoulder, which make twelve in all, every one of them as bigge as the palme of a mans hand, which the Prete sent to Diego Lopez: and the said Lopez Vaz gave unto Don Roderigo de Lima the Ambassadour two hundred Pardaos, that is to say, two hundred Ducats, and unto the Ambassadour of the Prete other two hundred, and to me one hundred. Don Hector de Silviera stayed but a while in Ormuz, and would needs returne with his Fleet, to wait for the ships which depart from Zidem to come unto Diu, and set forth at the time of the motion of the Sea, wherein we came forth; but they winter in Aden, and so goe forward in their voyage: but we stayed here in Ormuz, untill wee were sure that the Winter was ended.

The Haven of Mazcare.

A Copie of the Letter which Prete Janni writ to Don Diego Lopez de Sequiera, which was delivered to Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, his Successour in the government of the Indies.

IN the Name of God the Father, which hath beene alwayes, who hath no beginning; In the Name of his onely begotten Sonne, which is like unto him, before the light of the Starres was seene, and before the foundation of the Ocean Sea was laid, who was conceived at another time in the Virgins wombe, without the Seede of Man, and without Marriages, for after this sort was the understanding of his Office: in the Name of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, which knoweth all secrets, whatsoever they bee, that is to say, of all the heighths of the Heaven, which is sustayned without any pillars or props, and hath amplified the Earth, which before was neither created nor knowne, from the East unto the West, and from the North unto the South. And of these three Persons, none is afore or after another, but is a Trinitie, contayned in one eternall Creator of all things, by one sole Counsell, and one onely Word eternally. Amen.

These Letters and Ambassages are sent from mee Atani Tingil, that is by interpretation, The Incense of the Virgin (for so was I named at the day of my Christning) but now am called David, the Head of my Kingdomes of the higher and larger Ethiopia, the beloved of God, the Pillar of the Faith, descended of the Stocke of Juda, the Sonne of David, the Sonne of Salomon, the Sonne of the pillar of Sion, the Sonne of the Seede of Jacob, the Sonne of the Hand of Mary, the Sonne of Nahu according to the flesh; To Diego Lopez de Sequeira, Grand Captaine of the Indies. I have understood, that albeit you are subject unto a King, yet neverthelesse, that you are a Conquerour in all enterprizes, which are committed to you, and are not afraid of the innumerable forces of the Moores, having subdued Fortune, with the Armes of the holy

Faith, and that you cannot be vanquished of any secret things, being armed with the Truth of the Gospell, and resting your selfe upon the Speare, which carrieth the Banner of the Crosse, for which cause the Lord be alwayes blessed, which hath fulfilled our joy for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Upon your comming into these parts, you certified us of the ambassage of the King your Lord, Don Emanuel, and of the Presents which you have preserved with so great travell in your ships, having indured great Windes and Stormes, as well by Sea as by Land, wherein you have [II. vii. 1115.] come from so farre Countreyes, to subdue the Moores and Pagans, conducting and governing your Ships whithersoever you thinke good, which is wonderfull to consider: and above all things, that you have beene two whole yeeres in Warre upon the Seas, enduring so great travell, taking rest neither day nor night; considering, that the actions of Man, according to the usuall custome, are done in the day-time, as to buy, to sell, to travell by the way, and the night is made to sleepe, and to take rest, *Psal.* 104. *v.* 20. 21. 22. as the Scripture saith; The day is made for Men to doe their businesse, from the morning unto the evening, and the Lions roaring after their prey, doe seeke their meate at God; and when the Sunne ariseth, they get them away together, and lay them downe in their Dens: and so both Men and Beasts are wont to take their rests: yet neither sleepe hath over come you, nor the night, nor the day, when the Sunne ariseth, for the love which you beare unto *Rom.* 8. 35. our holy Faith, as Saint Paul saith; Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or *James* 1. 12. sword. And the Apostle Saint James saith: Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried he shall receive the Crowne of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. God fulfill your desires, and give you prosperitie, and bring you safe and sound unto King Don Emanuel, your Lord, and remoove the Moores out of your sight, which you have vanquished,

because they beleeve not in the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ: and blessed be your men of Warre also; for surely, they be Martyrs for our Lord Jesus Christs sake, for they die for hunger, for cold, and for heate, for his holy Names sake. Honorable Sir, when I understood of your comming into our Countries, I greatly rejoyced thereat, and afterward understanding of your sudden departure, I was not a little grieved. I rejoyced also, when I was informed, that you had sent an Ambassadour unto mee, and praised the Name of God the Father, and of his Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, especially for the good report of you, which resoundeth on all sides, and because you were desirous to enter into friendship with us. And because (as I conceive) your goodwill is such, I wish that you would vouchsafe to fulfill the same, in sending us Artificers which can worke in gold and silver, and can make Swords, and Armour of Iron, and Head-peeces; and also Masons to build Houses, and men that are skilfull to plant and trim Vines after your manner, and to dresse Gardens, and are skilfull in all other Artes, which are best and most necessarie for the life of man, and also Workemen to cast sheets of Lead for the covering of Churches, and Tile-makers for our houses, for we cover them with Grasse, and of these we stand in very great need, and for want of them we are alwaies in disquiet. I have built a great Church, which is named the Trinitie, wherein the body of my Father is buried, for his soule is in the hand of God, and the walls thereof (as your Ambassadour can declare unto you) are good, and I would cover the same as soone as I could possibly, and would take away the Grasse which at this present is upon it. For Gods sake, send mee of these Artificers, twelve at the least in every Art: and yet for this you shall never want Crafts-men. And if they will stay with us, they shall stay, and if they will depart, they shall depart, and I will pay them very bountifull for their paines, &c. This Towne of Zeila is the Haven, whither all the Victuals doe come, which are transported into Aden, and so through all Arabia, and

other Kingdomes and Countries, which cannot be furnished, but onely with such Victuals as come from Zeila and Maczua, which are brought thither from our Kingdomes, and the Kingdomes of the Moores. And if you doe this, which I perswade you, you shall bring under your subjection the whole Kingdome of Aden, and all Arabia, and other Kingdomes adjoyning, without warre, or the death of any of your people, for taking victuals from them, they will remaine besieged, and hunger-starved. And when you will wage warre against the Moores, acquaint mee with whatsoever you want; for I will send you great troopes of Horse-men and Archers, Victuals and Gold, and will come my selfe in person, and I and you will defeat the Moores and Pagans, for the advancement of the holy Christian Faith.

Father Don Francisco is worthy of double reward, because hee is an holy man, and of an upright conscience, and exceeding honest for the love of God. Being fully acquainted with his good disposition, I have given him a Jurisdiction, a Crosse, and a Staffe in his hand, which is a signe of authoritie, and have made him an Abbot in our Dominions, and I would wish you to increase his honour, and to make his Bishop of Maczua, and of Zeila, and of all the Ilands of the Red Sea, and head of our Countries, because he is sufficient, and deserveth the like, or a greater office, &c.

Ormuz. 143. Wee departed from Ormuz in the fleet of Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, the Grand Captaine, because Don Hector de Silviera was gone toward the Red Sea, to encounter the Ships of Mecca, which wintered in the Citie of Aden, as I said before: and being come out of the streit of Ormuz, we found that the Winter of India was past, and that wee might sayle without any Tempest, and we sailed to a Fortresse of the King our Lord, in the *Chaul.* Countrey of Chaul, which is very pleasant, and aboundeth with Corne, which commeth from Cambaia, and of Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and infinite store of Fish, and many

fruits of India, and Herbs of Gardens, made by our Portugals. Within few daies after, Don Hector de Silviera returned, and brought with him three ships of Mecca, which he had taken, with great riches of Gold, because as yet they had not brought their merchandize, and came to buy them in India, and all the Moores which were young and lustie, that were taken in the said ships, they thrust into the Kings Gallies, selling them at ten Duckets a man, which is the Kings ordinary price. The rest which were old and weake, were likewise sold for ten duckets a piece. Departing from thence, wee came unto the Citie of Goa, the five and twentieth of November, on Saint Katherines Even. We departed from thence, and came to Cananor, where we stayed sixe daies, then wee went to Cochin, where wee found Antonie Galvano, the Sonne of Edward Galvano, the Ambassadour, whose bones I brought with me from Camaran, to whom I declared the whole matter, and hee exceedingly rejoyced thereat, and would needs come and fetch them from the ship, with all the Priests and Friers of the Citie, and with an infinite number of Waxe-Candles, and so hee was carried to the Monasterie of Saint Antonie. And because the Mariners will not carrie dead Corpses in their ships, therefore the said Antonie caused a Grave to bee made behind the high Altar, and made as though he had put the Coffin therein, but secretly caused the same to bee carried to his ship, whereof he was Captaine.

Three rich ships of Mecca taken.

Goa.

Cananor.

Antonie Galvano Captaine of a Carracke.

145. Being come to an Anker in the River of Lisbon, over against the Kings house, incontinently came Boats unto us to receive our stuffe, and carried them to Saint Arrem, where we rested sixe daies, and bought us Mules and apparell, after the manner of Portugall. From hence we departed in a greater heate, then ever I felt in the Countrey of Prete Janni, or in the Indies. The Ambassadour of Prete Janni with-drew himselfe out of the way to the Towne of Azinaga, being himselfe and all his Company almost smothered with heate. The Kings Commissary conducted me to Ponte de Anonda, where I

Great heate.

[II. vii. 1116.]

thought verily that I should have ended my daies for extreame heate, and if I had not beene succoured with coole Water, I had presently beene stifled. While we stayed in this place, Don Roderigo came thither, riding as fast as he could, and crying, Helpe, helpe for the love of God, for the Moores, the Kings Pilots, and my Slaves, are dead for heate. Straight-way four Mulettiers ranne with foure Mules, and brought them thither, whereof one dyed immediately, and another within two daies after: and so we indured a great extremitie of heate. And upon the death of these two Moores, there was some suspicion of the plague, but the Kings Commissarie gave sufficient Testimony of the truth, that is to say, That they dyed with extreame heate; because that albeit they came out of hot Countries, yet were they not wont to goe clad and shod, but onely with a cloath from the girdle downe-ward: and now in this extreame heat which happened, being cloathed in apparell, they were utterly stifled. And truly, all the time that I was in the Indies, and in Ethiopia, I never felt so great a heat; and it was told me for a certaintie, that the selfe-same day, there were very many that dyed of heate. The next day we travailed by night, and came to Zarnache, where we received order from the King, to stay there till he sent for us.

Two Moores dyed in Portugall for heate.

146. Having stayed thirtie daies at Zarnache, with as much pleasure as might be, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, Surveyer of the Navie, came unto us, who was the man that brought us with his Fleet into the Country of Prete Janni, to fetch us unto the Citie of Coimbra, where the King lay. After two daies came many Bishops, the Deane of the Chappell, and sundry Chaplaines, to fetch the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, and all of us which were with him from his lodging, and they brought us to the Kings Palace, where the said Ambassadour presented to his Highnesse a Crowne of Gold and Silver, which was square in foure pieces, and every one was two spannes high, and very rich, which the Prete Janni sent, and two Letters made in quaternians of Parchment, said; King David

my Lord, sent this Crowne, and these Letters to the King your Father, which is in glorie, and sent him word, that never Crowne was sent by the Sonne unto the Father, but that they were wont to come from the Father to the Sonne: and that by the signe of this Crowne King David himselfe was knowne, loved, feared, and obeyed in all his Kingdomes and Signiories, and hee being his Sonne, sent unto the King his Father the said Crowne, to assure him, that all his Kingdomes, Signiories, and people, were readie to doe whatsoever his Highnesse should command. And afterward, having beene enformed of the death of King Don Emanuel, hee said; Let the Crowne and Letters, which I sent unto the King Don Emanuel, my Father, be sent unto the King Don John, my Brother, with other Letters which I will write unto him.

This being done, the said Ambassadour and I presented two bagges of Embroydered Cloath, with two Letters, and a little Crosse of Gold, which the Prete Janni had sent to the Popes Holinesse, which things he requested to bee presented unto him by me, Francis Alvarez. His Majestie receiving the Crosse, kissed the same, and afterward gave it to Antonie Carniero, together with the Letters, and said, that he thanked the Divine Majestie, for that hee had guided in an happy way, the things which were begunne by the King his Lord and Father, and that hee would finish them accordingly, to the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the yeare 1529. a good Benefice being fallen void in the Arch-bishopricke of Braga, his Majestie bestowed the same of me, and commanded me to goe and present my selfe to my Lord Arch-bishop, Don Diego de Sousa, that hee might confirme me in the same: which when I had done, his Lordship asked me many things concerning the Countrey of Prete Janni, which hee wished me to put downe in writing.

When the Prete travelleth with all his Court, the Altar of the consecrated stone, whereupon Masse is said, is carried by Priests upon their shoulders, and the said stones

are laid upon a little beare of Wood, and the Priests are alwaies eight, that is to say, Foure and foure to carrie them by turnes, and before them goeth a Clerke with a censer, and a Bell which he ringeth, and every man removeth out of the way, and they which are on horse-backe do light, and doe their reverence.

[II. vii. 1117.] In all this Countrey there is no Towne, that hath in it above sixteene hundred houses, and there are but few that are so bigge. Neither is there any walled Towne or Castle. Their Villages are without number, and they have an infinite multitude of people. Their Houses are made in a round forme, all of Earth covered with Flagges, or with a certaine kind of Straw, which lasteth a mans life, with yards about them. There are no stone Bridges upon their Rivers, but Bridges of Wood. They lye commonly upon Oxe-hides, or in beds made of the thongs of the said Hides. They have no kind of Table to eate upon, but feed upon certaine flat Platters of wood, which are very broad, without Towels or Napkins. They have certaine great Platters like Basons of blacke Earth, as bright as blacke Amber, and Vessels like Cups to drinke water, and the Wine of the said Countrey. Many eate raw flesh, others broyle it upon the coles or burning embers: also there are Countries so destitute of wood, that they broyle their meate upon fire made with Oxe-dung.

Their manner of feeding.

The cause of the increase of Nilus.

The cause why Nilus overfloweth Egypt, is this, that whereas the generall Winter beginneth in Æthiopia, in the midst of June, and lasteth untill the midst of September, by reason of the exceeding great raines, which continue there all that season; Nilus groweth great and overfloweth Egypt.

Prete, and all his receits and expenses are onely put in writing. The Prete Janni hath two names of honour, that is to say, Aregue, which signifieth an Emperour, and Neguz, a King.

Small store of Wine made in this Countrey.

Wine of Grapes is made openly but in two places, that is to say, in the house of Prete Janni, and of Abuna

Marke, and if they make it else-where, they doe it secretly. The Wine which they use at the Communion, is made in this manner. In the Monasteries and Churches they keepe Grapes as it were halfe dryed in their Vestries, and steepe them ten dayes in water, when they be swolne, they dry them, and then they presse them in a Wine-presse, and with that Wine they say Masse.

Sugar-canes. There is infinite plentie of Sugar-canes, but they know not how to boyle and refine the same, onely they eate them raw.

No snow is seene in Æthiopia. There is no Mountaine in the Countrey whereon Snow is seene, neither doth it snow, although there be verie great Frosts, and specially in the plaine Countries.

Abundance of Honey. There is exceeding great quantitie of Honey in all this Countrey, and the Bee-hives are placed after our manner, without the principall house, but they set them in the Chambers where the Husbandmen remayne, and set them against the wall, wherein they make a little hole, whereby they goe out into the fields. They also flie about the Chambers, and yet the people will stay within, for they use to goe in and out. They bring up great store of these Bees, especially in the Monasteries, because they are a great foundation of their sustenance. There are also Bees in the Woods and Mountaines, by whom they set wholsome barkes of Trees, and when they be full of Honey, they carrie them home. They gather great store of Waxe, and make Candles thereof, because they use no Tallow-candles. *Waxe.*

They have no Oyle of Olives, but of a certaine kind, which they call Hena, and the Herbe whereof they make it is like unto little Vine-leaves: this Oyle hath no smell at all, but it is as faire and yellow as Gold. There groweth Flaxe also, but they know not how to dresse it to make Cloth thereof. *Flaxe.* There is great store of Cotton-wooll, whereof they make Cloth of divers colours. *Cotton-wooll.* There is also a certaine Countrey that is so cold, that they are forced to goe apparelled in course Cloth like a darke tawnie.

In no Towne where I have beene, have I seene any

shambles of flesh, saving in the Court? and in other places no man may kill an Oxe, although it be his owne, without asking licence of the Lord of the Towne.

Their ordinary manner of Justice.

Touching their ordinarie Justice, it is not their manner to put any man to death, but they beat him, according to the qualitie of his fault, and also they put out his eyes, and cut off his hands and feete, howbeit, I saw one man burnt, because hee was found to have robbed a Church.

The common people seldome speake the truth, although an Oath bee ministred unto them, unlesse they be bound to sweare by the head of the King. They greatly stand in feare of Excommunication, and if they be commanded to doe any thing which is greatly to their prejudice, they doe it for feare of Excommunication. An Oath is ministred after this manner. They goe to the Church gate with two Priests, which carrie Incense and Fire with them: And hee which is to sweare, layeth his hand upon the Church gate, and the Priests will him to tell the truth, saying, If thou sweare falsly, as the Lion devoureth the sheepe in the Forrest, so let the Devill devoure thy soule; and as the Corne is grinded under the Mil-stone, so let the Devill grind thy bones; and as the fire burneth the wood, so let thy soule be burnt in Hell fire. And hee which sweareth, answereth Amen, to each of these Sentences. But if thou shalt tell the truth, let thy life be prolonged with honour, and thy soule goe to Paradise with the Blessed: and hee saith, Amen. Which Ceremonie being done, they cause him to give like testimonie.

Their manner of ministring an Oath.

Whereas I have said, that they sit not in their Churches, therefore I tell you, that without the gates of the same, there are alwayes placed a great number of woodden Crouches, like those wherewith lame men doe helpe themselves, and every man taketh his owne, and leaneth upon it untill Service be done. All their Bookes, which are many, are written in Parchment, for they have no Paper, and the writing is in the Language of Tigia, which is the Abassine Tongue, that is the Language of that Countrey wherein they became first Christians.

[II. vii. 1118.]

All the Churches have two Curtaines, one by the high Altar with Bels, and within this Curtaine none doe enter but the Priests: then there is another Curtaine in the midst of the Church: and none doe enter into the Church, but such as have received holy Orders, and many Gentlemen and Honourable persons doe receive Orders, that they may be admitted into the Church. *Of the Churches.*

The greatest part of the Monasteries are seated upon high Mountaines, or in some deepe Valley. They have great Revenues and Jurisdictions, and in many of them, they eate no flesh all the yeare long. They eate also very little fish, because they know not how to take them.

Upon all the wals of the Churches are Pictures of Christ and of our Ladie, and of the Apostles, the Prophets, and Angels, and in every one of them is the Picture of Saint George. They have no graven nor carved Images; neither will they suffer Christ crucified to bee painted in the wals, because, they say, they be not worthy to see him in that Passion. All their Friers, Priests, and Noblemen, continually carrie a Crosse in their hand; the people weare Crosses about their neckes. Every Priest alwayes carryeth with him a Cornet of Brasse, full of holy water, and wheresoever they goe, the people alwayes pray them to bestow holy water, and their blessing upon them, which they give unto them, And before they eate they cast a little holy water upon their meat, and likewise into the Cup where they drinke. *No painted Crucifixes.*

The moveable Feasts, as Easter, the Ascension and Whitsuntide, are kept on the very same dayes and seasons, wherein wee observe them. Touching Christmas, the Circumcision, and Twelfe-tide, and other Feasts of Saints they likewise agree with us; in other Feasts they doe not. *Their principall Feasts.*

Their yeare and their first moneth beginneth the sixe and twentieth of August, which is the beheading of Saint John. And their yeare consisteth of twelve moneths, and their moneth of thirtie dayes: and when the yeare is ended they adde five dayes, which they call Pagomen, that *When their yeare beginneth.*

is to say, the ending of the yeare. And in the Leape yeere they adde sixe dayes, and so they agree with us.

Their Musicall Instruments.

They have Cymbals like ours, and certaine great Basons wherewith they ring. Flutes they have, and certaine square Instruments with strings like Harpes, which they call David Mosamquo, that is to say, Davids Harpe, and they play upon these before the Prete Janni, but somewhat rudely.

The naturall Horses of the Countrey are infinite, but are not very good, but are like unto Hackneies, but those which come from Arabia and Egypt, are very excellent and faire, and the great Lords have Races of these Horses, and as soone as they bee foled, they suffer them not to sucke their Dams above three dayes, whom they will presently travell on, and taking the Colts from their Dams, they put them to be suckled of Kine, and they become exceeding faire.

*These Letters following were translated into Latine, by Pa. Jovius, and reviewed after also and published by Damianus à Goes, and in Italian by Ramusio. That which is omitted, is the same with that in the former Letter. *Breu.*

The Letters of David, the Mightie Emperour of Æthiopia, unto Emanuel, King of Portugall, &c. Written in the yeere 1521. as also to King John and Pope Clement.

IN the name of God the Father, who was from Everlasting, and hath no beginning, &c.

These Letters are sent from me Athani Tingil, &c. Emperour of the great and high Æthiopia, and of mightie Kingdomes, Dominions, and Territories, King of Xoa, of Caffate, of Fatigar, of Angote, of *Baru, of Baaliganze, of Aden, of Vangue, of Goiame, (where Nilus springeth) of Amara, of Baguemedri, of Ambeaa, of Vagne, of Tigremahon, of Sabaym, from whence came the Queene of Saba, of Bernagaes, and Lord even to the Countrey of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. These Letters are directed unto the most mightie, most excellent, and victorious King, Don Emanuel, who dwelleth in the love of God, and remayneth stedfast in the Catholike Faith, the Sonne of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the King

of Portugall and Algarbi, a lover of Christians, an Enemie, Judge, Emperour, and Vanquisher of the Moores and Gentiles of Africa and Guinea, of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and of the Ile * of the Moone, also of the Red Sea of Arabia, Persia, and Ormuz, of the greater India, and of all places, Ilands, and Countries adjacent, the destroyer of the Moores, and stout Pagans, the Lord of Fortresses, high Castles and Walls, the Inlarger of the Faith of Jesus Christ. Peace be unto thee, King Emanuel, who relying upon the assistance of God, destroyest the Moores, and with thy ships, thy Souldiers and Captaines, expellest them in all places like faithlesse Dogs. Peace be with the Queene thy Wife, beloved of Jesu Christ, Servant of the Virgine Marie, the Mother of the Saviour of all people. Peace be to thy Sonnes, being now, as it were, in a fresh Garden, amidst the flourishing Lillies, a Table furnished with all Dainties. Peace bee unto your Daughters, which are adorned with Princely Robes, as Palaces are with Hangings of Tapistrie. Peace unto your Kinsfolkes, the Off-spring of Saints, of whom saith the Scripture, Blessed are the Sonnes of Saints, and mightie abroad and at home. Peace be to thy Counsellers, thy Officials, thy Magistrates and Judges. Peace be to the Captaines of thy Castles and Borders, and of all thy defensible places. Peace be unto all Nations, People and Cities, and to all Inhabitants, except Moores and Jewes. Peace bee to all Parishes, and to all that are faithfull to Christ, and to thy selfe. Amen.

*Madagascar.

[II. vii. 1119.]

I was advertised (most worthy King, and my Father) that so soone as the renowne of my Name was brought unto you by Matthew, mine Ambassadour, you presently caused a great number of Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelats to be assembled, to give thankes unto our Saviour Christ, for the same Ambassage, and that the said Matthew was entertained with great honour and solemnitie, &c. But let us omit these matters, and consult betweene ourselves, how wee may invade and conquer other Lands of Infidels. I verily will bestow 100000000. drachmes of

Here is much ommitted for brevitie, which in the former Authors may be seene: as that Matthew was not sent by him, but by QueenHelena, &c.

Gold, and so many thousands of Souldiers. Yea, I will bestow Wood also, and Iron, and Copper, for the building and furnishing of a Navy, and great plentie of victuals. Oh King, and my Father, Emanuel, that one God protect and save you, which is the God of Heaven, and alwaies of one substance, being subject neither to youth nor old age. He which brought your message, was called Roderigo de Lima, and was the principall of all his good company, and with him came Francis Alvarez, whom for his honest demeanour, his singular Religion, and upright dealing, I could not but most entirely love, especially, when as being demaunded as touching the Faith, he answered most truly and aptly. You ought therefore to exalt him, to call him Master, and to grant him authoritie to convert the people of Maczua, of Delaqua, of Zeila, and of all the Ilands of the Red Sea, because they are upon the Borders of my Kingdomes, and I have given unto him a Crosse and a Staffe, in token of authoritie, and so likewise commend you the same things to be graunted unto him, and let him be created Bishop of the said Countries and Ilands, for he deserveth so to be, and is meete for the administring of this Function: and God will so mightily blesse you, that you shall ever have the upper hand of your enemies, and shall constraine them to fall downe before your feete. The same God prolong your daies, and make you partaker of the Kingdome of Heaven in a most Honourable place, even as I would wish for mine owne selfe. I have heard with mine eares, many good reports of thee, and with mine eyes I see those things that I never expected to have seene: God prosper all your affaires from good to better, and grant you a place upon the wood of life, where the Saints themselves are placed. Amen.

I, like an obedient Sonne, have done those things which you commanded, and will hereafter doe, whensoever your Ambassadours shall come, to the end we may mutually assist one another. And unto every of your Ambassadours which shall come, as the former did unto Maczua, or Delaca, or to other Havens within the streits of the Red

Sea, I will give, and cause to bee given those things which you shall request, according to my earnest desire; that wee may prosperously bee conjoyned, both in Counsels and Actions. For when your Forces shall resort unto those Coasts, I will there be present with my Armies also. And because that upon my Borders there are no Christians, nor Christian Churches, I will freely give unto your subjects those Lands to inhabite, which are next unto the Dominions of the Moores: for it is requisite, that you bring your good beginnings to a happy end. In the meane while, send mee learned men, and Carvers of Silver and Golden Images, and such as can worke in Copper, Iron, Tinne, and Lead: as also Artificers, which may Print Bookes in the Letters of our language for the Church, and likewise such as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and therewith can gild other Metals. All these shall be most honestly intreated in my Court, and whensoever they will depart, I will give them liberall wages for their paines. And I sweare by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sonne of God, that I will freely dismisse them, when they shall thinke good. And this I doe most confidently demaund, because I am not ignorant of your vertue, and know right well the goodnesse of your disposition, being also assured of your exceeding love toward me: and this I know the more certainly, because you so honourably intertained, and dismissed Matthew for my sake. And this is the cause that maketh mee so earnestly to request. Neither let this cause you to bee ashamed, for I will pay for all things to the uttermost. That which a Sonne asketh of his Father, ought not to be denyed: you are my Father, and I am your Sonne: let us therefore be joyned together, as one stone in a wall is joyned to another, so being two, we doe agree in one heart, and in the love of Jesus Christ, who is the head of the world, and they that are with him, are likened unto stones united in a wall. Amen.

His Letters to John the third King of Portugall.

IN the Name of God the Father, Almightie Creator of Heaven and Earth, of all things visible and invisible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Christ, who is the Sonne, and Counsell, and Prophet of his Father. In the Name of God the holy Spirit, the Comforter, the living God, equall to the Father and the Son, who spake by the mouth of the Prophets, inspiring the Apostles, that they might give thankes and glorifie the Trinitie, perfect alwaies in heaven, and in earth, in the sea, and in the deepe. Amen.

These Letters and this Messenger are sent from me, the Incense of the Virgine, &c. Now I send my message by Frier Christopher Licanati, being named at his Baptisme, Zaga Zabo, that is to say, The Grace of the Father, who shall sollicite my request unto you. Moreover, unto the Pope of Rome, I send Francis Alvarez, to performe obedience in my Name, as it is meete. Renowned King, and my Brother, indevour thy selfe to confirme that friendship betweene us, whereof thy Father was the Author, and send often unto me thy Messengers and Letters, which I greatly desire to see, as comming from my deare Brother: for it is very convenient, sithens we are both Christians, and sith the wicked Moores are alwaies at concord in their sect. And now I doe protest, that I will not hereafter admit the Ambassages of the King of Egypt, nor of other Kings, which have often sent Messengers unto me, but onely the Ambassadours of your Highnesse, whose comming I earnestly desire; for the Moorish Kings esteeme not me to be their friend, in regard of our dissention in Religion: but they faine a kind of friendship, to the end they may more safely and freely exercise Traffique in our Kingdomes, whereby they reape great Commoditie. For they convey mightie summes of Gold, whereof they are most greedy, out of my Dominions, whereas they are my Enemies, neither doe their Commodities please me any whit. Howbeit, this was to be tolerated, because it hath beene an ancient custome of my Predecessours, I doe not indeed wage warre against them, nor utterly destroy them, but spare them

[II. vii. 1120.]

onely in this respect, least they on the contrary should violate and cast downe the holy Temple at Jerusalem, wherein stands the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ, which God hath left in the power of the abhominable Moores, and least they should make havocke of all other Christian Churches in Egypt and Syria; and this is the cause why I doe not invade and conquer them, and it is a great griefe unto me. And I am the more perswaded hereunto, seeing I have no Christian King neere unto me to ayde me, and to comfort my heart. I my selfe (Oh King) can finde no cause of rejoycing in the Christian Kings of Europe, when as I heare that they are at discord and warre among themselves. Be ye all united in one concord; For you ought all to bee conjoyned together in a certaine league of amitie. And verily, if I had any Christian King bordering upon me, I would not depart for the space of one houre from him: but I know not in the world what to say or doe, as touching this matter, when as it seemeth so to be appointed by God. My Lord, send (I pray you) Messengers often unto me: For in seeing your Letters, I doe certes behold your countenance, because greater friendship groweth betweene men farre distant asunder, then betweene those that are neere together, in regard of the mutuall desire which they have. For he that hath hidden Treasures, not seeing them with his eyes, he loveth them alwaies, and that most vehemently with his heart, as our Lord Jesus Christ in his Gospell saith, Where thy Treasure is, there is thy heart; Even so my heart is with thee, seeing thou thy selfe art my Treasure, and thou likewise oughtest to make me thy Treasure, and sincerely to joyne thy heart with mine. Oh Noble Brother, keepe this word: for thou art most wise, and (as I heare) like unto thy Father in wisedome, which when I know, I presently gave thankes unto God, and abandoning sorrow, I exceedingly rejoyced, and said; Blessed bee the wise Sonne of so great a Father, the Sonne of King Emanuel, which sitteth in the Throne of his Kingdomes. My Lord, see that you be not discouraged, because you are strong as your Father

was: neither send you any feeble forces against the Moores and Gentiles. For by Gods helpe, and the indevour of your vertue you shall easily vanquish and destroy them. And say not that your Father left you but meane forces: for they be very great, and God will ever assist you. I have men, Gold and Victuals, like the sands of the Sea, and the Starres of Heaven. Wee two joyned together, will destroy all the savage and barbarous Moores. Neither doe I request ought else of you then men of skill, which may teach my Souldiers feats of warre. And thou (Oh King) art a man of a perfect age. King Salomon at twelve yeares old, undertooke the managing of his Kingdome, and had mightie Forces, and was wiser then his Father. My selfe also, when Nahu my Father deceased, was a child but of eleven yeares old, and being invested into his Throne, I have by the goodnesse of God, attained to greater wealth and strength then he. For in my hand are the Borderers and Nations of my Kingdome: Wherefore both of us ought to thanke God for so great a benefit received. Give eare unto me, my Brother and Lord: for heere in one word I request you, that learned men and Artificers may be sent mee, which can Print Bookes, and make Images, Swords, and all kind of Militarie Weapons: as also cunning Builders, Carpenters, and Physicians, which can both minister Potions, and heale Wounds. I would gladly also have such, as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and can artificially carve, both Gold and Silver, and also can digge Gold and Silver out of the Mines, and such as have skill in Mining of all other Metals. Moreover, they shall bee welcome unto me, that can make sheets of Lead, and such as can frame Brickes and Tiles of Clay. To be short, all Artificers shall be serviceable unto me, & especially Gun-founders. Assist me (I beseech you) in these things, as one Brother should assist another, &c.

His Letter to Pope Clement the seventh.

HAppy and Fortunate Holy Father, who of God art made a Conserver of Nations, and holdest the Seat of S. Peter, to thee are given the Keyes of the Kingdome

of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt binde and loose, shall be bound and loosed in heaven, as Christ hath said, and Matthew hath so written in his Gospell. I, the King, whose Name the Lions honor, and by the Grace of God, Atani Tingil, &c. Emperor of great and high Ethiopia, of great Realmes, Jurisdictions, and Lands, King of Xoa, of Caffate, of Fatigar, of Angote, of Baru, and of Baaliganze, of Adea, of Vangue, and of Goiame, (where Nilus springeth) of Amara, of Bagua Medri, of Ambea, of Vaguc, of Tigremahon, of Sabaim, (whence was the Queene of Saba) of Barnagaes, and Lord as farre as Nubia, which is on the Confines of Egypt. All these Provinces are in my power, and many other great and small, which I reckon not. Nor have I expressed the said Kingdomes and Provinces by name, induced by pride or any vaineglorie, but that the great God might be praised therefore, who of his singular bountie, hath given to the Kings my Predecessors, the Empire of so large Kingdomes of Christian Religion, and hath after exalted me with speciall Grace amongst other Kings, that I should continually be at the service of his Religion, and for this hath made me [II. vii. Lord of Adel, and enemie of the Moores and idolatrous 1121.] Gentiles. I send to kisse the feet of your Holinesse, as other Christian Kings my Brethren are wont to doe, to whom, neither in Power nor in Religion I am inferiour. I in my Kingdomes, am the Pillar of Faith, nor have I neede of other aydes, but place all my confidence and help in God, who hath alway sustained and governed me, from that time that the Angell of God spake to Philip, when he taught the right Faith to the Eunuch of Candace, a puissant Queene of Ethiopia, which went from Jerusalem to Gaza. Then Philip baptized the Eunuch, of whom afterwards the Queene was baptized, with great part of her Family, and her people which never since ceased to be Christians, and all of them from that time till now, have beene strong in the Faith. My Predecessours helped of none but God, have enlarged the Christian Faith in these great Kingdomes, which I enforce my selfe also to doe. I

abide in my Confines, as a Lion encompassed with a thicke Wood, strong against the Moores, and other Nations, enemies of the Christian Faith, which will not heare the word of God, nor my faithfull exhortations, I girt with my Sword, pursue them, and by little and little, chase them out of their nest, by the helpe of God which never failed mee, which hath otherwise happened to other Christians. For if they will extend the Confines of their Kingdomes, they doe it not against Infidels, which they easily may, because one of them may helpe and succour another, being also marveilously furthered by the benediction of your Holinesse, whereof I also am partaker, having found in my Bookes the Letters of Pope Eugenius, which in times past he sent with his blessing to the King, the Seede of Jacob, of which blessing, having received it from hand to hand, I am glad and rejoyce. Moreover, I hold in great veneration the Temple of Jerusalem, whither I often send due offerings by our Pilgrims: and much better and richer would I send, if the waies were not infested with Moores and Infidels, which not onely take away the Presents and Treasures from my Messengers, but hinder them also from free passage. And if the way were open, I would come into familiaritie, and commerce with the Church of Rome, as doe other Kings Christian, to whom I am not inferiour: and as they beleeve, I also confesse one right Faith and Catholike Church, and beleeve sincerely in the holy Trinitie, and in one God; the virginitie of our Ladie, the Virgin Marie, and I hold and observe the Articles of the Faith, as the Apostles have written. At this present, our Lord God, by the hand of the most mighty and Christian King Emanuel, hath opened the way that we may know each other by Embassie, and Christians joyned with Christians to serve God. But his Ambassadours being in our Court, newes came of his death, and that his Sonne John (who is my Brother) hath received the Scepter in his Fathers Kingdome. Whence, as by his Fathers death I was much grieved, so was I marveilously cheered by the happy succession of his Sonne in the Kingdome: insomuch

as I hope, that having joyned our Armies and Forces, we shall be able both by Sea and Land to open a way through the Provinces of the wicked Moores, and set upon them with such furie, that we shall chase them out of their Seates and Kingdomes, and so Christians may more commodiously goe to the Temple of Jerusalem, and returne at their pleasure. And I, as I earnestly desire to be made partaker of the Divine love in the Temple of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, so I desire to have the holy blessing of the Vicar of Christ; and without doubt, I hold that your Holinesse is the Vicar of Christ; and also that of the Pilgrims, which come from our Regions to Jerusalem, and to Rome, and not without great miracle returne, I heare many things spoken of your Holinesse, which cause me incredible pleasure and joy. Yet should I have much more pleasure, if my Ambassadours could use a shorter way, and at all times relate the newes unto mee, as I hope they shall once bring me before I dye, by the Grace of Almightie God, who keepe you in health and happinesse. Amen. I kisse your holy feete, and humbly intreat your Holinesse to send me your blessing. Your Holinesse shall receive these by meanes of our Brother John, King of Portugall, of our Ambassador, Francis Alvarez.

Another Letter of his was delivered by the same Alvarez, to the same Pope: desiring him to send him Artificers in Glasse, and Musicall Instruments, &c. Also to accord the Christian Kings, that they might take Armes against the Mahumetans, which assist one another, &c. But we have beene already tedious, and therefore omit it: And the Letter of his Mother Helena, sent 1509. by Matthew aforesaid, which in Goes aforesaid is to be seene. *Dam. à Goes de Ethiop. morib.*

Alvarez was received by the Pope, Clement the seventh, at Bolonia, January 29. 1533. in the presence of Charles the fifth Emperour, and Martin the Nephew, Counsellour and Ambassadour of King John of Portugall, and entertained as Ambassadour of the said King David, in his

Name, presenting obedience to the Pope, as more at large in Ramusio appeareth.

[II. vii. 1122.]

Chap. VI.

A Rutter of Don John of Castro, of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zoez. Dedicated to the most Illustrious Prince, the Infant Don Luys, and here abbreviated: shewing the state of Socatora, and the parts on both sides the red Sea, as they were above eightie yeeres since, with the Harbours, Ilands, Depths, Shelves, and other things pertayning to the Historie of the Sea, Land, and People. The originall of which is reported to have beene bought by Sir Walter Raleigh, at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall.

§. I.

The sayling from Goa to Socatora, and into the red Sea, as farre as Mazua.

THe one and thirtieth of December, 1540.* at Sunne rising, we set saile from the Barre of Goa, the way of the Straights, the wind was off the Land to the East-ward. Wee coasted along the Coast, bearing but little saile: about ten of the clocke, we came to an anchor at a River, which is called Chaporaa.

* This Voyage being occasioned, by sending the Patriarch Bermudez to Ethiopia, and relating how that State decayed, invaded by the Moores, and embroyled with civill discontents: contayning also a more full intelligence of the red Sea, then any other Rutter which I have seene, I have here added; and next to it, Bermudez owne report, translated, it seemeth, by the same hand (not the most refined in his English phrase, which yet durst not be too busie with, wanting the Originall) and reduced to our method; here and there amending the English, which yet in part was done, as I thinke, and many marginall notes added by Sir Walter Raleigh himselfe. For prolixitie we have omitted the way hitherto.

The thirteenth of Januarie, 1541. in the morning we saw great quantitie of Oze, that growes upon the Rockes of the Sea, and within a little while wee saw a Snake; the Sunne being up, wee saw Land of the Iland of Socatora, in search of the which we went, and the Land bare with us flat South.

A Snake.
Socatora Iland.

Now, after we were at anchor in this part, I asked of the most principall Pilots of the Fleet, how farre they made themselves off the Land the day that they saw it, and I found, the chiefe Pilot was ninetie leagues short, when wee saw it; the Pilot of the Galleon Bufora, one hundred and odde; and others, eightie: those which made themselves the least, were seventie leagues short. In such sort, that my Pilot, which made it sixtie five, was the neerest to the Land. And I found among them all, a great wondring and a murmuring, how the errour could be so great; and either because it was so, or because the Pilotes would make their reason good, they all cried out, affirming, that this deceit proceeded, of the way being shorter then the Cards make it. Likewise, the Morish Pilots made good their complaint, affirming, that from Goa to Socatora, there were no more then three hundred leagues.

From Goa to Socatora is 300. leagues, as the Moores account.

The Iland of Socatora hath in length, twentie leagues, and nine in breadth; it stands in twelve degrees and two third parts, on the North side; the front of the Iland that is opposite to the Septentrionall part, runneth East and West, and somewhat to the North-west and South-east: the Coast of the Sea is all very cleere without any Rocke, or Shoald, or any other impediment that may hinder the Navigators: the ground in the Road is sand, and in some places stonie, but in such qualitie, that it will not cut the Cables. On this side the treverse wind, or the North wind is so forcible, and bloweth with such a rage, that it raiseth great heapes of sand over the Hills, and doth drive them beyond their high and craggie tops. In all the circuit of the Iland, there is not any other place or harbour, where any ship may safely winter. The Coast

The Iland of Socatora is in length 20. leagues and nine in breadth.

of the Sea is very high in every place, and begirt with very great and high Mountaines, with many Pikes, Piramides, and divers other very faire shewes. In these Coasts of this Iland the tides are contrarie to them of India: for, when the Moone riseth, and appeareth in the Horizon, it is high floud, which the Mariners call, full Sea; and the Moone beginning to ascend in our Hemisphere, the tide begins to ebbe, till it commeth to the Meridian of this Iland; and being in it, it is dead low water; but the Moone descending from the Meridian, it begins to flow, by the same order and degrees that it was set in the great circle of our Horizon, and being set, it is here full Sea. I made this observation many dayes by the Sea shoare, and found alwaies the same operation. This Iland of Socatora, (if I be not deceived) was called in old time, Dioscoridis. There was in it a Citie, called also Dioscorides, as it appeareth in Ptolomie, the sixth Table of Asia: but, by the manner that he had in casting it, and the place where he seated it, it appeares that he had evill information of the Travellers. The Socatorians doe keepe the Law of the Gospell; and they were enlightened, and brought to the Faith by the blessed Apostle Saint Thomas, as they themselves beare record. In all the circuit of the Iland are many Churches, in which there is no Oracle, but the Crosse whereon our Saviour suffered. They pray in the Chaldean Tongue, as I was enformed, they want instruction, but they are very desirous of it, and demand with great efficacie the doctrine and customes of the Romish Church, and all of them doe confesse this alone to be good, and is to be kept; they call themselves by our names, as John, Peter, Andrew, &c. and the women generally Maries. To consider the manner how this People liveth, certainly is worth the noting; for, among them they have no King, Governour, Prelate, or person to obey, or who may governe them; but they live in a manner like the wild beasts, without any order of Justice, or politique life. In all the Iland there is no Citie or great Town, but the greatest part of the People dwelleth in

The tides here contrarie to them of India, being alwaies full Sea, when the Moone appeareth here in the Horizon.

Dioscoridis Insula, in which in times past was an ancient Citie, called Dioscorides. [II. vii. 1123.]

The Socatorians converted to the Faith of Christ by Saint Thomas the Apostle.

Since this was written, the Moores of Arabia rule here as in many English Journals of later times you may read. See Finch and others in the 3. and 4. Bookes.

Caves, and some have little Cottages thatcht, separated the one from the other, living a life more then savage and pastorall. Their food is Flesh and wild Dates, they drinke Milke, and taste the water very seldome. All of them are very devoted to the Crosse, and for a wonder shall you find one person that doth not weare it about his necke: this People is of the best disposition in all these parts, they have their bodies tall and straight, their faces well proportioned, their colour is swarthie, the women are somewhat whiter, and honestly faire. In all the Countrey there is no manner of weapons, offensive and defensive, except certaine Swords of dead Iron, very short; the men goe naked, and they cover onely their secret parts with certaine Cloth, which they call Cambolis, of the which they make great quantitie in the Iland. The Countrey is naturally poore, and no other merchandise are found then * Verdigrease, and Sanguis Draconis. But the Verdigrease is in great abundance, and esteemed above all. All this Iland is mountainous, and breedeth all sort of Cattell that is in our parts, of the which there is great abundance. The Countrey neither produceth Wheat nor Rice, nor any maintenance of this kind. I beleeve, this is not the fault of the ground, but want of Industrie and Arte in the Inhabitants; for the Iland within the land is very fresh, and hath many Valleys and Plaines, very convenient for to receive all benefit that they will bestow on it. This People hath no manner of Navigation, neither industrie for to catch the Fish, which by the Coasts of this Iland is infinite; they have very few Fruit-trees, among the which the Palm-trees are esteemed, and nourished, as the principall part of their food to maintaine life: the Countrey yeeldeth all manner of Garden-herbs, and medicinable Herbs, the Mountaines are covered with the Herbe Basill, and other smelling Herbs.

Cloth called, Camboles.

**I thinke he meaneth Aloe Socatrina, Verdigrease, and Sanguis Draconis, merchandises in this Iland.*

Basill, sweet herbs in the Mountaines. The like Alvarez relateth of Ethiopia.

The seven and twentieth of Januarie, 1541. in the morning, we were very little beyond the Citie of Aden, in such sort, that it was to the North-west of us, the distance might be about sixe leagues, the wind was at East, and

faire, wee sailed West South-west, and wee knew that the Land that wee saw yesterday in the afternoone, and seemed to us an Iland, was the Mountaine of Aden: this Mountaine is very high and faire, on every side craggie and rough; upon it there arise some very high pikes and sharpe, in all shewes it is very like, and of the making of the Hill of Sintra, which more then any other thing doth make it noble and famous. This Hill descendeth to the Sea, and with great violence, thrusteth within her waves, a very great and long point, and presently withdrawing it selfe a great space inward to the land, there remaine, made two nookes, as faire as compassed, wherein that which lieth on the East side, stands situated the strong Citie of Aden. This Hill in times past, was called Cabubarra, and was made famous by the Navigators, and the Citie of Aden was knowne for Madoca. This Citie of Aden, within this three yeeres, is come to the power of the Turkes, by Treason which Soliman Bassa, Governour of Cairo, did to the King of it, which past in this manner. The Great Turke making a great Armie, at the request of the King of Cambaya, and of all the Inhabitants of the Straights of Mecca, for India. Hee sent the Governour of Cairo, called Soliman Bassa Eunuch, with a great Armie of Ships and Galleys for India. This Captaine being come to the Port of Aden, the King and Citizens, fearing the little trueth of the Turkes, denied them the entring into the Citie, but they provided them with all necessaries of victuals and provisions: Soliman, and also the Souldiers, not shewing any griefe at this hospitalitie, the King assured himselfe, and with many messages and visitations of great friendship, which past betweene them both, they came to conclude, to meete in the Admirall Galley, that they might intreat together about the Conquest, which newly he went to make in India. The day of the agreement, the King comming to consult with Soliman Bassa, was taken prisoner, and the Turkes, which for this act were prepared, assaulted the gates of the Citie, and being entred, easily possessed themselves thereof; and

The Mountaine of Aden.

The situation of Aden. Cabubarra.

Madocha Citie.

Aden brought in subjection of the Turke by Treason Basha.

See hereof Dam. à Goes Bell. in a speciall Treatise called Diensis oppugnatio.

the day following, the King was hanged before the gates. The Citie being taken by this Treason, Soliman leaving a great Garrison within it, made his journey in all haste toward Dio.

Cape of Guardafui. *Aromata Promontorie.* *Syagros Promontorie, or CapeFartaque Gulfe.*

On the side of Africa, beginning at the Cape of Guardafui, in other times, called Aromata: and on the other side of Asia, from the Promontorie Siagros, or Cape of Fartaque, which is the same; all the Sea that is contayned unto the ancient Citie of the Heroes, which now is called Soez, is called the Arabick Gulfe, knowne vulgarly for the Red Sea. The space of Sea that lyeth betweene these two Promontories, and divideth in this place Asia from Africa, may be the summe of fiftie eight leagues. And from hence, viz. from these Promontories, the Coast of every side turning to the setting of the Sunne, doe runne almost in the same distance, till they come to two Cities, that is, Aden in Arabia, and Zeila in Ethiopia, or Abexi; and from thence the Coasts begin to streighten very much, and every time more running with desart Coasts and little winding, till they meete in the place of the Mouth, with two Promontories, that is, Possidium on the Arabian side; and another which lyeth on the contrarie side, that is, of Ethiopia or Abexi, whose name, as well Ancient as Moderne, is not come to my notice; where as farre as these Promontories is the narrowest and streightest passage of the Streight. This streightnesse, of the neighbouring people, and of those which inhabit the Coasts of the Indian Ocean, is called Albabo, which in the Arabian tongue, do signifie Gates or Mouthes; and in this place and mouth, the Land doth neighbor so much, and the shewes which they make of willingnes to joyne themselves, are so knowne, that it seemeth without any doubt, the Sea, much against their wills and perforce, to enterpose it selfe in separating these two parts of the World. For the space which in this place divideth the Land of the Arabians, from the Coast of the Abexi, is about sixe leagues distance. In this space there lye so many Ilands, little Ilets, and Rocks, that they cause a

[II. vii. 1124.]

Arabique signe or Gulfe, or Red Sea. *Aden.* *Zeila, in Abexii or Ethiopia.*

Possidium Promontorie.

Albabo.

The Streight, sixe leagues broad.

double, considering this streightnesse without, that some time it was stopped, and so by these streight Sluces and Channels, which are made betweene the one Iland and the other, there entreth such a quantitie of Sea, and maketh within so many and so great Nookes, so many Bayes, so many names of great Gulfes, so many diversities of Seas, so many Ports, so many Ilands, that it seemeth not that we saile in a Sea betweene two Lands, but in the deepest and most tempestuous Lake of the great Ocean. Now returning to the Mouthes of the Streight, which is the intent of our Description, Wee are to note, that in this place the Land of Arabia stretcheth into the Sea, with a very great and long point, and so for this cause, as because it remayneth out of the Mouth, and a great Nooke from this Point, it seemeth comming from the Sea, that the Land of this Point is some Iland, very distant from the firme Land. This Point is the Promontorie, which Ptolomie calleth Possidium.

Pego.

Against this Point or Promontorie Possidium, little more then a stones cast standeth a little Ilet, called the Ilet of the Robones. For Roboan, in the Arabian tongue, is as much as Pilot, the which dwelling here did bring in the Ships that came from the Sea, and from thence directed them to the places of their Countrie that they went unto. This Iland is round and very flat, the circuit may comprehend the sixt part of a league, from it to the firme Land yee may passe, the Water being low, but the Tyde beginning once to flow from one quarter flood, it cannot be waded. To the Sea off this little Iland, opposite to the Coast, about one league, standeth an Iland, which hath in length about a league and a halfe, the which on that side that fronteth the Abexi, hath a very great Haven and sure from all Windes, where a great Navie may well bee harboured of Galleyes, but the other front of the Iland which is opposite, and fronteth the Land of the Arabian, not onely wanteth a Harbour and Receptacle, but also wanteth a landing place. This Channell is sailed well in the middest North-west and by West, and South-east and

See Sir Henrie Middleton, Cap. Downton, Cap. Saris, and other English Journalls, of their voyages to Moha.

by East: through all the Channell is eleven fathome deepe, we may passe either neere the Iland, or neere the firme Land, or through the middest it is very cleane in every place without any Flats or Shoalds, or any other inconvenience that may disturbe us; the ground is a soft stone, which they call Corall stone, and scarcely shall yee finde a sandie plot, though you seeke it with great diligence. Being farre within the Channell, and going to seeke the Roade and Haven, which may harbour us from the Easterne windes, which in this place are very strong, the depth diminisheth somewhat, but it is no lesse then nine fathome. Besides this Channell of the Arabian, there be many other whereby you may goe into the Streight safely, and being many, the mention is made of one onely of them, and they called it, the Channell of the Abexin; because from the Iland of the Gates, unto the Promontorie opposite to Possidium, which is in the Coasts of Abexin, there may be of distance about five leagues, in this space there lye sixe Ilands very great and high, and seeing them from without the Mouth of the Streight, they put the Sailers in great feare and doubt, shewing that they forbid the passage that way, but the truth is, that betweene them, there goe very large Channels and of great depth, whereby without any danger wee may make our way, and also if we will, leaving them all on the right hand, wee may passe betweene them and the Mayne of Abexi.

Eleven fathoms in all the Channell.

Eastern winds raine in this place.

The nine and twentieth of Januarie, 1541. at noone, I tooke the Sunne, and being in his greatest heighth, it rose over the Horizon two and sixtie degrees and three quarters, the declination of this day was fifteene degrees, whence it remayneth that the Mouth of the Streight and Promontorie Possidium, standeth in twelve degrees and one quarter towards the North. The Pilot tooke the same heighth, the which being taken upon the Land, it cannot choose but be of very great certaintie.

The Mouth of the Streight of the Red Sea, twelve degrees one quarter.

That night, two houres after mid-night, wee set saile from the Mouth of the Streight. The thirtieth of

Januarie, 1541. by day, we saw the Land of both the Coasts, and wee were neerer the Land of Abexi, then to the Arabian; the Wind blew hard at East South-east, till noone; we sailed to the North-west and by West, making the way by a Channell that goeth betweene the first Ilands, and the Coast of the Abexi, the which untill this day was unknowne and strange to the Portugals; the distance wee went from the Land by this Channell, might bee about foure leagues; an houre after Sunne rise, we saw along the Coast a ranke of Ilands, the greatest part of them were low, and as the ranke of Ilands, so the Coast stretched North-west, South-east; the ranke of the Ilands might comprehend about sixtie leagues journey. Now, sailing by this Channell with a prosperous winde, at whatsoever part we cast our eyes, we saw many little Ilands, as well on the one side as on the other.

[II. vii. 1125.]

Many little Ilands.

Annotations, how we are to saile by this Channell.

By this Channell, which is called of the Abexi, we must not saile by night, and without the winde in the Poope, for if the winde change, we cannot come too and againe, nor come to an anchor in any place, till we are so farre forward as the first of the first Ilands, wee shall see to the Sea-ward nine little Ilands, and from thence forward the Sea remayneth free and open, and onely to the Land of us there be a great quantitie of them, and some doe separate themselves from the Coast and the Mayne, about two leagues; but the greatest part of these Ilands doe lye along the Coast; the length of this Channell, which incloseth it selfe in the three first Ilands, and the Land of Abexi, may be about eight leagues: to make a safe voyage, it behoveth to goe neerer to the firme Land, then to the Ilands; but above all things, my opinion is, that none doe take it in hand without a Pilot of the Countrey.

The seven sisters.

Moorish Pilots.

The one and thirtieth by day, we came to a shoald, where were sixe fathom water, and to the Sea of it against certaine Ilands, which are called the seven Sisters, there is a Rocke of stone very dangerous, as the Moorish Pilots told me: so that the good Navigation in this part is to goe very neere the firme Land, and in no case goe to the

Sea of this shoald. At night wee came to an anchor within a Haven, which is called Sarbo, in nine fathome and a halfe water, all this day very close to the Coast we saw great quantitie of little Ilands.

Little Ilands.

The first of Februarie, I went on Land in the Iland, and Port of Sarbo, carrying the Pilot with me and the Master, that we all might take the Sunne: and in his greatest heighth it was risen over the Horizon one and sixtie degrees scarse: the declination of this day, was thirteene degrees and sixe and fiftie minutes; whence it remayneth manifest, this Iland and the Port of Sarbo, to be in fifteene degrees and seven minutes, towards the North side.

The description of the Iland and Port of Sarbo.

About foure and twentie leagues short of Maçua, and distant from the Coast of the Abexi foure leagues, in fifteene degrees of heighth, there is a great Archipellago of Ilands, some of which lye so low, that they rise very little above the superficies of the Sea, and others doe rise so high, that they seeme to touch the Cloudes, and betweene the one and the other, there are so many Bayes, Ports, Harbours, as no winde can annoy us: all of them want water, except one very high, which the Portugals call, The Iland of the Whale, because it resembleth one very much, and there is water, and plentie of Cattell, and here is a great Haven where Ships may winter. Of all these, that which is most to the Sea, is one that in Arabique is called Sorbo, where at this present we lye at anchor. This Iland of Sarbo, is of length about a league, and almost halfe a league broade, the Land of it is very low, it hath many Trees but very low and barren, all the Plaine is full of grasse, in every place yee finde the footing of Men and Cattell, but there was onely one Camell seene, for the which occasion, they called it, The Iland of the Camell; in all the circuit of the Iland, we found no water, though we sought it very diligently, except one Well digged in a stone, which according to the appearance of it, was to receive the raine waters. Betweene these Ilands doe enter many armes of the Sea, Reaches and Channels.

A good Harbour for ships.

The fourth of Februarie, 1541. at Sunne rise, we set saile from the Port of Sorbo. Februarie the seventh, we sailed along many Ilands, which are distant from the firme Land about three or foure leagues; the greatest part of them are very low and flat with the Sea. Wee went to the Sea of them all about a league, and about even-song time, we saw to Sea of us a ranke of Ilands very long, which seemed to take some five leagues distance, there was from us to them about some foure leagues, all of them lay North-west and South-east, as farre as I could discerne. The Coast which all this day we saw, stretched North-west and by West, and South-east and by East. So that this Channell, wherein this day we sailed, hath in breadth about five leagues, reckoning the space that lyeth betweene the one Iland and the other: the greatest part of this day I commanded to cast the Lead, and I found alwayes five and twentie fathome water, and the ground Ozie.

The eight of Februarie, 1541. two houres after the Sunne rose, wee set saile. Most of this time we sailed to the North-west, at Sunne set we were almost entred into the Channell, that goeth betweene the Point of Dallaqua, which looketh to the firme Land, and an Iland, which is called Xamoa, but having respect that night began to come on, and that many Galleons remayned farre off, and it would bee difficult to hit the Channell, and also considering, how at this time the winde was alreadie scarse, we tooke in our sailes, and with our fore-sailes we went rummore, sailing to the South-east; and two houres within night we came to an anchor in fortie fathome water, the ground Osie. All this day wee saw along the Coast many Ilands, so flat, that they and the Sea seemed to have one superficies. The Coast that shewed it selfe to us, stretched North-west and South-east to a low Point, which is as farre forward as the Iland of Dallaqua. Doubling this Point, the Land maketh a great Nooke, that entreth ten or twelve leagues into it.

The Point of Dallaqua. Xamoa Insula.

[II. vii. 1126.]

The Iland of Dallaqua is a very low Land, and almost flat with the Sea, without rising in it, Mountayne, Pike, or any other heighth; it hath in length, according to the common opinion, five and twentie leagues, and twelve in breadth; the side of this Iland, which is opposite to the South, stretcheth East South-east, and West North-west, that is, all the Coast which I could comprehend with the sight, and along the Coast lye great quantitie of little Ilands, all very low, and beare the same course of the Coast. I onely coasted this side of the Iland seven leagues, and two distant from the Land, and casting many times the Lead, never found ground. The Metropolitan Citie, is situated almost in the Point of the Iland, which lyeth on the West side a frontier to Abexi, it is called Dallaca, whence the Iland tooke the name, which is to say in the Arabique tongue, ten leques, and this, because in times past, the Custome-house thereof, yeelded so much every yeere to the King. Every Arabian leque is worth ten thousand Seraphins, and every Seraphin Arabique two Tangas larinas; in sort that ten Arabian leques, are worth in our money fortie thousand Cruzados. The Point of this Iland on the West side, and opposite to the Abexi, is distant from the firme Land about sixe or seven Leagues, and in this space of Sea, there lye five Ilands, very flat; the first is distant from this Point one league, it is called Xamoa, it hath in compasse two leagues, in it there be some Springs and Wells, and betweene this Iland of Xamoa, and the Westerne Point of Dallaqua, is the principall Channell and most current for to goe to Maçua. In this Channell there are seventie fathome water, the Land of this Iland is red; it produceth few Trees, and great abundance of Herbs. The King of it is a Moore, and all the People, he is resident the most part of the yeere in Maçua, because of the traffique he hath with the Abexins. This Iland at this present yeeldeth little; for after the rising of Suaquen, Maçua, Aden, and Judaa, it lost the traffique, and with the traffique the reputation.

The description of the Iland of Dallaqua.

This Iland is five and twentie leagues long, and twelve in breadth.

The Metropolitan Citie called Dallaqua.

Xamoa Insula, in which are Springs or Wells of water.

Seventie fathome water.

The King of Dallaqua, a Moore.

The description of the Iland and Port of Maçua. The Citie of Ptolomaida, sometimes built here.

The twelfth, the Navie of Galleons came into the Port of Maçua. Maçua is a small Iland, very flat, and in it in old time was built the Citie Ptolomaida, of the wilde beasts. This Iland hath in length about the fift part of a league, and of breadth a Caliver shot, it lyeth in a great and crooked Nooke, very neere the Point of the Nooke that is on the North-west side. The space of Sea that divideth this Iland from the firme Land, is about a Faucon shot, and in some parts not so much; in this distance, to wit, betweene the Iland and the firme Land is the Haven, in the which the Sea is not troubled with any weather, and the Current is very little, and all windes come over the Land, the depth is eight or nine fathome water, the ground is Ozie. The entrance of this Port lyeth on the North-east side, by the middest of the Channell betweene the Land and the Iland, because that from the Point which turneth to the East North-east, there goeth out a Shoald toward the Land, and the Point of the Nooke casteth another against the Point of the Iland, for the which they force the Ships to beware of the extremes of the Mouth of the Channell, and to seeke the middest of it. The Channell is very streight, it runneth North-east and South-west: very neere to this Iland of Maçua, toward the South and South-west, lye other two Ilands, the neerest to the firme Land is somewhat the bigger of them, and that which is more to the Sea, and lyeth toward the South-west, is the lesser, and very round. These three Ilands stand in a triangle forme, they are all very flat and barren, there is no springing water in any of them, onely in Maçua are many Cisternes, whereof the Inhabitants doe drinke and live. Betweene these Ilands are scattered many Shoalds, but through the middest of them goeth a Channell where Gallies and rowing Vessels may passe at a full Sea. This Iland of Maçua was a little while since of the Signiorie of Preste John, with all the Coast, contayned from the Cape of Guardafui to the Citie of Suaquen; but within these few yeeres, the King of Dallaqua hath usurped it, and is resident in it the most

In Nadyuel Iland are many Cisternes of water.

part of the yeere, because of the traffique he hath with the Abexines, of whom he hath great quantitie of Gold and Ivorie. The ayre is unhealthfull in the moneths of May and June, and very untemperate through great and intollerable calmes, in such sort that as well the King as the Inhabitants, doe avoid it, and leave it emptie these two moneths, and goe to Dallaqua. The firme Land of the Nooke, wherein standeth this Iland of Maçua, till yee come to a place of many Wells of water, called Arquito, by the Sea side, is very high and mountaynous, but from thence forward, the Sea coast is more open and cleere, and betweene the Hills and the Sea are great Fields and Plaines. There may bee from Arquito to Maçua a league. Arquito standeth to the South from the Iland: through all these Mountaines and Fields, are great number of wilde beasts of divers kinds, to wit, Elephants, Tygres, Woolves, wilde Boares, Stagges, Elkes, and many other formes of Beasts, not knowne unto us; whence, with much reason, it is called Ptolomaida, of the wilde Beasts. And that Maçua and Ptolomaida, be one and the selfe same thing, the elevation of the Pole doth testifie in this behalfe.

Wilde Beasts.

§. II.

[II. vii. 1127.]

Relations of Ethiopia sub Ægypto, and Prester John: of Nilus, and the Abassine Customes and Neighbours. The cause and meanes of the decay of that great Empire, never since recovered. Of Marate and Suaquen.

The Cosmographie of Ethiopia, sub Egypto.

The Negus or Priest John, King of the Abexins.

Promontorie of Aramata.

Where this Easterne Empire beginneth.

THe Preste John, which by another name, is called King of the Abexi, is Lord of all the Land of Æthiopia sub Ægypto: which is one of the greatest Provinces we know in the World. This Easterne Empire beginneth at the Cape of Guardafui, called in old time, the Promontorie of Aromata, and from thence running along the Red Sea with Desert coasts, & not very crooked, it reacheth unto the bounds of the rich City of

Suaquen: on the Northside it bordereth with the warlike people of the Nubiis or Nubians, which lyeth between the Land of the Abexii, and the superiour part of Egypt, called, Thebayda, and from hence running great spaces within the Land, toward that part where the Kingdome and Land of Manicongo lyeth, after it hath taken to it selfe some part of Libya interior, all the other on the West-side remayneth for his bounds, and presently turning againe behind the Springs and Lakes of Nilus, going through the fierie and unknowne Countries, it finisheth and endeth on the South-side in the Barbarian Gulfe, which at this day is knowne of the Portugals, which doe navigate the same on the Coast of Melinde and Magadaxo.

Ethiopia produceth many Mines of gold. Lakes of Nilus.

Nilus at this day is knowne by his ancient name; for of the Abexiis, Egyptians, Arabians, and Indians, it is called Nil, a thing certainly worth the knowing; the Springs and Lakes whence this River proceedeth, are in the Confines that separate the Land of the Abexins, or Æthiopians from the Safres, which inhabit the mayne of the Land, that goeth from Melinde toward Mosambique, as I understood, by some great Lords, and other persons of Abexii. Which thing is held of them all for manifest, and well knowne, and hence appeareth, the little knowledge that the Ancients had of his originall. Now, enquiring of these persons, if it were true, that this River in many places did sinke under the Earth, and came out againe many daies journies thence, I knew there was no such thing: But that through all the Land where it ranne, it shewed it selfe upon the Superficies thereof, carrying a great depth and breadth, without hiding it selfe or flying from the sight of men, as yee reade in Plinie, Lib. 5. of the Naturall Historie: About the increasings or over-flowings of the River, I asked very often the causes, this beeing a thing so disputed of all the ancient Philosophers, and I came perfectly to know of them the Solution of this doubt, hitherto never determined; and so almost jestingly, with certaine simple Questions, I came

to know that which so great and proud wits of Philosophers knew not.

These principall Lords of Abexii told me, that in their Countrey the Winter beganne in the end of May, and lasted June, July, and part of August, but that in August, the Ayre is more pleasant, the weather milde and tractable, but that in the monethes of June and July, for a great Wonder appeared the Sunne; so many, and so continuall were the raines which continually fell from Heaven, with the which the fields and low grounds were so covered and over-flowne of the waters, that in these two monethes, they cannot goe nor passe from one place to another, and that this multitude of waters had no other issue or place where to gather themselves, but only to the Channell of the River Nilus: because toward the Red Sea, there ranne along the Sea very great Mountaines, it was of necessitie, that the River should increase and go out of his owne course, not being able to containe so great abundance and weight of waters in it selfe, and the River running with such vehement and terrible rage, it is very apparant, that as well in the Egyptian, as in other Lands whereby it passeth, it would goe out of his naturall course, and cause, whereby it passeth, great over-flowings: and the Territories of Egypt being most plaine, of necessitie, the over-flowings in it would be more copious, and the River would have a larger scope to spread it selfe with his waters in every place, the which could not so happen in the high and Mountainous Lands.

And so it doth in Suiana, the raines falling most violently in these moneths.

Now then, since it was manifest, that all the inundations of Nilus in Egypt, begin to increase when the Sunne was in the Solstitium Estival, which is in the moneth of June, the Sunne entring in the beginning of Cancer, but passing by the Signe of Leo, which is in July, the River increased in greater abundance, and when it was in the Signe of Virgo, which is in August, where in this moneth the raines begin to asswage in the Abexii, and Winter takes his leave, the River began to decrease by the degrees it had increased, till it come altogether into his Channell,

Alvarez hath delivered the same reason of this overflowing.

the occasion remayned manifest of the increasing of this River, to be the great and continuall raines, which in the moneths of June and July, did fall in the Land of Abexii, or Æthiopia, which is all one; Seeing that when these raines ceased in August, the River at that same time did beginne to withdraw himselfe to his accustomed bounds. I was my selfe in Maçua, the moneth of June, and part of July, where I saw great stormes, raines, thundering, and within the Mayne continually, we saw great blacknesse and cloudinesse, and tempests, and the Abexins said, that we saw but little to that which went within the Land. [II. vii. 1128.] Likewise, wee have experience, that the moneths of June and July, is the Winter of Cape Bona Esperanza, and all this Coast where the raines are very continuall. In this manner, having resolved my doubt, of the flowings of Nilus, I asked them if the River made any Ilands; they answered mee, that it made many, but one of them was very great, where was built a most rich and great Citie, which by due consideration ought to be the Iland of Meroe, and they told mee, that aswell in this Iland, as through all the River there were great numbers of certaine fierce and pestiferous beasts, which, without doubt, must be the Crocodiles; and being desirous to know if it were true, that in a certaine place the River fell from such a height, that with the great noise of the fall, those that inhabited in the bordering Townes were borne deafe: I found no Historie of this, onely they told mee, that in a certaine place, which they named, the River did fall of a great Rocke, downe with a great noise and rumour, but that there was no other thing.

Cape of Bona Esperanza.

Meroe insula, in which is a great and rich Citie.

As touching the customes and manners of the Abexines, the Lecture that of them might bee made, it would disturbe the Historie of the Rutter, for which cause, I will touch in briefe somethings most worthy to bee knowne: especially, of the ruine and losse of this Empire, in our unhappie dayes.

Preste John, by name Atini Tingill, called after David, raigning in the yeare 1530. in the Land of Æthiopia, he

A.D. 1541.

became so cruell to his Subjects, and did tyrannize so much over the people, that he fel into an universall hatred of the Abexines; in this time Gradamet, King of Zeila, finding the time fit, began to attempt warre with Presbyter John, to see what he could find in the minds of the Abexines, & this, not that he was able to take such an Enterprize in hand, but either he encouraged himself in the great enmitie the Abexines had with their King, either this warre was secretly moved by some Lords of the Kingdome. Now, beginning to enter through the Land of the Presbyter, and to take some Townes, he divided largely the spoiles among his Warriours, among the which he had three hundred Harquebusses, Turkes, which was the greatest strength of his Armie, and franchized all the Inhabitants of the Townes, where through he passed, and exempted them of the Taxes and Impositions imposed by Presbyter John, with which liberalities hee got the minds of the Abexines, and not onely of the vulgar sort, but also of the most principall Lords of the Kingdome.

Davids tyranny, of which some Examples of the two Betudetes, and Chiefe Justice, and Tigremahon, and foure Barnagassoes, in sixe yeares, &c. you may reade before in Alvarez. This humour, it seemeth, increased with his yeares, and perhaps he intended some alteration in Religion also, as appeareth by Alvarez and Bermudez his Legates to the Pope, which might more instigate his subjects against him.

The Presbyter John, seeing the damage received of the King of Zeila, sent against him his Captaines, which beginning some Skirmishes, as soone as the Turkes shot their Caleevers among the Abexines, and did kill some of them, the feare they tooke of these shots was so great, that presently they set themselves in flight. The King of Zeila proud of this victorie, entred within the Land, confident alreadie in the favour of Fortune, accompanied with great companies of Abexines, which followed his partie, and foraging the Land of Æthiopia, by that part which standeth upon Magadoxa and Melinde, to the end that by this way hee might in shorter time come to a Mountaine, where was the great Treasure of all the Presbyters past, the Presbyter seeing that every day his Abexines passed to the Campe of the Moores, determined to come to a battaile, before that so great Harpyes did make an end of devouring the Land altogether, and the minds of his Subjects, and gathering his Armies, and going against the King of Zeila, hee gave him battaile,

Gradamet overthrew in battaile Preste John, by means of Harquebusses.

in which the Presbyter John was overcome, because that the Abexines could not abide the Harquebusses, and so fled from them, as from a cruell pestilence. The Presbyter with-drawne after this conflict to the Mountaines with some of his, within a few dayes, hee left this life, in the yeare of our Lord 1539.

Davids death.

The King of Zeila obtayning so great a victorie, travelled by great journeyes toward the Mountaine, where the Treasure was of the Kings of Abexii, and comming to the foot, assaulting the paces with great furie, notwithstanding they were unaccessible, and were defended from the top, in the end they entred them, and gained the Mountaine, where was taken the greatest Treasure, that unto this day we know together in the compasse of the whole Earth. Now, upon the decease of Presbyter John, the Abexines, which continued in the faith and love of their Countrey, elected his eldest Sonne for Presbyter, and King of Abexii, being a yong man of little age, which finding the Realme usurped by Infidels, and almost irrecoverable (and because there might remaine nothing wherein Fortune might not be contrarie to him, and favourable to the Moores) it hapned that a Brother of his, dealt with some great men how to get the Kingdome, which was the utter overthrow of the * Abexines. The matters of Æthiopia, beeing in these termes, and the infortunate youth contending with his Domesticall and Native Countriemen, the King of Zeila came upon him, but the new Presbyter not being able to resist, with-drew himselfe to the Mountaine of the Jewes.

**Since which to this day, they have decreased, and are now almost utterly ruined.*

Mountaine of the Jewes.

We are to note, that in the inward part of Æthiopia, there ariseth a great and most high Hill, which hath but one onely ascending and very difficult, but on the highest top of it lyeth a very plaine Countrey, where there are great abundance of Springs, Fruits, Cattell, and Tillages, the Inhabitants of this Mountaine doe observe the Law of Moses, not finding in all the Land of Abexii any Jewes: the Historie and Antiquitie how they have arrived here, and the cause of never descending downe, and con-

versing familiarly with the Abexines, is not come to my notice, though I laboured it much. The new Presbyter receiving of these Jewes friendly entertainment, and reknowledged for their Lord, they defended him from the Moores, and King of Zeila, which despayring of the victorie, and entring the Mountaine, retyred backward. About this time we arrived at Maçua with all the Armie: which when it was knowne, it put the Moores in a great feare, and lifted up the decayed hearts of the Abexines, in sort that the Presbyter emboldned himselfe to descend from the Mountaine, and seated himselfe with his people in certaine Mountaines towards the Sea and Towne of Maçua, where we were arrived, writing many Letters more then pittifull and miserable, and in all of them before the writing, came Our Lord Jesus crucified, of the which, having loving Answeres, and full of hope of succour, wee made our journey toward Soez, and being returned againe to Maçua, it was ordayned to send him five hundred men with a Captaine. This done, we set saile, and came directly the way to India, and to this present, I have not knowne what more hapned, or is become of the Presbyter, and matters of Æthiopia. [II. vii. 1129.]

What these Portugals performed in Ethiopia, you shal reade in the following Relations of Bermudez.

The Abexines are naturally ceremonious men, and full of points of honour. Among them there is no other kind of weapons then Darts, in which they here figured the Lance wherewith Christ was wounded, and the Crosse whereon he suffered for Sinners. Some, though very few, weare halfe Swords. They are nimble on Horse-backe, but badly apparelled, generally they are lying people and given to Rapine. Among them he is not counted rich, that possesseth many, but he that hath abundance of Cattell, and Camels, and notwithstanding this they esteeme the Gold very much: In their owne Countrey they are weake and cowards, but in a strange Countrey strong and valiant, in sort, that it is a Proverbe in all India, to say, That the good Las-carin, which wee call a Souldier, must be an Abexine; and they are so esteemed in Ballagate, Cambaya, Bengala, and in other places, that

Customes of the Abexines. They are esteemed great Warriours out of their owne Countrey.

they are alwayes Captaines, and principall persons in the Armies. Their attyre is vile and poore: they weare Shirts of linnen cloth, and some great person weareth a Beden, the vulgar goeth naked, and covered with whatsoever cloth, they eate Bolliemus, and raw flesh, and when they lay it to the fire, they hold it so little at it, that when they eate it, the bloud runneth out of it. In the Land there is no Cities, nor Townes, but they live in the fields in Pavillions or Tents, like the Alarbes.

A kind of upper garment.

They doe honour themselves very much of the Queene of Saba, and they say, she tooke shipping in the part of Maçua; and others affirme, that it was in Suaquen, and carrying great riches with her and Jewels of great value, she came to Jerusalem to see King Salomon, giving him great gifts, and returne from thence with child by the King, to her Kingdome. It is an historie much talked of among the Abexines, that a Soldan of Babylon, mooving warre against Presbyter John many yeares agoe, the Presbyter gathered a great multitude of people, with the which he put in practice to turne the River Nilus another way to the Sea, so that it should not runne through Egypt. The Soldan amazed at so great an Enterprize, and seeing that the worke comming to perfection, it would be the utter overthrow of Egypt, he sent unto him his Embassadors with great gifts, by the meanes of the which he obtayned his friendship and peace with the Presbyter John, and gave a priviledge to the Abexines, that they might passe through all his Countrey, without paying any Tribute, and at this day they pay no Tribute when they goe to visit the holy Sepulchre, and Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai; I asked within the streights of some old learned Moores for this Antiquitie, and they told mee the same, not digressing one jot from the Abexines.

The nineteenth, at Sunne rising, we set saile from the nooke which is beyond Maçua, halfe a league and an halfe of water, distant from the Land about halfe a league: This day the weather was very close, and it rained, and

numbring our Armie, I found sixtie foure rowing Vessels, that is, three Galliots, eight small Gallies, and thirtie five Foysts. By night the wind was North-west, it calmed, and blew a little at West, in the second watch it began to raine, and halfe the morning watch past, wee wayed our Anchors, and went rowing along the shoare till the morning, it rained very hard all this time. *The Portugal Armada.*

The twentieth, at evening, we were as farre as the Point of the ranke of Ilands on the Northside, at this time wee might bee from Maçua, about fourteene leagues, the Coast from Maçua hither, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, there is in the distance fourteen legues, in the Ilands which we saw on the Sea-side, we knew that in some of them there was Cattel and water, with some few and poore dwellings, the distance between them and the firme Land, might be some foure leagues, the names of these Ilands where the Cattell and the Water is, are Harate, Dohull, Damanill, the Land of them is low, and round about it is full of Shoalds and Flats. *Harate, Dohull, Daminill.*

By night all the first watch, the wind faire at East, we sailed to the North North-west, at the beginning of the second watch, wee fell on a sudden in certaine very whitish spots, the which did raise and cast from themselves certaine flames like unto Lightnings, wondring at the shew of this strange event, presently we tooke in our Sailes, and beleeving wee were upon some Shoalds or Bankes, commanded to cast the Lead: I found twentie sixe fathome water, now this noveltie making no impression in the Pilots of the Countrey, and seeing how we went by a great depth, wee set sayles againe. [II. vii. 1130.]

The one and twentieth when it was day, wee saw at Sea off us, the low Iland, whereof the Moorish Pilots were afraid. *An Iland under water to be feared.*

The two and twentieth when it was day, wee set sayle: my Pilot tooke the Sunne at the highest, and found himselfe in eighteene degrees and an halfe. At this time we were as farre as a Point of sand very long, which the firme land thrust out, doubling this Point, we found the Sea

very faire, and we sayled North-west and by West. An houre after noone, we came to an Haven, called Marate. All the Coast wee saw this day, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, the Land by the Sea side is very low, and maketh never a Hillocke, but within the Land there arise so great Mountaines, that they seeme to reach the Clouds.

A Description of the Port and Iland of Marate.

Marate is an Iland very low: the land thereof is very Desart, and without water, it is beyond Maçua, about sixtie sixe leagues; the Iland hath in compasse a league and an halfe, the figure thereof is rather round then any other, it lieth from the firme land about three leagues, in the side of this Iland which is opposite to the South-west, and beholdeth the firme land, there is a very good Haven, free from all winds, and especially from the Easterne winds: for on this side, the Iland doth cast out two very long points into the Sea, which stretch East and West, and a quarter North-west and South-east: betweene the which the land on both sides doth streighten very much, and makes a very great and hollow bosom, in the mouth and front of which lieth a long Iland, and very flat; and also some Heads of sand, and Shoalds, by reason of which no Sea can come in there: this Haven hath two entries, one of them goeth on the East side, and the other on the West side, the one and the other very neere the points of the Iland, betweene the which the Haven is made. The Entrie and Channell which goeth on the East side, stretcheth North and South, a quarter to the North-west and South-east, the depth is three fathom in the shallowest place, and comming out of this, it encreaseth presently, and within the Haven wee have neere the Shoare foure and five fathome, the ground is mudde. By night, the wind blew at East, and lesse then by day, we rode all night.

Foure or five fathom water.

The three and twentieth the Sunne being up, we set saile from the Iland and Port of Marate, and found seven fathome, and sandie ground; at eleven of the clocke, wee came in sight of two little Ilands, which were farre to the

Sea; one of them is called Daratata, and the other, Dolcofallar, from which to Suaquen is a dayes journey: from noone forward, we sayled North-west and by West, till Evensong time that we entred the Channell of Suaquen, and entring into it we sayled North-west the space of a league, and presently there wee had ahead of us certaine Shoalds, for which cause wee sayled West, and a quarter North-west, and sometimes West, to free our selves from them, and we sayled this way about three leagues, till we saw a great Iland ahead of us; as soone as we saw it, we went by a tacke toward the Land, and came to an anchor betweene certaine great Shoalds of stone, where there is a good Haven, called Xabaque, which is to say in the Arabian Tongue, a Net. At this time it might bee an houre before Sunne set. This day my Pilot tooke the Sunne in his greatest height, and he found himselfe in nineteene degrees scarce.

The Ilands of Daratata and Dolcofallar.

Suaquen Channell full of Shoalds.

Xabaque Haven in 19. *degrees scarce.*

The Shoalds of Suaquen are so many, and so intermingled the one with the other, that no information or picture is sufficient, I say not to passe them, but for to understand them, the Ilands, Shoalds, Bankes, Rockes, Channels that are among them are so many. These Shoalds at the entring, when wee are readie to goe in, have on the Sea side a Shoald under water, whereupon the Sea breaketh very much, and to the Landward a little Iland, which stretcheth with the Shoald North-east, and South-west, a quarter of the East and West, the distance is about three quarters of a league: as soone as we enter by these Shoalds, the Channell appeareth to us large and spacious, and the farther wee goe forward, so much more to the Seaward there appeare to us such an infinite number of Ilands very flat, Flats, Heads of sand or stone, that they have no number, the which toward the Land are not so many, though in comparison of any other Sea, it is the foulest and unnavigable. The precept which most ought to be kept for to passe between these shoalds, is to take heed that we goe alwaies neerer to them that lie to the Sea, and keepe our selves the most we can, from the

A Description of the Shoalds of Suaquen.

A Shoald under water.

Infinite number of Ilands, Flats, and Heads of sand and stone.

A precept how to avoid them.

other that are to the Landward. The breadth of the Channell that goeth betweene the one and the other, in some places is about halfe a league, in others a quarter, and in others lesse then a Caliver shot. As touching the depth of water through all this Channell, wee are to note, that in the entrie of it we found sixe fathoms, and from thence to the Port of Xabaque it abateth nothing of this depth, nor exceeding twelve fathomes: from the beginning of these shoalds to this Haven, there may be about five leagues, the length of them may be eight or nine leagues, where there goeth another Channell surer for ships and great vessels, and wee may likewise passe these Shoalds, leaving them all to the Sea, going very close with the firme land, and this is the rightest way and most pleasant.

Five leagues of Shoalds, eleven leagues from Suaquen.

The foure and twentieth, the Sunne being up, wee set sayle from the Port of Xabaque, and rowed by so narrow a Channell, that in the broadest place we could not goe abreast, but one after another, & wheresoever it widened it might be about a Cros-bow shot, the most we went from the firme land, might be a Cannon shot, and the least little more then a Cros-bow shot. The Shoalds, Rockes and Bankes, we had on every side, and were all under water, upon them wee saw manifest signes to avoyd them; For wheresoever they lay, the water over them did appeare to us very red, or very greene, and where wee saw none of these colours, it was manifest to be the deepe, and cleerest of the Channell, the water shewing it selfe darke. Now going by this Channell, compassed with so many controversies; at halfe an houre past eleven, wee came to an anchor under the lee of a little low and round Iland, in nineteene degrees. In this height Ptolomie placeth the Mountaine of the Satyres, of the which I found no memorie in the Pilotes of the Countrey, but going into the Land about halfe a league, I found the foot of so many kinds of Beasts, and flockes of Pianets, so great, that it was a wonder, and all the footings came till they set their feet in the Sea, and the tracke was so great, that it occupied the greatest part of the field. I beleeve that

[II. vii. 1131.]

Rednesse of the water.

Mountaine of the Satyrs.

Fable so spread abroad of the Satyres to come from hence, which they say, inhabite these Hills and Mountaines, and likewise it is to bee noted, that in these foure leagues of Channell that is from Xabaque to this Iland, the water is no lower then two fathoms and an halfe, nor higher then eleven, and also that the tide in the Iland ariseth not above halfe a yard. And it begins to flow as soone as the day beginneth to ascend by the Horizon, according to the order of the tides of Socatora.

The sixe and twentieth by Sunne rising, we departed from this Iland, rowing along a Shoald of stone, that ranne betweene us and the Land almost equidistance from the Coast, and from it to the Land all the Sea was full of Shoalds and Bankes, to the Sea of us there appeared neither Shoalds nor Flats, or any other impediment. At nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor in a little Iland, compassed with many Flats and Shoalds, where was a good Haven: this Iland was distant from the other, whence wee parted in the morning, a league and an halfe, and short of Suaquen five leagues.

The seven and twentieth the Sunne up, wee set saile from this second Iland: two houres within night, we came to an anchor a league and an halfe from the second Iland, in eight and twentie fathome water.

The eight and twentieth by day, we brideled the Oares, and set saile: at nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor about two leagues from the Land, in three and twentie fathome water, the ground was a soft sand like oze, or mudde. This morning, wee found some Shoalds under water at Sea, but upon them it shewed it selfe very greene or red. Two houres after noone wee set saile againe, at night wee came to an anchor in seven and thirtie fathome water, the ground was sand, the place was short of Suaquen, a league and an halfe, hard by an Iland, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, and all along there runneth a Shoald that entreth into the Sea neere halfe a league, the Land upon the Sea side differeth in nothing from that we left asterne.

The first of March, 1541. by day, we departed this place, which is short of Suaquen, a league and an halfe: having doubled a point which the Shoald maketh, being as farre as the place, wee approached the Land, and entring by the Channell inward, we came to an anchor within the Haven of the Citie of Suaquen.

Description of the Citie and Port of Suaquen. The Port of Aspi.

Suaquen was called in old time, the Port Aspi, as wee may see in Ptolomie his third Table of Africa: at this day * it is one of the richest Cities of the Orient, it is situated within the Arabike Gulfe, in the Coast of Æthiopia sub Ægypto, called now, the Land and Coast of the Abexii. Among all the famous places, this may be equall or superior to them all in foure things. The first, in goodnesse and securitie of the Haven. The second, in the facilitie and good service for lading and unlading of the Ships. The third, in the trafficke with very strange and remote People and Lands, and of divers behaviours. The fourth, in the strength of the situation of the Citie. As touching the goodnesse of the Port, and the securitie of it, I will first speake of: Nature made this Port in such manner, that the storme of the Sea cannot come into it by any place whatsoever. Within the Haven it is so quiet, and it runneth so insensibly, that scarcely yee can perceive to have any tides; the ground is mudde, the Road hath in all places five and six fathom, and in some it hath seven, in this compasse and harbour of the Haven, may well two hundred ships lie, and rowing Vessels without number. Yee may plainly see the ground, and where it appeareth not, it is so deepe, that at the least it hath ten or twelve fathom water. The ships are laden round about the circumference of the Citie, casting a planke into the Ware-houses of the Merchandize, and the Galleys fastning themselves to the stones and doores of the houses, set their Beak-heads over the streets, and by them as by Bridges they are served. Now, touching the Traffique and Navigation that is in it, with People of many sorts, and strange and remote Countries: I know not what Citie can compare with it (except it be Lisbon) for, this Citie

**Ann. 1541. Since the Turkish Conquest, Moha, and other places have beene of greater trade. The great trafficke of Suaquen with many Nations for Gold, Ivorie, and rich merchandises.*

tradeth in all India intra Gangem, & extra Gangem, that is, Cambaya, Tanaçarin, Pegu, Mallaqua, and within the Arabike fine, in Juda, Cairo, Alexandria, and from all Ethiopia, and the Land of the Abexi it gathereth great abundance and quantitie of Gold, and Ivorie. As touching the strength of the situation of the Citie, there cannot so much bee said that it is not much more, seeing that to come to it, the inconveniences, lets, dangers, and hinderances are so great, that it seemeth almost impossible. [II. vii. 1132.] Seeing that fifteene leagues about the Shoalds, Flats, Ilands, Channels, Rocks, Bankes, and Flats of Sand, and breakings of the Sea, are so many, that they put the Saylers in a great doubt, feare and dispaire. The situation of the Citie is in this manner: in the very midst of this Nooke standeth a most plaine Iland, which is almost levell and even with the Sea, and it is so round, that it seemeth a circle. It hath in compasse a quarter of a league, upon this Iland is the Citie of Suaquen, built in such manner, that in all the compasse of the Iland, there is not one foot of ground that is not replenished with houses, so that this Iland may rather be said to be full of Houses and Inhabitants, then built and inhabited of people, so that all the Iland is a Citie, and all the Citie an Iland. On two sides this Citie and Iland, doe come within a Bow shot of the firme Land, that is, on the East South-east, and on the South-west side, but all the rest is further of the Land: The Road in this Haven or Nooke, is round about the Citie, from the edge of it to a great Crosse-bow shot of it. We may cast Anchor where wee list, and all this distance hath sixe and seven fathome water, the ground is Mud. This Nooke where this Citie lyeth, as in his Centre, round about it along the shoare hath a great Shoald, so that the deepe is at the edge of the Citie, and a Bow shot round about it on every side, and beyond this distance it is full of Shoalds. In this Nooke lye other three Ilands on the Land side, that lyeth to the North-west; the second of them that lye further in, are little, but the other neerest to the Channell, is

Suaquen, for some fifteene leagues, is environed about with Shoalds, Flats, Ilands, Rocks, Channels, Banks, &c.

about the bignesse of the Citie. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land of the Nooke, on the North side, there goeth a great Channell very long, in which is seven fathome water: Along this Channell may a great Navie lye at Anchor, without any danger of hurt from the Citie, or seeing more then their Masts. When the morning appeareth in the Horizon, it is full Sea; and the morning comming on, it beginneth to ebbe till the day comes to our Meridian, when it is dead low water, and passing from hence to the setting in the Horizon, it beginneth to flow till day shutting in, and being shut in it is full Sea: from dead low water till full Sea againe, the water riseth not in the Citie more then a quarter of a yard, and along the Coast, the most that it riseth, is a yard and an halfe to be measured, and in some high places lesse then three quarters of a yard. But when I made this observation were new Tides.

The ninth of March, an houre before Sunne set, wee weighed Anchor from before the Citie, and lay at the mouth of the Channell. The tenth, we set saile from the mouth of the Channell of Suaquen; We lay all night at Anchor, and the Dew was so great, that it was wonderfull.

§. III.

Mountaines of Sand on the Coasts of Dradate, Doroo, Fuxaa, Arequea, Farate, Quilsit and Igidid.

THe eleventh, the Winde was at North, and it blew so hard that it was a storme, it raised along the Sea Coasts great Mountaines of Sand toward heaven, and after they were very high it brake them, and the ayre remained as though it were a great mist of smoake; all this day we lay at an Anchor.

Many Rockes, Shoalds and Flats.

The twelfth, we went out of this Channell, two leagues beyond Suaquen, and being without we set saile, and being about a league and a halfe from the Coast, we met so many Rocks, Shoalds and Flats, whereon the Sea did breake

very much, that wee were forced to take in our Sayles, and to row the space of three houres, till we were free from these Shoalds, and presently we set sayle againe. At Even, we came to an Anchor within the Banke, entring a very narrow Channell, this Channell is one league beyond the other whence we parted, & three from Suaquen, it is great and spacious within, the ground is very cleane, there can no Sea come in nor doe any hurt.

The thirteenth, we went an houre before day out of the Channell, and to the Sea of us about a Canon shot, we saw a very long ranke of Shoalds breake, which seemed to beare the same course that the Coast. At eleven of the clock, the wind scanted and blew from the North North-west, for the which not being able to make any way, we were forced to fasten our selves to the Rockes of the Shoalds, and being here about three houres, at two of the clocke afternoone we set sayle, the wind was very much fresher, and about North North-east, we sayled North-west, and when we were with the banke of the Land, we tooke in the Sayle, and rowing, we entred a Channell, and well within the banke we harboured. This Channell and place is from Suaquen about seven leagues, the Channell is very narrow, and windeth in many Crookes, the Coast from Suaquen hither, stretcheth North and South, and North & by West, and South and by East.

A Channell seven leagues from Suaquen.

The fifteenth, I went a shoare, and observing the order of the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, I found that after the morning was over the Horizon, two houres it was full Sea, and thence it began to ebbe till two houres afternoone, at which time it was dead low water, and presently it began to flow till the Moone was set, and two houres after: Now measuring the quantitie, the tide did arise, I found two and twentie cubits.

Observation of the Tides.

Course of Tides.

The sixteenth, we went out of this Channell, that is seven leagues from Suaquen, the winde was at North, halfe a league at Sea we cast Anchor. The seventeenth, wee entred into a very good harbour, called Dradate: the Coast from the Port of Suaquen unto Dradate, lieth North

[II. vii. 1133.]

and by West, and South and by East: It is distant ten leagues, the Land over the Sea is all very low, and three leagues within the Maine, are great and high Mountaines.

The Port of Tradate, with great reason ought to bee placed among the great and famous Ports, it hath elevation of the Pole, nineteene degrees five sixth parts, and is beyond Suaquen ten leagues. The mouth and entry hath in bredth, about a small Faulcon shot, and entring within, presently it beginneth to narrow, and close more and more, but in all its length, the depth of water is twentie fathome, the ground is mud. About a quarter of a league within the Land, there is a great watering place of Wels, where is the best and greatest quantitie of water, that is knowne in all these Coasts.

A great watering place.

The nineteenth, the Sunne being up, we set sayle: we journeyed this day about three leagues and a halfe at Sea off us wee saw many Shoalds, the Coast stretched these three leagues and a halfe North and South. The twentieth, at Sunne rising the wind blew at North, and troubled the Sea: wherefore we were forced to seeke harbour within the Shoald, entring by a very narrow and troublesome Channell: after wee were within, the wind came North North-east, we lay all day at an Anchor. The one and twentieth, we went out of the Shoald, the wind was West North-west faire weather, we sayled to the North, distant from the Land about halfe a league: an houre after Sunne rising, we were with a very long and faire point, which Ptolomie calleth the Promontorie of Diogenes.

A Description of the Bay of Doroo.

Doroo, is a very great and faire Bay, it is fifteene leagues beyond Suaquen, and a halfe: this Bay on the South side thrusteth a verie large and bare point into the Sea, where there is built a great and round Turret in manner of a Pillar, Ptolomie calleth this Point, the Promontorie of Diogenes. Through this Channell, presently at the entrie, there is sixe fathome Water, and from hence it goeth diminishing till it come to three, and thence doth not descend; the ground is a verie hard Clay, the

Promontorie of Diogenes.

Bay is so great, and maketh so many Creekes and Nookes, and within it lye so many Ilands, and the firme Land is cut with so many Creekes, which doe penetrate so farre into the Land, that in every place there may be many Vessels hidden, without any notice of them. A quarter of a league to the Sea of this Bay, there lyeth a Shoald that doth gird and compasse it in such sort at the mouth thereof, that no Sea can come into it, because it is alwaies above water, without having any entrance, except the mouth which above I have rehearsed. This entry or mouth stretcheth East and by North, and West and by South. A Cannon shot from this Bay, is a Well, of great quantitie of water, but it is very brackish and salt. The two and twentieth, when it was day, wee departed, and made our way Rowing, the Sea seemed to be very full of Rockes, and getting free of some, we encountred with others; halfe an houre past ten of the clocke, we made us fast to the stones of them. About Evensong time, we were with the Land, and having doubled a low point, we entred into a very great Bay, which is called Fuxaa, there is betweene Doroo and Fuxaa three leagues and a halfe, the Coast stretcheth North and South, and seemeth to take something of North-West and South-East. The Bay of Fuxaa, is made Noble or famous, by a verie high and sharpe Pike, and in it the Pole of the North doth rise twentie degrees and a quarter. In the entry and mouth of this Bay, there are two verie low points: they lye North and by East, and South and by West, the distance is one league and a halfe. No great Sea doth enter heere, and for this cause heere is a good harbour, where there is ten and twelve fathome water, and the ground is mud, every where else it diminisheth, till it come to five fathome. Along the Land of the Bay that goeth on the South side, there lyeth nine little Ilands on a row, and in other places are some other scattered, all of them are small, low, and compassed with Shoalds: In this Bay there is not any water, the Land is verie dry and barren.

A Brackish salt Well.

The Description of the Bay of Fuxaa.

Nine little Islands.

The five and twentieth, wee journeyed along the Coast

to the Sea off us about a league wee saw many Rockes: at ten of the clocke we entred into an harbour, verie great, which is called Arequea. There is betweene the Bay of Fuxaa and this Haven foure leagues, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh something of the North-west and South-east. Arequea is the strongest and most defenceable Haven that hitherto I have seene, it is beyond Suaquen two and twentie leagues. In old time it was called Dioscori, as wee may see in Ptolomie; in the midst of the entry and mouth of this Port, lyeth a great Iland, which hath in length about a Crosse-bow shot, and almost as much in breadth, and there runneth from it to the firme Land, on the South side a Shoald and a Banke, that joyneth with the Land, in such sort, that not any thing can passe over it: but from the same Iland to the Land on the North side, which is about a Crosse-bow shot distance, there goeth a Channell that hath fifteene fathome water, it runneth North-west and South-east, and both neere the Land, and neere the Iland it is verie shallow and full of Rockes, so that the way lyeth in the very midst; the Channell hath in length about a Caliver shot, and presently the Coasts on every side winding, doe make within a great and very faire Haven, in which there is no feare of danger. This Port hath in length about one league, and halfe in breadth, it is deep in the midst, and neere the Land full of Shoalds, there is no water in it. The token we have to know when we are as farre as it, is, that the Pike abovesaid remaineth to the West South-west. Here we agreed to send all the Armie to Maçua, and to goe forward onely with sixteene small Gallies.

Arequea Harbour twentie two leagues from Suaquen.

The Description of the Port of Arequea.

Dioscori Port.

[II. vii. 1134.]

The thirtieth at noone, we set sayle from the Port of Arequea, we came to an Anchor in a Haven, which is called Salaqua, beyond Arequea foure leagues, and from Suaquen sixe and twentie; the Coast North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-east and South-west. The Land which is over the Sea, maketh many risings and hillocks, and behind them there arise great Mountaines: and we are here to note, that the Land by the Sea from

Salaqua Haven, foure leagues from Arequea.

Arequea, beginneth to make this shew forward, for hitherto it is all very plaine and low, till it reacheth to the Mountaines that are within the Maine. The one and thirtieth, we set sayle from the Port of Salaqua: an houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, that is a league from the shoare, we might goe this day about seventeene leagues, and were beyond Suaquen three and fortie.

The coasting of these seventeene leagues.

From the Port of Salaqua forward, the Coasts doe begin to winde very much, and from Raseldoaer forward, the space of a league, the Coast runneth very low to the North North-east, and in the end it maketh a point of Sand, where there are thirteene little hillockes or knobs of stone, which as the Moorish Pilots said, were Graves, and from this point of the Calmes about two leagues, the Coast runneth to the North North-west, and from thence as farre as this Shoald, which is three and fortie leagues from Suaquen. It is the most famous and named point of all this Coast; because all that doe sayle from Maçua, Suaquen, and other places, to Juda, Alcocer, and to Toro, must of force fetch this point. As touching the Sea that lyeth within these seventeene leagues, I beleeve there can be no rules or experience to be securely sayled, but that as well the skilfull as the unskilfull, must passe at all adventures, and save themselves by chance, for the Shoalds are so many, and so great, the Sea so sowed every where with Rockes, the Bankes are so continuall in every place, that it seemeth certainly rather that we may goe it on foote, then sayle it; yea, although it be in small Boats, in these places which are contained; betweene Salaqua and Raseldoaer, are three Ilands lying in tryangle, neerer to Raseldoaer then to Salaqua. The greatest of them is called Margarçaon, it hath in length about two leagues, the Land of it is verie high, and without water. This Iland beareth with Raseldoaer North and South, the distance is three leagues. The second Iland lyeth much to the Sea, and is called Elmante: the Land is likewise high, and without water; but the third Iland is very low, and all

The Point of the Calmes.

Toro.

Magarçaon.

Elmante.

of Sand: it lyeth foure leagues from Salaqua, toward Raseldoaer, the name whereof is not yet come to my notice.

The second of Aprill, 1541. an houre before day, we loosed from the Shoald, that is three and fortie leagues beyond Suaquen, and went Rowing along the Coast, wee entred into a River which is called Farate: there might be from the Shoald whence wee departed to this River, foure leagues, and setting sayle a league from thence, wee entred into an Haven very faire, which is called Quilsit. All this day we saw not to the Land of us any Rocke, but to the Sea of us we did see a Shoald. Farate is a River very great and faire, the Channell thereof hath of elevation of the Pole one and twentie degrees, and two third parts, that separates two low Points; at the entrance are a small Caliver shot, and from each of them commeth a Shoald toward the mouth of the River, so that the Channell or entry is in the very midst; this River runneth East and West. The Land of every side of the River is very low, without Bush or any Trees of any other kind; in the mouth of the River is thirtie fathomes water, and from thence it diminisheth till it remaineth in eighteene.

Quilsit Haven.

The Description on the River of Ferate.

A Description of the Port of Quilsit.

Quilsit, is an Haven no lesse faire and noble, then very sure and profitable, because being once within, we need to feare no winde or any misfortune. There are at the entrie of this Port two very low Points, which are coasted North-west and South-east, a quarter North and South. The distance is almost a quarter of a league. All the Haven round about, may comprehend more then three leagues, and wee may lye at Roade in any place of it, and bee safe. In all this Haven is twelve fathome water, along the Shoare the Coast is rockie, betweene this part and the River of Farate, which is a great leagues journey, there crosseth a ranke of Mountaynes, one higher then the rest.

The third, one houre before day, we came out of the Port of Quilsit, and went rowing along the Coast. An houre before Sunne set, we came to an anchor in an

Haven, which is called Rasilgid, which in the Arabian tongue is, The new Head. This day we went about nine leagues, to the Sea of us we saw some Shoalds, but fewer then we had seene before. Two leagues from Quilsit there is a very good Haven, which is called Moamaa, and presently from this Point of the Shrubs, unto another Point of Sand very long, which is about two leagues, before the Port of Rasilgid, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is about three leagues and a halfe.

Rasilgid Haven.

Moamaa Haven.

[II. vii. 1135.]

Igidid, is a small Haven, but a very pleasant one, it is beyond Suaquen seven and fiftie leagues; the proportion thereof is like a great Cauldron, and within is so round, that it seemes a part of a Circular: in the mouth and entrie of the Port are two Points; which stretch North and South. Within this Port, onely the Easterne winde can doe some hurt, all the ground is very cleane: at the Mouth there is eighteene fathome water, and within thirteene; and halfe a league from it into the Land there is a Well of water, though little abounding, the water of it is very bitterish; the Port hath in compasse a great halfe league. It is a thing to be noted, that as well in this Port, as in all the rest, which I have seene in this Coast, Rivers, or Harbours, none hath any Barre or Banke at the Entrie, but rather the greatest depth is at the Mouthes, rather then within. In this Port I found certaine Trees, which in the Trunke or Stock resembled the Corke Trees, for the Trunkes and Boughes of them were covered with a kind of Barke or Corke, and very different in all the rest, for the leaves of them were very great and large, and wonderfully thicke and greene, having certaine bigge veines that did crosse them, these Trees were with Flowre, and the Flowre in the Bud resembled the Mallow flowre when it is in the Bud, but that this was very white; and after it openeth, the Bud it resembleth the white Cockle. Cutting a little Bough or Leafe of these Trees, there runneth out a great streame of Milke, as if it were the dugge of a Goat. In all this coast I saw

A description of the Port of Igidid.

Igidid Port, in proportion like a great Cauldron.

A Well of water very bitterish.

Trees like Corke trees.

no other Trees but these, except a Grove that is a little beyond Maçua, hard by the Sea in the marish ground; besides these Trees, within the Land, there are some Valleyes where grow some Capers, the leaves of which the Moores doe eate. They say, that they be appropriated to the joynts.

Trees of Capers.

The fourth, from Sunne rising till eleven of the clocke, the winde blew so much at North-west, that it was a great storme; and from eleven of the clocke, it began to thunder very hard, and it hayled with the biggest drops that ever I saw; with these thunders, the Winde ranne through all the Points of the Compasse, and at last it remayned North. This day I carried my instruments on Land, and found the variation one degree and a quarter to the North-east, and the Port in two and twentie, by many observations.

Thunder and very great Hayle.

Notwithstanding, that these operations were made a shoare, and with so much heede in the setting of the Instrument, that after once placed I never stirre it, till the end of all the observations, yet there cannot be but that some error may be in them and some difference, because the great heate and scorchings of the Sunne, did cracke the plate of Ivorie in the middest, and there remayned a great Clift as thick as a Portegue of gold, betweene the one halfe and the other.

The exceeding heat of the Sunne.

The sixth, an houre before day, we weighed from the Port of Igidid. All this dayes journey might be three leagues and a halfe.

The seventh, in the morning, the Winde blew fresh at North-west, we rowed to the shoare: and at eight of the clocke in the morning, wee fastned our selves to certayne stones of a Shoald and a Shelfe, that lyeth before a long Point, which hereafter I will call Starta; we went in this space about three leagues; but about noone we departed, and set saile, being in no little doubt, because on the one side and on the other of us, we saw so many Shelves that it was a wonderfull thing: we were forced to take in our sailes, and helpe our selves with the Oare. At Sunne set

Starta.

we came to an anchor in a good Haven, which is called Comol. *Comol, a good Haven.*

§. IIII.

A description of the Coast, that is contayned from the Port of Igidid unto Comol, Raselnaxef, Xuarif, Gadenauhi, Xermeelquiman, Gualibo, Tuna, Alcocer, and Toro.

FRom a Point that lyeth two leagues beyond the Port of Igidid, to another, very long and flat, it may bee about foure leagues: these two Points stretch North-west and South-east, in this space there is a great and famous Nooke, and within it toward the long Point of the North-west, is a Haven so close on all sides, that no Wind can doe it any harme, and it is very deepe. The Point remayneth an Iland, which by reason of the heighth and place where it standeth, without doubt it seemeth to be an Iland, which Ptolomie calleth Starta. But from hence to a great Point, which the Land over the Port of Comol doth thrust out, there may be five leagues, these two Points stretch North-west and by West, South-east and by East; betweene them both there is another great and faire Nooke. As touching the description of the Land upon the Sea coast, we are to note, that from as farre as Igidid, till halfe a league short of the Port of Comol, along the Sea, the Land sheweth all along in small Hills and very close, and behind them there arise within a league distance, very great and high Mountains, raysing very high Pikes and sharpe Points, with other very faire shewes, the which the neerer they come to the Port of Comol, so much the neerer they come toward the Sea, and being come to the edge of it, they runne very high, overpearing the Coasts, till they come within halfe a league short of this Port of Comol. *Comol Haven two and twentie degrees and an halfe.* *Starta Insula.*

Comol, is beyond Igidid eleven leagues, and from Suaquen sixtie eight; the Pole in it is elevated two and twentie degrees and an halfe. This Port standeth in the [II. vii. 1136.] *A description of the Port of Comol.*

end of this second Nooke, very neere the face of the Point, which the Land that lyeth on the North-west side, doth thrust out, the which though it be not very great, yet it is very sure and profitable: for toward the Sea side it hath certaine Shoalds over water, which defend it, that no Sea can come into it; the Land which is seene round about it, is very plaine and pleasant, and greatly peopled with Badois. Now, the Point of the North-west, wherewith the Land over this Port and end of the Nooke, commeth out into the Sea, is very long and faire: the Land of it is all low and equall. This Point is the Promontorie Prionoto, if wee looke well to Ptolomie in the third Table of Africa; which, because that as farre as it the great Mountaines doe end, which roame along all this Coast. Three houres after mid-night, we went out of the Port of Comol, and rowing a little while, wee all set saile and went along the Coast; but an houre before morning, some Foysts strooke upon Rocks and Shoalds, for which cause we strooke saile, and made our journey, rowing untill morning.

Badois.

Promontorie of Prionoto.

The eight, at breake of day, we came into a great and faire Bay, of which toward the North and North-west side, we saw no end, or any Point where it might end. We sailed in the broad and high Sea, the Shoalds on every side were so many, that it was a wonder wee could make any profit of a large winde, for now going roomer, now by a tacke, sometime out of the way, and sometime in it, there was no way wee could take certayne and quiet. About Sunne set, wee found a very great Shelfe, and fastning our selves to the stones of it, we tooke harbour. The ninth, being cleere, we set saile from the Shelfe. We tooke harbour within a very great Shelfe, which is called Xaabiliden: after we were at anchor, we saw to the Sea an Iland, which is called Zemorgete. This Port and Shelfe stretcheth North-east and by East, South-west and by West. From the point of the Cape of the Mountains, to another Point which is beyond it, where are certain great Furres or Whinnes, the Coast runneth North-west

Xaabiliden, a great Shelfe.

Zemorgite Iland.

The Point of the Mountaines end.

and by North, and South-east and by South, bushes of the distance may be about three leagues & an half, or foure, & presently from this Point, the Coasts of the great nooke, beginne to wind toward the Land inward, drawing toward the setting of the Sunne, and afterward they turne againe very winding and crooked, making with so many turnings a great and large circuite, and from hence they wind outward, carrying a great and long front, till they thrust into the Sea a notable and great Point, called Raselnaxef, which in Arabique, is to say, the dry Cape which Ptolomie doth call the Promontorie Pentadatilors, as we may see in the third Table of Africa, the Iland of Zemorgete, is distant from this Point about eight leagues towards the Sunne rising, and from it, as the Moorish Pilots told us, is the first place from whence the Land is seene of both the Coasts, but the Coast of Arabia is a great deale further from the Iland, this Iland is barren and very high, and hath another fast by it very small, the greater Zemorgete, Ptolomie doth call Agathon, and maketh no mention of the lesser. Now, for a declaration of the shelfe Xaabeliden, wee are to note, that in the end of this great Bosome farre to the Sea, there lyeth a very faire shelfe above water, all of it, which maketh a figure like to two armes wide open with their hands, and because of this shew that it representeth, it was called, Xaabeliden: which in Arabian, is to say, The shelfe of the Hands, the Port of this shelfe is on the Land side, for on this side it windeth very much, and stretcheth such armes that keepe and shut up the Haven from all the winds of the Sea, this Haven stretcheth with Raselnaxef, East South-east, and West North-west, the distance is about foure leagues.

Raselnaxef Point, or the dry Cape. Promontorie Pentadatilors. Note an Iland where the land of both Coasts is seene.

Agathon insula.

The tenth, the Sunne being up, we set saile to the North North-east, the wind began to blow fresher, and the Sea appeared to us cleere and Navigable, about halfe a league from the Point, we saw in the judgement of all, a ship under saile, and making toward it, after wee were very neere it, we perceived it was a white Rocke that was in

the Sea, which, as wee had notice, deceiveth all the Navigators, and presently we sailed to the North and by East. At nine of the clocke, wee were as farre as an Iland, which is called, Cornaqua, and wee passed betweene it and the firme Land: this Iland is small and barren, it hath in compasse about halfe a league, the distance from it, and the firme Land is about a league and an halfe, the Land of the Iland maketh the figure and shew of a great and mightie Lizard, with his armes stretched out, which is the occasion it is much noted and seene of the Navigators, and therefore made famous, this Iland of Cornaqua beareth with the Iland Zermogete, North-west and by West, and South-east and by East, the distance is about sixe small leagues, but returning to our way, about halfe an houre past ten, wee were as farre as a very long Point of Sand, entring a great way into the Sea, which is called, Raselenfe; which in Arabique, is to say, The Point or Cape of the Nose. This Point hath not round about it any high Land, but a great or vast field doth begirt it, without seeing in all this space any Tree or any greene thing, and in the very face of the Point, is a great Temple erected, without any other building, and on every side of it is a very cleere sandy Coast, in manner of a Bay. Raselenfe is very famous; all the trouble of their Navigations, is, till they come to this Point, and whensoever they double or come to it, they hold themselves at home and sure. Now prosecuting our journey running along the Coast, the wind was at South-east. At noone my Pilot tooke the Sunne, and found himselfe in twentie foure degrees of height, one sixt part, at this time we might be beyond Raselenfe three leagues, whence it remayneth manifest, this Point to stand in the height of twentie foure degrees; and of this it appeareth, that the Citie of Berevice, was built in this Point of Raselenfe, for Ptolomie doth place it under the Tropicke of Cancer, by the Sea-side in this Coast, and in his time they made the greatest declination, almost twentie three degrees fiftie minutes: Likewise, Plinie, Lib. 6. speaking of Berevice, saith, that in the

Cornaqua an Iland.

A great Temple.

[II. vii. 1137.]

Note the Citie of Bereuice.

Solsticium at high noone, the Gnomon maketh no shadow, which signifieth, this Citie to be under the Tropicke.

Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, we were as farre as an Iland, which is called Xuarit, but passing forward a quarter of a league, we met certaine shelves of sand, and others of stone. Wee came to an Anchor betweene them in a good Harbour, which in the Arabique Tongue, is called Cial. In these shelves wee saw so great a quantitie of Foule, as hitherto in no part of this Sea wee have seene: these shelves and Port of Cial, is beyond Suachen, one hundred and three leagues. *Xuarit Iland.*

From Raselnaxef, till so farre as the Iland Xuarit, there may be betweene sixteene and seventeene leagues. The Coast when we have doubled Raselnaxef, which by another name, I call the North-west point of the great Nooke, doth wind very much, and runneth into the Land, and turning outward againe, it thrusteth into the Sea a verie long Point of Sand, called Raselenfet: these two Points stretcheth North-east and South-west, and take almost the whole quarter of North and South, there may be in the distance about sixe leagues large, and presently from Raselenfet, forward the Coast windeth directly to the North-west, till we are as farre as the Iland of Xuarit, this distance is betweene ten and eleven leagues: the Sea that lyeth in this distance is in onely three places foule and full of Shoalds, the first is, to the Sea of the Iland of Connaqua, where is seene a great and very faire Shoald, which going over water raiseth a great ridge of very great stones, and runneth a great space toward the Land. The second place is in the Iland of Xuarit, for from this Iland, as well on the East as on the West-side, there goe great Shoalds and Flats toward the firme Land, in such manner that they seeme to shut up all the Sea, that lyeth betweene the Iland and the Land, that the third remayneth manifest, to bee this part where at this present we lye at Anchor, called Cial, in the which the Sea is so full and thicke, with so many Shoalds and Flats, that they have no number, neither can yee perceive any part of it, that shewes it

The coasting from Raselnaxef to Xuarit.

Raselnaxef Point.

Xuarit Iland, a Caleever-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much.

selfe free and void of them. The Iland of Xuarit is a Caleever-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much, the Land of it is very low, and in the midst of it a great Bush very greene, on the East-side there is opposite to it a great Rocke like an Iland, this Iland is distant from the firme Land little more then halfe a league.

From Suaquen to Raselenfe, the Countries are inhabited of a people, called Badois, which worship Mahomet, the one and the other called of the Cosmographers Æthiopians. And from Raselenfe upward to Soez, and the end of this Sea, the Coasts doe appertaine to the great Region of Egypt, therefore the Inhabitants which doe inhabit betweene them and the River Nilus, Ptolomie will have them called Arabique Egyptians. Pomponius Mela, and other Authors doe onely give them the name of Arabians, but in these divisions we must hold with, and follow Ptolomie, as Prince of the Cosmographers. These Arabique Egyptians, all those that doe inhabit from the Mountaines toward the Sea, are commonly called Badois, of whose customes and life wee will intreat in some other place.

Arabique Egyptians.

The eleventh, we tooke in our sayles, and Rowed along: at nine a clocke of the day we entred into a great Nooke, which is called Gadenauhi, there may be from the part of Ciall to this Nook, about foure leagues: the Coast stretcheth North-west and South-east, and taketh of the North and South: the Land over the Sea, leaving the shape it had, to wit, of a Wall or Trench, it commeth very mountainous and doubled, making so many Mountaines, and so close, that it is a very strange thing. The Port of Gadenauhi, is beyond Suaquen, one hundred & seven leagues, and in it the Pole is elevated foure and twentie degrees, and two third parts; being low water, it was one houre after high noone, and flowing from that houre, comming to the Point of full Sea, it was one houre after the Moone rose over the Horizon, & from that houre the Moone ascending by the Hemisphere, it beganne to ebbe, till the Moone passed the Meridian, about an houre of

Gadenauhi Nooke, foure leagues from Cial.

Variation to North-east halfe a degree.

time, and presently the Moone descending from hence, going to set under the Horizon, the Tyde began to flow till the Moone was set, and an houre after it was set, was full Sea. By night the wind was North-west, two or three houres after mid-night wee departed from Gadenauhi, and prosecuting our journey, at the passing betweene the Shoald which commeth from the North-west Point of the Nooke, and the Iland of Bahuto: we strucke and were *Babuto.* fast upon the Shoald, and all being troubled, wee were in the Net, (as they say) but in this there was neither danger nor hurt, insomuch that we got out of this place, and hit upon the Channell, and went along the shoare, rowing against the North-west winde till it was day.

Xarmeelquiman Haven. A description of the Port of Xarmeelquiman.

The twelfth, we rowed along the shore, one houre after Sun rise, we anchored in a haven, which is called Xarmeelquiman, which in Arabique, is to say, a cleft or opening of the Mountaines: This Port lyeth beyond Gadenauhi a league and a halfe. Xarmeelquiman is a small Port, and little pompous or proud in quantitie, but [II. vii. in qualitie great and Noble. This Port is from Suaquen, 1138.] one hundred and eight leagues, it is much like the Port of Igidid. The twelfth of Aprill, we set sayle going along the shoare, the winde came fresher and larger, that is, at East South-east, about noone it blew verie hard, and it came with so great Gales, that it raised the Sands of the Coast very high, raising them toward the heavens, in so great Whirle-winds, that they seemed like great smoakes. *A strange chance of the winds.* About Even-song time the Armie comming together, the Winde calmed altogether to some ships; and some other that came hard by, or a little behind, or more to the Sea, or to the Land, had the wind so strong, that they could beare no sayle. The distance from those that were in calme, and those that were in the storme, being no more then a stones cast, and presently within a little space, it tooke the shippes that were in calme with their Sayles, up to the top, so that they had the Winde very fresh; and the other that went verie swift, remained in calme, and so in short time the one was revenged of the other. This

chanced going close all together, in such sort, that it seemed a thing done for the nonce, and in mockage. In this chance, there came some Gales of East, and East North-east winde very great, and so hot, that in their scorching they made no difference from flames of fire. The Dusts that were raised on the shoare, went sometime to one place, and sometimes to another, as they were driven and cast with the Winds: many times we saw them make three or foure waies before they were alayed, or did fall in the Sea, with the Counter-winds that tooke them from divers parts. This Mysterie and Chance among hils and high grounds had not beene much, nor any new thing to have happened; but so farre from the Coast with the Sea Winds, certainly it ought to be much regarded. When these Counter-winds beganne to take us, we were at a Port, that is called Xaona, and going on in this sort, now striking Sayle, now Hoysing, sometimes taking pastime at that which we saw, and other whiles dread and feare, we went almost till Sun set, when we entred into a Port, called Gualibo, which is to say in Arabique, The Port of Trouble; we went this day, and a piece of the night past, about thirteene leagues.

Gales of winds that scorched likes flames of fire.

Xacara Port.

From Gadenauhi, to a Port that is called, Xacara, (which a very red hill doth beguirt) the Coast runneth North-west, and by North and South-east, and by South, the distance is about tenne leagues: and from this Red hill, to a Point that lyeth beyond this Port of Gualibo almost a league, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, the distance is about sixe leagues. In these sixteene leagues the Coast is very cleere, and onely one league beyond the Red hill lyeth a Shoald, distant from the Land halfe a league large. In the length of these Coasts contained in the sixteene leagues, are many faire and famous Ports, the most that I have seene or thought to see in so short a space of way: among which Ports, there is one that is called Xaona, very great, where the Moores and Inhabitants doe say, A famous Citie of Gentiles was built in times past, which looking well to

Xaona Port very great.

Ptolomie in his third Table of Africa, was called Nechesia. Along the Sea runne great and infinite Mountaines, very double and close together, and behind farre within the Land, there arise over them great and mightie hils. In all the length of the Coasts where these Mountaines are placed, there are two great Mountaines, not onely more Noble then the other their neighbours: but all those that are in this Coast, the one of them is very blacke, and seemeth as though it were sindged, and the other is yellow, betweene them are certaine heapes of Sand: From the blacke Mountaine inward to the Land, there is an open field, where I saw many Trees very great and high, which tooke a great compasse with the tops. These Trees were the first I saw in this Coast, that seemed Domesticall and proper, to the Land: for the other, that before I make mention of, which are a little beyond Maçua, are like, and of the kind of them that grow in the Marishes, by the Borders of the Sea, and of the Rivers, and likewise those which stand in the Port of Xarmeelquiman, and the other that stand in the Port of Igidid, are wilde, and sad to the sight, without boughes or fruit, but having leaves they seeme naked and dry. These two Mountaines and Grave, stand about two leagues before the Port which is called Xarmeelquiman.

Many Trees very great and high.

Gualibo, is beyond Suaquen, one hundred and twentie two leagues. This Port is like in fashion and entry, very much to the Port of Xarmeelquiman, in this onely they differ, that the other hath over it many Mountaines, that environ it, and all the Land round about this, is plaine and vaste. The entry of this Port, is betweene certaine Rockes or Shoalds, whereon the sea breaketh very much, the Channell is deepe and large.

The thirteenth of Aprill after Sunne rise, we weighed, and went out of the Port of Gualibo, the wind was North-west very strong, and made the Sea to rise very much, we rowed along the shoare: at ten of the clocke in the morning, wee entred into a Port, which is called Tuna, which is a league and an halfe beyond Gualibo.

The Port of Tuna.

Tuna is a small and foule Haven, it is beyond Suaquen

one hundred twentie three leagues and an halfe, the North Pole is elevated in it twentie five deg. and an halfe, the entring of the Haven is betweene certaine Rockes, and within, the greatest part of it is occupied with a shoald and stones, in such sort, that within there is a small and sorrie Harbour, the turning which the point of the Land, that is on the North side of the Port doth make, there is a good Harbour and Road against the North-west wind, the Land round about it is a very barren sand; on the land of this Port on the North-west side there are three sharpe Mountaines of stone, made to my thinking, for a knowledge and token that there is an Haven here.

[II. vii. 1139.] One houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, which stands beyond Tuna a league, the Coast from a Point, which is almost one league beyond Gualibo, runneth with another Point that is beyond this Shoald, a league and a halfe, North North-west, South South-east, the distance is foure Leagues.

A very faire Nooke, one hundred twentie nine leagues from Suaquen.

The fourteenth, we went along the shoare, the Sea rose very bigge, and molested the Rowers very much, but resisting both Winde and Sea, after high noone wee entred into a very faire Nooke, and in the hidnest corner of it, where it maketh a good Port, wee came to an anchor. This day and night we went about five leagues, and might be beyond Suaquen one hundred and twentie nine leagues, the Coast in these sixe leagues stretcheth North-west and South-east, the Land over the Sea coast, some of it is low and plaine, and some mountainous.

Alcocer Port and Towne. The height of Alcocer.

The fifteenth by day, wee were a league short of Alcocer, and making to it, an houre and a halfe after Sunne rise we came to the place, and cast anchor in the Haven; we might goe the night past, and this little of the day about seven leagues, the Coast in this space runneth North North-west and South South-east.

A description of Alcocer. Alcocer sometimes Philoteras.

The place of Alcocer, noting well Plinie in the sixt Booke of his Naturall Historie, and likewise Ptolemie in the third Table of Africa, was called Philoteras, and all the Land that is contayned from it unto the Citie Arsinoe, and

the end of this Sea was knowne by the name of Eneo; this place is so neighbouring to the River Nilus, that the distance of both may bee betweene fifteene and sixteene dayes journey, setting your face toward that place where the Sunne setteth. This is the onely Port in all this Coast, where all the provisions, which the Land of Egypt yeeldeth at this day, doe arrive, which Land is now called Riffa, and from hence all the Townes, situated within the Coasts of the Streight, doe carrie them and provide themselves. The Towne of Alcocer was built in old time two leagues further upon the Sea coasts, but because of the evill discommoditie, and joyntly because the Port was not sufficient for so great a resort, they past it hither; and yet at this day are the old buildings of the ancient Towne seene, and are standing, and is called the old Alcocer, by the which I meane Philoteras. But returning to the description of the new Alcocer, as twise I have verified, it hath of elevation of the Pole, six and twentie degrees and one quarter, toward the North side, it is beyond Suaquen one hundred thirtie sixe Leagues; the Port is a great Bay, and very open to the Easterne windes, which in this Coast are of great force and traverse, right against the place lye some shoalds though small, whereon the Sea breaketh, betweene the which and the shoare the Frigats and Ships harbour, which come to seeke lading: the Towne is very small, and more then any other of the World, barren and miserable. The buildings differ very little from yards to put Cattell in; howsoever, the walls of the houses are of stone and clay, and others of sods, the tops of which have no covering at all, except a few Mats or such base things, which defend the Inhabitants from the Sunne, and from the Raines, if peradventure the Heavens doe send them now and then, as it is truth, that in this place they fall but seldome, and by a great chance. In all the circuit of the Place, Coast, Fields, Mountaines or Hills, there groweth no manner of Herbe, Grasse, Bush, Tree, or any other thing appeare, except certaine blacke scorched Mountaines, which make a great number of bare

Riffa, a fruitfull part of Egypt.

New Alcocer, twentie six degrees and a quarter.

Alcocer, the most barren and miserable place in the world, the manner of the buildings and houses.

It raines seldome in Alcocer.

Hillocks, the which carrying this evill shew and melancholike sight, doe environ the place from Sea to Sea, and betweene them and the inhabiting, wheresoever any waste place chanceth to be, it is a drie and more then barren sand to the sight, mingled with infinite gravell. The Port is the worst of all that I saw in this Coast, in it for his excellencie is not any kinde of Fish to bee found, having through all the Coasts and Strands very great abundance.

Three Wells of water neere the Towne.

Neere the Towne are three Wells of water whereof the people drinke, whose water with great difficultie yee can discerne from that of the Sea. Here is no kinde of Cattell.

The most expert Moores told me, that the name of Egypt was not knowne neere them, but that all the Land from Alcocer, and a great way behind, unto Alexandria, was called Riffa. In which, more then any other Countrey of the World, there was great abundance of victuals and provisions, Cattell, Camels, Horses, without having one foote of unprofitable ground in all that Province. I asked them what language or customes they had: they answered mee, that they followed the Arabians in all things. I asked them also for the qualitie of the Land: they told,

It never raines in Riffa.

that it was altogether very plaine, and that it never rained in it, and that if at any time it chanced to raine, it was held for a Wonder, the which God hath provided for, with ordayning that the River Nilus should twice a yeere exceed his bounds and naturall course, and water the fields. I asked them also if from as farre as Alcocer, one might sayle by the River to Alexandria: they told me they might, and from farre behind Alcocer toward the Abexi: but that there was along the River many Ilands and Rockes, for the which good Pilots were needfull, or to sayle by day. I asked them more, what the cause was,

**So barren a Seat as Alcocer.*

that the men of that Countrey inhabited so * great a situation as Alcocer: they answered mee, They being the neerest Sea-haven to Nilus, and Province of Riffa, of all the Coast, from whence the fruits and provisions of the Land were transported. I asked them for what reason the

Inhabitants of this place did not cover their houses, and made roofes unto them: they answered me, that for the Sunne, the defence of Mats was sufficient, and that with raines they were not molested, but that against the malignitie and wickednesse of men, they were forced to seeke stronger defences, and therefore ordained to make the wals of stone and clay, and others of sods. I asked them what men these so fierce enemies of theirs were, against the which they armed themselves with so strong Bulwarkes. They told me that they were Badois, a perverse people, void of all goodnesse, which many times with sudden assaults and robbings, did molest the place, and did rob the Droves that came from Nilus with victuals and other provisions. [II. vii. 1140.]

The Badois, a perverse people, and void of all goodnes.

The eighteenth of Aprill, in the morning, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, that is beyond Alcocer, about foure leagues, and presently past noone we set saile.

The nineteenth, there tooke us like a gush of the North North-west wind, faire weather, halfe an houre past eight of the clocke, that we tooke Port in an Iland, which is called Suffange-elbahar, we lost of the way we had gone foure or five leagues.

The description of the Iland Suffang elbahar.

Suffange elbahar is to say in the Arabicke Tongue, a Sea Spunge, this Iland stands beyond Alcocer thirteene leagues, the elevation of the Pole in it is seven and twentie degrees, all the land is sandie without any Trees or Water, the Iland hath in length about two leagues, and lesse then a quarter in breadth, there is a good Haven with all weathers, but in the firme Land are so many Nookes, Ports, and Harbours, that it is a wonder, the deepest Channell whereby the Sea that is betweene the Iland and the Mayne, is along the firme Land, because on the Ilands side there bee some Shoalds, in the mouth and entring of this great Port, that is on the North-side, there are certaine Shoalds above water, of the which comming in by day, yee need not feare, and in the other that lyeth on the South-side, in the very midst of the entry of it, there is a great stone.

A good Haven for all weathers.

The twentieth of Aprill, 1541. at Sunne-set, we might

be about sixe leagues beyond the Iland Suffange-elbahar, the Coast in these sixe leagues runneth in this manner, from Suffange-elbahar, to a sandie Point, that is, beyond the Iland a league and an halfe, North North-west, and South South-east, and from this sandie Point forward, the Coasts doe wind inward to the Land, and doe make a great Nooke, within the which doe lye many Ilands, Ports, Creekes, Bayes, and many other notable Harbours.

The one and twentieth, by day, we were fast by the Land of an Iland, which is called, Xeduam, the wind was calme, we rowed along the Iland on that side which is opposite to the Land of the Arabian, this is very high and craggie, all of an hard Rock, it hath in length three leagues, and two in breadth, it is beyond Alcocer, twentie leagues, there is no water in it, nor any kind of Trees. The Land of the Iland lyeth betweene both Coasts, there is from it to the firme Land of every side five leagues, beyond toward the North-west are other three smaller Ilands, the Land of them is low, and betweene the one and the other lye some Shoalds. An houre after Sun rose, we were upon the Cape or Point of the Iland that lyeth toward the North-side, and from thence we crosse to the Coast of the Arabian, the wind at this time was calme, wee went rowing, but within a little while it began to blow from the South-east faire, and presently wee set saile, and sayled to the North-west. At eleven of the clocke in the morning, we were with the Land of the *Stonie Arabia.* Stonie Arabia, and presently wee sailed along the shoare: two houres before Sun-set, we came to an Anchor at the Towne of Toro, there may bee from the Iland of Xeduam, to Toro twelve leagues, the Iland and Toro lye North and by West, and South and by East.

A description of the Towne of Toro. Elana, a Towne now called Toro. Making good consideration, the Towne of Toro, was called in old time Elana, as we may see in the writing of Ptolomie, Strabo, and other Authors, notwithstanding that in the Elevation of the Pole, and situation, we find at this present a great change and diversitie in these places: because those that write of the Towne Elana, did shew it

to bee seated in the inwardest part of a very great Gulfe, called Elaniticus of the name of this place, and in the height of twentie nine degrees and one quarter. And now we know that Toro, hath eight and twentie degrees, one sixth part of Elevation of the Pole, and is seated along a very straite and long Coast. The cause of this deceit, if it be true, that these places be both one, might proceed of the evill information that those persons gave which saw it. But that Elana, is the Towne which now is Toro, appeareth, because that from it to Soez, aswell by the one Coast as by the other, not onely wee find no memorie of any Towne; rather the barrennesse of the Countrey, want of waters, and rough and craggie Mountaines, did give us to understand, that in no time, there could bee any inhabiting, so that having respect to Ptolomie, his placing the Towne Elana, in the Coast of Arabia Petrea, in the place most neighbouring unto Mount Sinai, and not to make any mention of a Towne betweene it and the Citie of the Heroes, which lyeth in the uttermost Coasts, where this Sea endeth, and seeing how in this Coast of Arabia, there is not any Citie, Village, or inhabiting that commeth so neere the height of Elana as Toro, and joyntly with this it is neighbouring to Mount Sinai, and how from Toro to Soez, there is not any inhabiting, it seemeth a just thing we should beleeve that Elana and Toro be one selfe-same place. This Towne of Toro also seemeth to be the Port which the holy Scripture calleth Ailan, where Salomon King of Juda, commanded the ships to be made, which went to Tarsis, and to Ophir, to lade with Gold and Silver for to make the Temple. For taking away the second Letter from Ailan, the ancient names are almost one thing. Neither stands it with reason it should bee in any other place for the Timber whereof this Armie was made, was brought from the Mount of Libanon, and Antilibanon, the which was a manifest thing, that because of the great labour and expences, which of necessitie would be in the carriage, they would direct it to the neerest and fittest Port for so great a businesse, especially the Jewes possessing

You shall reade another opinion of the gulfe Elamiticus, afterwards to be twentie leagues beyond Toro.

[II. vii. 1141.]

the Region of Idumea, and that part of Arabia Petrea, which is contayned from Toro to Soez. Strabo a Capadocian, doth hold that Elana and Ailan, are one selfe-same thing, and treating of this Citie in another place, hee saith. From the Port of Gaza, there is one thousand two hundred and sixtie furlongs to the Citie of Ailan, which is seated in the Gulfe, or inwardest part of the Arabicke Gulfe, and these are two, the one is toward Arabia and Gaza, which they call Elaniticus, of the Citie that stands in it; the other toward the Egyptian side toward the Citie of the Heroes, and the way from Pelusia to this Gulfe is very little; This is that which I could take out of ancient Histories. The Citie of Toro is seated upon the Sea-side, alongst a very faire and long strand, and before wee came at it about a Canon shot, it hath twelve Palme-trees close together very neere the Sea, and from them inward to the Land, there runneth a plaine field till it commeth to the foot of certaine high Hils, these Hils are those which come from within the Streight of Ormuz, called in times past, The Persian Gulfe, the which hitherto came running along the Coast, very high over the Sea, and as farre as Toro, they leave the Sea-coast, and with a great and sudden violence, they returne from hence to the Mayne toward the North-east, as angry and wearied of so continual and long Neighbour-hood with the waters, by these Mountaines is divided the Stonie Arabia, from Arabia Fœlix. And on the highest tops of them, doe some Christians at this day leade a holy life, but a little beyond Toro, by the border of the Sea, there beginneth a Mountaine to arise by little and little, the which thrusting a bigge and high Point into it, it seemeth to them that are in the Towne or Port of it, that it endeth there, and goeth no further, and remayneth, making a shew of three great and mightie Mountaines separate the one from the other. This Towne is small and very pleasant, and well seated, all the people are Christians and speake Arabicke, it hath a Monasterie of Friers of the Order of Monserrat, in the which the Oracle or Image is of the blessed Virgin Saint

The Streight of Ormuz.

Christians live upon the top of these Mountaines.

Katharine of Mount Sinai. The Nation of the Friers is Grecian, the Sea Port of Toro, is not very great but sure from the winds that may doe it hurt. For it hath opposite on the Sea-side a very long stonie banke, which runneth along the Coast of the Towne, betweene the which and the Land is the Haven, and here, that is, as farre as the Towne, both the Coasts are so neighbouring, that the space of Sea that separateth them is about three leagues journey, I being desirous to know some particularities of the Countrey, tooke notice of the Friers and the information, they gave me was this.

Mount Sinai about some eighteene leagues from Toro.

Touching Mount Sinai, they told me that it was thirteen smal journies into the Land, in which there might be eighteene leagues; the which Mountaine is very high, the Countrey round about it plaine and open, and that in the borders of it there was a great Towne of Christians, in the which no Moore came in, but onely one that gathered the Rents and Duties of the Turkes. And that on the top of this Mountaine, there was a Monasterie of many Friers, where the bodie of the blessed Virgin Saint Katharine lay buried. This Virgin, as Anthonie Archbishop of Florence writeth, was carried away from the Citie of Alexandria by the Angels, and brought to this Mountaine, and buried by them; the Friers told me, that about foure monethes past, this blessed and most holy body was carried with great pompe in a triumphant Chariot, all gilt to the Citie of Cairo, where the Christians of the Citie, which is a great part of the people, did come to receive it with great Procession and Solemnitie, and set it in a Monasterie much honoured; they told me that the occasion of this so great and strange remove, was the many discourtesies which the Alarabes did to the Monasterie, and how far to excuse others, they were inforced to redeeme them for money, of the which the Christians of Cairo complayning to the Turke, obtayned of him that they might bring the bodie of this blessed Virgin to the Citie, which the Friers did withstand, but it availed them nothing. I am in doubt of this so great a chance: for it

The Citie of Cairo.

The Alarabies.

may bee the Friers did faine these newes, for feare lest we should goe and take this holy bodie from them, for they looked for us with an Armie of ten thousand men, notwithstanding, they affirmed it very much, shewing great griefe and sorrow for the same. The Friers told me also, how that in the Mountaines, right against the Towne, which I have said before, to divide the Stonie Arabia, from Arabia Fœlix, there were some Heremites which leade a holy life, and that through this Arabia, there were many Townes of Christians: I asked them where they had notice that the Jewes did passe this Red Sea; to the which they answered me, that they knew no certaine place, but that there was no doubt of being betweene Toro and Soez. And that they crossed from the one Coast to the other, and that two or three leagues before yee come to Soez, in the Arabian Coast, there was that Fountaine which Moses caused to breake in the Rocke, when he strooke it with his Rod, the Jewes being in great dispaire for thirst. The which at this day the Arabian Moores doe call, The Fountaine of Moses, and that the water thereof was more then any other pleasant and singular; likewise, I asked them how many leagues there were from Toro to Cairo by Land, they told me that seven dayes journey going meanly, and that the right way was by Soez.

The Fountain of Moses.

Cairo seven dayes journey from Toro by Land.

[II. vii. 1142.]

But that after the Gallies of the Turkes beeing there, they changed the way about two leagues higher, and that when they were as farre as Soez, they went toward the Sun set. Having had this information of the Friers, I talked with a very honest, learned, and curious Moore, the which I never found in any Moore, and I asked of him, through what place he thought the Jewes passed this Sea, he answered me, that that which was in memorie of the people, and likewise in some Scriptures; was, that the Jewes comming away, fleeing from the Egyptians, arrived against Toro, on the land of the other side and coast that commeth from the Abexi, where all the power of the Egyptian come upon them for to destroy them, and

Where the passage of the Jewes was.

The Jewes fleeing from the Egyptians arrived right against Toro,

being in so great danger, Moses their Captaine made prayer unto God, and presently strooke the Sea with a Rod twelve times, and there were presently opened twelve pathes, whereby all the people of the Jewes entred and arrived to the Land of the other side, where now stands the Citie of Toro: And the Egyptians entring after them, the Sea closed up, and all of them were slaine, whose number was about sixe hundred thousand men. And also that the Jewes comming to the place of Toro, Moses their Captaine did leade them the way to Mount Sinai, where he many times spake with God. I approved this opinion very much; for if this passage had beene by Soez, as some will say, what need had the Egyptians to enter into the Sea, to the end of persecuting the Jewes, being able to goe about the Nooke, and take the foreward of them, especially being Horse-men against Foot-men, which shall manifestly be seene in the Picture of Soez hereafter, and although in all these things there was a Miracle, we see alwaies, that in the like chances, there is a shew and manner of reason. Being satisfied with these Histories of the Moore, I asked of him if it was true, that the Christians that were in Cairo, did carrie away from Mount Sinai, the bodie of Saint Katherine, he answered me, that no such thing was come to his notice, neither was it to be beleeved, and that it was but foure moneths past since he was in Cairo, which Citie they cal Macara, where he heard no such thing, and that it seemed an inpossible thing to him, that the Christians round about Mount Sinai would permit such a thing, because all men held this woman for a Saint, and in great reverence: Hee told mee also, that before wee came to Soez, by two or three leagues, there was a Fountaine, which God gave to the Jewes, by the intercession of Moses, which Prophet they call Muçaa, whose water surpassed greatly all the rest. I asked him for the Towne of Soez, how it was. He answered me, that he was never in it, neither could any person enter, except those that by the Governour of Cairo were ordained for the keeping of the Galleys, and that neerer then

and passed this sea, being the red Sea, and came to the place where Toro now standeth. But the Egyptians followed them, and were all drowned to the number of 600000.

Cairo at this day called Mecara.

two leagues none might come to it under paine of death.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, a cleere morning, we departed from Toro. The foure and twentieth, we were in nine and twentie degrees seventeene minutes.

§. V.

A Description of the Nooke or Bay beyond Toro, and how by it is understood the Gulfe Elaniticus. Of Soez, and of their returne homewards. Of the Badois, and of their customes, and why this Sea is called Red.

TWentie leagues beyond Toro, and fiftie two from Alcocer, the Land of Egypt, or Coast that commeth from Abexii, commeth out into the Sea with a very lowe and long Point, from the Coasts winding a great space inward to the Land, running very winding and more then any other crooked, after having made a very great and very faire Nooke, it entreth into the Sea with a mightie and great Point very high, from the which to Soez is three small leagues journey, these two Points, betweene the which the Nooke is contayned, stretcheth North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, the distance is five leagues, the Land by the Sea coast of this Nooke is most high and rough, and therewith it is barren and drie, within the Nooke it is so deepe, that if we come not very neere the shoare, with fiftie fathome we shall take no ground, which ground is a soft sand like Oze.

This Nooke supposed to be the Gulfe Elaniticus.

This Nooke undoubtedly, I hold to be the Gulfe which the Cosmographers doe call Elaniticus. But Strabo a Capadocian, and Ptolomie were deceived in the knowledge and situation of it: for they placed it in the Coast of stonie Arabia, little more or lesse, where now stands the Towne of Toro; and that this is so, the words of Strabo, which I repeated a little before in the Description of the Towne of Toro, where the Arabicke Gulfe endeth, doe plainely say, to end in two Gulfes, one of them which

standeth on the Arabian side, called Elaniticus, and the other on Egypt side where standeth the Citie of the Heroes. Ptolomie doth shew us plainely the Gulfe Elaniticus to be in the Coast of Arabia, where now standeth the Towne of Toro, whereof I cannot but wonder every time I doe remember how Ptolomie was borne in Alexandria, where he wrote his Historie, and dwelt in it all the dayes of his life, which Citie is very neighbouring to these places.

The sixe and twentieth, weighing presently our Grapples, wee set sayle; at eleven of the clocke of the day we were fast by the shoare, where we found all the Armie, and striking our sayles, wee rowed a little along the shoare, and cast anchor; but two houres before Sunne set we weighed againe, the wind was at North, wee rowed along the Coast, and before Sunne set we tooke Haven behind a Point which the Land of Arabia thrusteth out, where there is good being and harbour against the North winds: this day we went directly one league and an halfe, the point is short of Soez, three small leagues, it beareth with the North-west point of the great Nooke, which I said to be the Gulfe Elaniticus, East and West: there may be in the distance one league: from hence about halfe a league within the Land, standeth the Fountaine of Moses, of which I have spoken alreadie, when I spake of Toro. And now, as soone as we were at anchor, we went on shoare, and we saw the end of this Sea, which seemed to us alreadie infinite, and likewise the Masts of the Ships, and all things gave us great content, and joyntly with it great care. By night the wind was at North very hard, we lay all night at anchor till it was day. [II. vii. 1143.]

Moses Fountaine.

The end of this Sea, called by us the red Sea, and by the Moores, Mecca.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, the wind blew hard at North North-west, at ten of the clocke we departed from this Point, and made ahead to Soez, and to the end of this Sea, going along rowing, and being about one league from it, I went before with two Catures to spie or view the situation of Soez, and the place of landing, and wee came thither at three of the clocke in the afternoone,

Soez kept by the Turke, with Garrisons.

where wee saw in the field many troopes of Horse-men, and in the Towne two great bands of Souldiers, they shot at us many shots out of a Blocke-house. The Armie of the Turke was as followeth; that is, one and fortie great Galleys, and nine great Ships, having seene all these things, we went toward the Land of the Nooke, which is on the West side, and came to an anchor neere the shoare in five fathome water, the ground was a soft sand, and very small, a very good harbour for ships: this day at Sunne set we saw the Moone.

The Navie of the Turkes.

Soez in times past, called the Citie of the Heroes.

It is to be held for certaine, Soez to be called in times past, The Citie of the Heroes, for it differeth nothing in heighth, situation and confrontings, as we may see in Ptolomie Tab. 3. Africa, especially, Soez being seated in the uttermost Coasts of the Nooke where this Sea of Mecca endeth, in the which the Citie of the Heroes was seated, as it is read in Strabo the seventeenth Booke, saying these words. The Citie of the Heroes and Cleopatra, which some doe call Arsinoe, are in the uttermost bounds or end of the Arabicke Sine, which is toward Egypt. Plinie in the sixth Booke of the Naturall Historie, seemeth to call the Port of Soez, Danao, by reason of the Trenches, which they opened from Nilus to this Sea; Soez hath of elevation of the Pole, nine and twentie degrees three quarters, and it is the neerest Port and Towne of all the Streight to the great Citie of Cairo, called anciently Babylonia of Egypt, and from it to the Levant Sea, where is one of the seven Mouths of Nilus, called Pelusium, may bee fortie leagues journey, which place is called Isthmus, which is to say, A straight or narrow Land betweene two Seas. Touching this way, the words of Strabo in his seventeenth Book, are these. The Isthmus that lieth betweene Pelusium and the Extreme, where the Citie of the Heroes standeth, is of nine hundred furlongs. This is the Port of the red Sea, whither Cleopatra Queene of Egypt commanded the ships to be carried by land from the River Nilus, after the victorie gotten by Cæsar against Anthonie, for to flee in them to the Indians; And likewise

The Citie of Heroes and Cleopatra, which some call Arsinoe in the end of the Arabike Sine Isthmo.

The Port of Danao.

Babylonia of Egypt, or Cairo the great City.

Pelusio, one of 7. Mouthes of Nilus.

Sesostris King of Egypt, and Darius King of Persia, did take in hand to open a Trench unto the River Nilus, to make the Indian Ocean navigable with the Sea Mediterraneum, and none of them finishing the worke, Ptolomie made a Trench of an hundred foot broad, and thirtie foot deepe, which having alreadie almost finished, it is said, he left unfinished the bringing of it to the Sea, for feare that the water of Nilus would become salt, the water of the Streight mingling it selfe with it. Others doe say, that taking a levell, the Architects and Masters of the worke, did find, that the Sea of the Streight was three cubits higher then the Land of Egypt, and feared that all the Land would bee drowned. The Authors, are Diodorus Siculus, Plinie, Pomponius Mela, Strabo of Capadocia, and many other Cosmographers. Although the Towne of Soez was in old time great in name, at this day it is small enough, and I beleeve it had alreadie beene utterly lost, if the Turkish Armie had not lyne there. The situation of it is in this manner, in the front and face of the Land which is opposite to the South, where this Sea endeth, is opened a Mouth not very great, by the which a Creeke or Arme of the Sea entring a little space into the land, it windeth presently along the coast, toward the setting of the Sunne, till a little Mountaine doth oppose it selfe, which alone riseth in these parts, from the which to the mouth and entring of the Creek, the Creek and firme Land remayning on the North side, and the nooke and end of this Sea on the South side, and the little Mountaine to the West, all the space that is contained is a very long and narrow Tongue or Point of sand, where the Gallies and Navie of the Turke lie aground; and the warlike and ancient Town of Soez is situated, in which appeareth at this day a little Castle, and without two high and ancient Towers, as ancient Reliques of the great Citie of the Heroes, which was there in times past. But on the Point of sand where the Creeke entreth, there standeth a great and mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke, which defendeth the entrie and mouth of the River, and likewise

Trenches which the Kings of Egypt made. Isthmo is the space of 40. leagues betweene Soez and Pelusio.

The manner of the situation of Soez.

A mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke.

scoureth the Coast by the sterne of the Galleys, if yee would land in that place: and besides, there runneth betweene the Galleys and the strand, a Trench with a Ditch cast up, which maketh a shew like a Hill, in such sort that as well by mens worke, as by the situation and nature of the ground, the place is very strong and defensible. Now considering this landing of the place for to enter into it, it seemed to me not to be possible in any place, onely behind the little Mountaine and West side, for here we shall be free from their [II. vii. 1144.] Artillerie, and possessing the Mountaine, it will bee a great meanes to get the victorie: but wee are to note, that along this Strand is shoaly about a Bow shot, and the ground a soft Clay and sticking Sand, which I perceived, feeling the ground from within the Foyst, which is very troublesome and prejudiciall to them that are to Land; touching the Antiquities and things I could know of Soez, they were told mee by some men of the Streight, especially by the Moore that informed mee of the particulars of Toro, and all of them are as followeth, that is, that three leagues from Soez towards Toro, was the Fountaine of Moses, and the Moores and Inhabitants doe confesse, that God gave it unto the Jewes by a Miracle; and also they have in their memorie, that in this place there was a great Citie in old time, of the which they say, some buildings are yet to bee seene, they could not tell mee the name of it. They told me also that afore-time, the Kings of Egypt would have made a Trench from Nilus, where the Citie of Cairo standeth unto Soez, for to make these Seas Navigable, and that they are seene at this day, although the length of time had defaced them and stopped them up, and that those which travelled from Toro to Cairo of necessitie should passe by them; some told mee that the occasion of this opening was not to joyne the Straight with the River Nilus, but to bring the Water to the Citie that was there. I asked them what Countrey was there betweene Soez and Cairo, they told mee that a very plaine Field, full of Sand and barren without any Water, and

Cairo about fifteen leagues from Soez.

that from the one to the other was three daies journey going at leisure, which was about fifteene leagues, and that in Soez, and round about it, it rained seldome, and when it chanced, it held on much, and that all the yeare the North wind blew with great force.

A description of the Sea and Land, that goeth from Toro to Soez.

From Toro to Soez is eight and twentie leagues Journey, without any Iland, Banke, or Shoald, that may hinder or doe any harme to the Navigators, these eight and twentie leagues, lye in this manner: departing from Toro, through the midst of the Current, yee run about sixteene leagues North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, and hitherto the Coast commeth in an equall distance and separation, having from the one to the other, the space of three leagues, but in the end of these sixteene or seventeene leagues, the Lands begin to close very much, and to joyne in such sort, that from Coast to Coast there is but one league, and continueth this narrownesse two leagues, and presently the Land that commeth from the Abexii withdraweth it selfe, making the great and faire Nooke above said; treating of the situation and place of the Gulfe called Elaniticus, the Channell in the middle distance, from the end of the sixteene or seventeene leagues till as farre as the North-west Point which commeth out of this Nooke, lyeth North North-west South South-east, the distance is eight leagues, in this place the Lands doe Neighbour very much againe, for the Land of the Arabian thrusting out a verie long and low Point outward, and the Land that commeth from the Abexii, comming forth with another bigge and high Point, at the end of the Nooke on the North-west side, there remayneth from Land to Land one leagues journey or little more, and from these Points to Soez, and the end of this Red Sea, the Coast on each side doe wind, and make another Nooke, which hath in length little more then two leagues and a halfe, and in breadth one and an halfe, where this Sea so celebrated in the holy Scripture, and spoken of by Writers, doth finish and make an end; this Nooke is extended through the midst North and South,

The end of the Red Sea or Sea of Meca.

and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is two leagues and an halfe: as touching the Land that commeth along the Coast from Toro to Soez; wee must note, that a Caleever-shot beyond Toro on the Arabian shoare, there ariseth a Hill very neere the Sea-side, which is all bespotted with certaine red streakes, which goe from one side to the other of it; giving it a great grace, this Hill runneth still along the Coast about fifteene or sixteene leagues, but it hath not these workes, and red streakes; more then sixe leagues space beyond Toro, and in the end of these fifteene or sixteene leagues, the Hill maketh a great knob and high, and from thence by little and little, the Hill doth forsake the Coast, and goeth into the Land till it come within a league short of Soez, where it endeth, and there remayneth from this bigge and high knob unto Soez, betweene the Hill and the Sea, a very plaine and low ground, which in places hath a league in breadth, and in others neerer to Soez, a league and an halfe: By this Hill towards Toro, I saw great heapes of Sand along to the top of the Hill, reaching the highest of it, having no sandie places betweene the Hill and the Sea, and likewise, by the Clifts and Breaches many broken Sands were driven; whence I gathered, how great the force and violence is heere of the crosse winds, seeing they snatch and drive the Sand from out of the Sea, and lift it so high; these crosse windes, as I noted, the Sands did lye and were driven, are Wests and West North-wests.

But as touching the description of the Land, that goeth along the Sea, on the Coast of Abexii, from as farre as Toro, wee must note, that there runne certaine great and high Hils on Mountaines very high, and over-appearing the Coast of the Sea, the which about seventeene leagues beyond Toro toward Soez, doe open in the midst, and descend equall with the Field, and presently they rise againe very high and continually along the Sea, till they come a league short of Soez, where they stay and passe no further.

The tides from Toro to Soez all equall with other Ports of the Sea.

I considering with great diligence, the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea that lyeth from Toro to Soez, found them to bee no greater nor smaller then the other of these Coasts of the Streight, but after the same manner. Whence appeareth the falshood of some Writers, which said the pathes were not opened to the Jewes through this Sea, but that the Water ebbed so much in this place, that it remained all dry, the which the Jewes tarrying for, had the passage free to the other side.

Considering also, whereby Sesostre King of Egypt, and afterward Ptolomie could make the Trenches and Channels from Nilus to this Sea, for to make it navigable with the Easterne Sea. I saw it was not possible except by two places, which stand from Toro to Soez. The first, by the Breach which the Hils doe make that runne along the Sea, by the Coast that commeth from Abbexi, which Breach is seventeene leagues beyond Toro, and eleven before yee come to Soez. The second, by the end of this Sea and Nooke, where the Towne of Soez standeth. For in this place the Hils on both sides doe end, and remaine all on Land and Field very low, without Hillocks or high Hils, or any other impediment. And in this place it seemeth to me more certaine and convenient for to take so great a worke in hand, then by the breach I spake of, because in this place the Land is very low, and the way shorter, and hath an Haven heere: and besides these two places, any where else I thought it impossible, because as well on the one Coast as on the other, the Mountaines are so great and so high, the which are all, or the greatest part of a Rock and hard stone, that it is not in the judgement of men they may be cut, and bring through them a Channell or Trench that might be Navigable. Whence it must remaine manifest, Soez to be the Port where Cleopatra commanded the Ships to bee brought by Land from Nilus, crossing the Isthmus, howsoever that a thing of so much labour and importance, in the which the brevitie was the greatest part of the Navigation. It was manifest that they would seeke the shortest, neerest, and easiest way they

could find of them all. And because this is that which commeth from Nilus, and the Citie of Cayro to Soez. Wee must make no doubt that this Navy of Cleopatra was brought hither; and likewise the Trenches from Nilus, whereby they would communicate these Seas, especially considering, how from as farre as Toro, all the Coast of Egypt is waste, and without any Port, except this of Soez, which stands in the utmost end of this Sea.

Cleopatra commanded the ships to bee brought by Land to Soez, from Nilus, crossing the Isthmus.

Considering also in the dayes we spent betweene Toro and Soez, I saw that the Heaven was very close over-cast with very thicke and blacke Clouds, which seemed contrary to the nature and condition of Egypt: for in it, as all men affirme, it raineth not, neither doe the Heavens or the Ayre permit any Clouds, nor Vapours, but it may be that the Sea of his owne nature doth raise here these Vapours, and into the Land the Heaven may be free, and void of them, as we see in Portugall, that in the Citie of Lisbon the daies being cleere and pleasant, and in Sintra, which is foure leagues from thence, are great over-castings, mists, and shewers. Now this Sea contained from Toro to Soez, is very tempestuous and suddaine, for whensoever it beginneth to blow from the North, which is the Wind that raineth in this place, though his force be not very great, presently the Sea is raised so high, and proud that it is a wonder, the Waves being every where so coupled and like to breake, that they are much to bee feared. And this hapneth not because of the little depth heere, for all this Sea is very deepe, and onely along the Coast that commeth from the Abexi, close with the shoare it is a little shoally. About this Sea, I saw certaine Sea-foames, which by another name are called, Evill Waters, the greatest that I have seene, for they were of no lesse bignesse then a Target, their colour a whitish dun. These Sea-foames doe not passe from Toro downe-ward, as not willing to trouble or occupie a strange Kingdome, but contenting themselves with their ancient habitation, which is from Toro to Soez. And presently going out of this place or bounds, there are infinite small ones, and

like the other, and they are bred and goe about the Sea; in the daies that I was in this Sea, contained from Toro to Soez, I felt by night the greatest colds I can remember to have past, but when the Sunne came, the heate was unsufferable.

The end of the voyage to Soez.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the morning we departed from before Soez, toward Maçua. At Sunne set, we were one league short of a sharpe and red Pike, which stands over the Sea. This day we went about twentie leagues. By night wee tooke in our Sailes, and ran along the shoare with our fore-sailes onely, the Wind blew hard at North North-west: Two houres within night we came to an Anchor neere the shoare, in three fathome water, the Heaven was very darke, and covered with many thicke and blacke clouds. The nine and twentieth in the morning, we set Sayle. At nine of the clocke in the morning, we entred in Toro, and came to an Anchor, but within a little while we weighed againe, and went to an Haven about a league from thence, which is called, The Watering of Suliman, where wee tooke in Water, digging pits in the Sand, a stones cast from the Sea, in which pits we found much water, though brackish.

Sulyman watering.

The height of an Iland that stands beneath the Toro.

The thirtieth, in the morning wee departed from the watering of Suliman: halfe an houre past ten, we tooke Haven in the first of the three Ilands which stand two leagues to the North-west of the Iland of Xeduam, and presently I went a shoare with the Pilot, and we tooke the Sunne, and in its greatest height it rose over the Horizon eightie degrees, a little scant. The declination of this day was seventeene degrees, sixe and thirtie minuts, whence it followeth, this Iland to stand in twentie seven degrees & two third parts. The first of May, the sun being up we set sayle. About Even-song time we were with a great Iland, which hath in length two leagues, & thrusteth out a Point very close to the firme Land, where betweene the firme Land and the Iland, is a singular good Harbor for al weathers, for all the ships of the world. The second of May, at Sun set, we came to an Anchor in the Port of

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Goelma, a Port onely for small Vessels, safe from the North, and North-west. Within the Land a little space, is a dry Brook, whereby in Winter the water of the floods, which descend from the Mountaines doth avoid, where digging a little, ye finde fresh water, and heere is a Well, though not very plentifull of water. This Port was called Goelma, which in Arabique, is to say, The Port of water, it lyeth to the North North-west of Alcocer, the distance is foure leagues.

Acallaihe Port, two leagues beyond Xacara.

The fourth of May, we rowed along the shoare: almost Sunne set, we came to an Anchor in a Port, which is called Açallaihe, which standeth beyond Xacara toward the South-east two leagues. By night the wind was at North North-west, we lay all night at Anchor.

A Description of the Port of Acallaihe.

Acallaihe is a small Port, but very good, betweene Xacara and the blacke Hillocke.

A Description of the Port Bohalel Xame.

Bohalel Xame is a great Port, wherein may harbour many Shippes, it is very deepe within. This place was called Bohalel Xame, because within the Land dwelt a Badoil, very rich, which was called Bohalel, the which came or sent to sell Cattell to the Ships, which did take or come into that Haven, and Xame, is to say, Land. And heere

The Tombe of an Arabian.

wee found an honourable Toombe within a house like a Chappell, where was hanging a Guidon or Ancient of Silke, and many Arrowes or Darts round about the Grave, and about the Wals and Cords a great quantitie of Bulls did hang. At the head of the Grave there was a Table standing upright, with a great Epitaph, and about the house, many Waters and Fragrant smelling things.

I enquiring of the Moores and Arabians of such a thing, I learned that here lay buried a very honourable Arabian, of the Linage of Mahomet, which crossing these Coasts, fell very sicke, and in this Port ended his daies: and they made him this Grave as a man of so high a Genealogie. Where the Xarifes Juda and great Prelats gave Indulgences, and granted pardons to every one that should visite this house. But the offerings and reverence which the Portugals did unto it, was to sacke the house, and after-

ward for to burne it, that no signe was left where it had beene. In this Port wee found great footing of Tygres, and wilde Goats, and other Beasts which came all to the Sea, as though they came to seeke water for to drinke.

A Description of the Land of Badois, and of their customes & life.

The many times that I bring to the field the name and memorie of the Badois, and likewise the travelling by their Coasts and Countries, doth binde me to speake some thing of them. Badoil, in good Arabique, signifieth a man that liveth onely by Cattell: these men, called Badoies, is properly the people of the Troglodithas, Ophiotofagis, of the which Ptolomie, Plinie, Pomponius Mela, and other Authors doe write: the which Troglodithas or Badoies, doe live in the Mountaines, and coasts of the Sea, which are contayned from the Coast of Melinde and Magadoxa, to the Cape of Guardafui, and from thence going inward to the Streight, they doe begirt and occupie all her Coasts, as well on the one side as on the other, and turning againe outward on the Arabian side, they runne along the Sea to the Streight of Ormuz, and all these Lands may rather be affirmed to be occupied by them then inhabited.

What Badoile signifieth.

Troglodithas, or Badois.

The Badois, which is the generall name for the Ithiofagis or Eiofagis are wilde or savage.

The Badoies are wilde men, amongst whom is no civill societie, no truth nor civilitie used: They worship Mahomet, and are very bad Moores, above all other People they are given to Stealths and Rapine; they eate raw flesh, and drinke milke; their habit is vile and filthy, they are greatly endued with swiftnesse and nimblenesse; they fight on foote and horse-backe, their weapons are Darts, they never have peace with their Neighbours, but continually have warre, and fight with every one.

Those that dwell along the Red Sea, from as farre as Zeila unto Suaquen, doe fight with the Abexiis; and those from Suaquen to Alcocer, have warre with the Nobiis; and those which inhabite from Alcocer to Soez, and end of this Sea, doe molest continually the Ægyptians. But returning by the Arabian side, by all the Coast of the Sea, that lyeth from Soez to the Streight of Ormuz, doe contend with the Arabians. Among the Badois there is no

They have no King. King or great Lord, but live in Troopes or Factions; they permit no Towne in their Fields, neither have they any certaine Habitation, for their custome is to be Vagabonds, from one place to another, with their Cattell. Not onely doe they abhor Lawes and Ordinances, but also the Sutes and Differences that arise amongst them, they will not have them judged by any Custome, and they are content that their Xeque doe determine them as he list; their dwelling is in Caves and Holes, and other such like habitations, but the greatest part doe helpe themselves with Tents and Boothes; their colour is very blacke, their language the Arabian, the rest of their Custome and Life, I omit.

The tenth of May, by day, we weighed anchor from the Port of Igidid. An houre before Sun set we fastned on a Shoald, which stood about foure leagues from Farate toward the South. In this Shoald is an excellent Haven, and it is so great, that wee could not discerne with our sight the end of it, it lyeth almost East South-east, and West North-west, but it is very crooked and winding. The two and twentieth of May, 1541. by breake of day, we were one league short of the great Grove, that standeth foure leagues from Maczua, the wind was of the Land. About nine of the clocke it began to blow from the North North-east, a faire gale. We entred at noone into the Port of Maczua, where we were received with great joy and feast of our Armie. From the day wee entred in Maczua, which was the two and twentieth of May, to the fifteenth of June, the winds blew alwaies at North, North North-east, and North North-west: but from the fifteenth of June, to the seventh of July, they blew Easterly, that is; East, East South-east, and South-east, many times they brought great stormes. The last day of June at night, we had a storme from the South-east of so much winde, that it drove the Gallions and they passed great danger of striking a ground. This storme brought much Raine and fearefull Thunders, and there fell a Thunder-bolt from Heaven upon a Gallion, and comming downe by the

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A great Grove foure leagues from Maczua.

They lay at Maczua thirtie two daies.

A thunderbolt.

Mast, it raced it all: and likewise the second of July, wee had another storme from the East very great, which unfastned many ships, and lasted the most part of the day. From thence to the seventh of July, although we had other stormes, they were but small: From the seventh of July, to the ninth of the same, the Wind came to the Land and brought two stormes from the West, but the wind was not over-much.

The ninth of July, 1541. one houre after Sunne rose, wee set sayle from Maczua. The eleventh of July, by breake of day, we were two or three leagues short of the Point of Dallaqua, that lyeth on the North-side, and betweene certaine flat Ilands which have some Woods, and doe lye scattered on this side of the Iland; wherefore wee set all Sayles and went aloofe all that wee could to goe betweene two of these Ilands, the wind was almost North-west verie faire, we sayled North-east and by North, having doubled a Shoald we came to an Anchor: and two houres after noone we set sayle againe, the wind about North North-east faire, wee sayled along the shoare of the Iland of Dallaqua. An houre before Sunne set, we were with an Iland of Sand very flat, which is called Dorat Melcuna, from the which to all parts there came out great Shoalds: Sunne altogether set, wee were a league short of the Iland of Xamoa, and from the Point of Dallaqua, which stands on the West side, and opposite to the firme Land of the Abexi, betweene the which and the Iland of Xomoa, is the most frequented Channell of those which sayle to Maczua. All the Coast of Dallaqua which we saw this day, is coasted North North-west, and South South-east, and it is all wonderfully low. The eighteenth, by breake of day, we saw the mouth of the Streight, and we might be from it three leagues, and we saw all the Armie lye at Hull, and presently we set sayle altogether.

Darat Melcuna, a flat Iland of Sand.

Whether this Sea of the Streight be red or no, and the causes wherefore they called it the Red Sea. Opinions of the Red Sea.

Before we departed from the Arabique Gulfe, or Streight of Mecca, which is all one, it will be just to speake something of my opinion, and of that which I have seene, touching the reason that mooved the ancient men to call

all this Sea, the Red Sea: and likewise, whether her colour doth differ from the other of the great Ocean, or not. Plinie in the sixt Booke of the Naturall Historie, Cap. 23. rehearseth many opinions, whereby the people called this Streight the Red Sea. The first is, that it tooke this name of a King that reigned in it, called Erithra, because Erithros in the Greeke, is to say, Red. Another opinion was, that of the reflection of the Sun-beames, there grew in this Sea reddish colour. Some held, that of the Sand and Ground that runneth alongst it. Others also beleeved, that this water was Red of its owne Nature, whereby all this Sea got this name. Of these opinions the Writers chose them that they liked best, and seemed most certaine. Now the Portugals that have Navigated this way in times past, affirmed this Sea to be all spotted with certaine red strakes: the cause they attributed unto it, is this. They said, the Coast of the Arabian was naturally verie red, and that as in this Countrey there arose many stormes, and did raise great dusts toward the skies, after they were verie high, driven with the force of the Winds, they fell in the Sea, and this Dust being red, it did Dye the water of it, whereby it was called the Red Sea. When I came to Socatora, till I past all the Coasts of this Sea, and set my selfe before Soez, I never left by day nor night, to consider of these Waters, and viewing the colour and manner of the Countrey that goeth along the shoare: and certainly, I was not so troubled for any thing, as for the bestowing my labour in obtaining the truth of the things, and to search out the occasion of them, and that I got of mine owne Industrie, and most clearely have I seene many times, is as followeth. First, it is false to say, that the colour of this Sea is Red, for it hath no difference from the colour that all the other Water of the Sea doth shew us, and to say that the dusts which the winds doe snatch from the Land and drive into the Sea, doe staine the Water where they fall, till now wee saw no such thing, seeing many stormes raise great dusts, and drive them into the Sea, but not to change the colour of the Waves

thereof. And to say that the Land over the Sea Coast is Red, they observed not well the Coasts and Strands: for generally on the one side, and on the other, the Land by the Sea is browne, and verie darke, and seemeth scortcht: and in some places it shewes blacke, and in others white, and the Sands hath their owne colour, but onely in three places there are certaine pieces of Mountaines which have certaine veines of Red, where Portugals never came, except these which now are here-away, which places are all farre beyond Suaquen, that is, toward Soez, and the end of this Sea; but the three hils that shew this red colour, are of a verie hard Rocke, and then all the Land round about that we can see, is of the common and accustomed colour. But the truth of these things is, that the Water of this Sea taken substantially, hath no difference of his colour; but in many places of it, the waves thereof came by accident to seeme very red, which is caused in this manner. From the Citie of Suaquen unto Alcocer, which is one hundred thirtie sixe leagues journey, the Sea is all thicke with Shoalds and Shelves, whose ground is of a stone, called Corall-stone, which groweth in certaine Trees and Clusters, spreading one way, and another way certaine braunches, properly as the Corall doth, and this stone is so like unto it, that it deceiveth any person that is not very skilfull in the growth and nature. The colour of this stone is of two sorts; the one wonderfully white, and the other very red. In some places this stone lies covered with very greene Ozies; and in other free from this Herbe, which Slime or Ozies in some places, is very Greene; and in others it maketh a colour very like Orange-tawny. Now we must presuppose, that the water of this Sea is clearer, especially from Suaquen upward, then ever was any, in sort, that in twentie fathome water ye may see the ground in many places. This presupposed, we are to note, that wheresoever that these Shoalds and Shelves did appeare, the water over them was of three colours, that is, Red, Greene, or White, the which proceeded of the ground that was under, as many times I saw

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by experience; for if the ground of these Shoalds was Sand, it caused that the Sea over it appeared white; and the ground where the Corall-stone lay covered with Greene Ozies, the water that covered it did give a colour greener then the Weeds: but wheresoever the Shoalds were of red Corall, or of Corall-stone covered with red Weeds, it made all the Sea that was over it seeme very red; and because this red colour comprehended greater spaces in this Sea, then the Greene or the White, because the stone of the Shoalds was the greatest part of red Corall, I beleeve it was the reason whereby it received the name of Red Sea, and not of Greene nor White Sea: Notwithstanding, this Sea doth represent these colours most perfectly. The meanes that I had to obtaine this secret, was to fasten many times upon the Shoalds, where I saw the Sea looke red, and commanded divers to bring me of the stones that lay in the bottome, and the most times it was so shallow, that the Foyst did touch: and other-whiles, that the Mariners went on the Shoalds halfe a league with the water to the breast, where it happened that al or the greatest part of the stones they pulled up were of Red Corall, and others covered with weeds like Orange-tawny, and the practise I had wheresoever the Sea seemed Greene, & found beneath White Corall, covered with Greene Weeds: and in the White Sea I found a verie white Sand without any thing else whereof it might proceede. For some Saylers giving relation of the Red colour that they saw in this Sea, as of the greater and most compendious of all, being ignorant of the cause, or not being willing to offer it, for to increase admiration to their Navigations and Travels: and seeing that men do not only know this Sea by the name of Red Sea, but doe beleeve that the waters are naturally red. I have talked many times with Moorish Pilots, and curious persons of Antiquities, which dwelt in some places of this Streight, about the name of this Sea: every one did say to me, they knew no other name then the Sea of Mecca, and they wondred very much at us, to call it the Red Sea. I asked of the Pilots,

Red Corall stone.

if they found sometimes the Sea stained red with the dusts that the winds brought of the Land, they told me, they saw no such thing. With all this, I reprove not the opinion of the Portugals, but I affirme, that going through this Sea more times then they did, and seeing all the length thereof, and they onely one piece, I never saw in the whole, that which they say to have seene in the part.

The ninth of August, we entred in the Port of Angedina, and remained there till the one and twentieth of August, that we embarked in Foysts, and going directly to Goa, wee entred over the Barre thereof under Sayle: and our Voyage was ended, and this Booke.

[II. vii. 1149.]

Chap. VII.

A briefe Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarch Don John Bermudez brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter John, to the most Christian and zealous of the Faith of Christ, Don John, the third of this Name, King of Portugall: Dedicated to the most High and Mightie King of Portugall, Don Sebastian of most blessed hope, the first of this Name. In the which he reciteth also the death of Don Christopher of Gama: and the successes which happened to the Portugals that went in his Companie. Printed in Lisbon, in the house of Francis Correa, Printer to the Cardinall the Infant, the yeere of 1565.

A Letter of the Patriarch Don John Bermudez, to the King our Lord.

MOst High and Mightie King, your Highnesse said to me few daies ago, that you would be glad to know the truth, of what happened to a Captaine and people, which the King your Grand-father which is in Glorie, gave unto me for the succour of the Emperour of Ethiopia Onadinguel,* called Presbyter John, for to avoid the errours which some persons doe write of this; insomuch that even in the Name they erre, naming him Don Paul, he being Don Christopher his Brother. And others doe write, and say some things which did not passe in truth, neither did they see them. Therefore I, that saw it all, will tell you in briefe in this small writing all that passed. The Lord keepe your person, multiply your young age, and prosper your Royall estate, Amen.

* *So he calleth Atani Tingil before mentioned.*

§. I.

Don John Bermudez elected Patriarch of the Presbyter, and sent to Rome: His returne into Ethiopia: Arrivall at Maczua; The death of the Negus, entertainment of him and Christopher of Gama, with the Portugall Forces by the Queene Regent.

A Faithfull and good Christian, called Onadinguell, being Emperour in the Kingdome of Ethiopia, (vulgarly called Presbyter John) and the Patriarch of that Countrey, by name Abuna Marcos, being at the point of death in the yeere of our Redemption, 1535. The said Emperour said to the Patriarch, that he requested him, that according to their custome, he before his death would institute me for his Successour, and Patriarch of that Countrey. And the said Patriarch did so, ordering me first with all the sacred Orders. The which I accepted with such condition, that it should bee confirmed by the chiefe Bishop of Rome, successour of Saint Peter, to whom wee all were to give obedience. The said Emperour answered me, that he was well contented: and moreover he desired me, that for my selfe, and for him, and for all his Kingdomes I should goe to Rome, to give the obedience to the holy Father: and from thence should come to Portugall, to conclude an Embassage, that he had sent hither by a man of that Countrey, called Tegazavo, in whose company came the Father Francis Alvarez. After many troubles passed in the Journey, I came to Rome, the Pope Paul the third governing then in the Apostolike Sea: the which received me with great clemencie and favour, and confirmed all things as I brought them, and at my request he ratified it all againe, and commanded me to sit in the Chaire of Alexandria, and that I should entitle my selfe Patriarch and Bishop of the Sea.

Zaga Zabo the Frier mentioned in Alvarez.

From Rome I departed towards Portugall, where I came, the King your Grand-father of glorious Memorie,

being in the Citie of Evora, who rejoyced particularly at my comming, to conclude as he desired, the Embassage which the Tagazavo had brought, for hee had beene here twelve yeares, without concluding any thing through meere negligence. For the which the Emperour Onadinguel commanded me, that I should take away his charge of Embassadour, and should apprehend him, and carrie him a Prisoner with me. And therefore I brought him a Letter from the Emperour, the which I gave him in Lisbon where he was, and he tooke it and kissed it, and reknowledged it to be true, and by it he acknowledged me for his Patriarch and Superior, and kissed my hand, and gave me his place, without speaking any more words. I commanded to imprison him with two chaines of Iron, on each arme one, after the manner of his Countrey: the which I tooke from him againe within a few daies, because his Highnesse intreated me. The Embassage which the said Emperour demaunded, was his perpetuall friendship and brotherhood: and therefore he desired him they would marrie their children interchangeably the one with the other; and that from Portugall a sonne of his should goe to marrie with a daughter of his, and reigne in his Kingdomes after his death, that this alliance betweene the Portugals and them, and also the obedience of the Pope might be greater and endure. And likewise, he sent to request him, hee would send him some men for to defend himselfe from the King of Zeila, which usurped his Kingdomes: and he would send him great store of riches, for he could verie well doe it. And likewise to send him some Pioners for to cut a hill whereby already Eylale Belale his Predecessour did bring the River Nilus, to bring it now also that way to annoy Egypt.

Zaga Zabo his negligence.

[II. vii. 1150.]

His imprisonment.

Bermudez his Embassage from the Negus to the King of Portugall.

The King your Grand-father having taken counsell, thought good to grant mee that which I demanded, and commanded to give mee foure hundred and fiftie Calivermen and Pioners, and that they should dispatch me that I might returne that yeere in company with Don Garcia of Noranya, which then went for Vice-roy of India. I fell

A.D. 1565.

suddenly sicke, and the Physicians said of poyson: as it was suspected the Tegazava caused it to bee given mee. The chiefe Physician which then was, named James Lopez, cured me, and he which now is, Leonard Nunyes, and others, which his Highnesse commaunded: for the which sicknesse, I remained that yeere in this Realme.

Presently, the next yeere, being recovered by the goodnesse of God, I went in his Highnes Armie. I carryed also Anthonie Fernandes, and Gaspar Suriano both Armenians borne, which by commandement of Presbyter John, came to seeke mee, to the which his Highnesse did many favours. We arrived in India safely, at such time as the Vice-roy Don Garcia, was come from Dio, with the Victorie which he had of the Turkes, Anthonie Selveyra, beeing Captaine of that Fortresse, the which Vice-Roy received us with great joy, and shewed me great honour, the Bishop of Goa came to receive me with his trayne in Procession, with Crosse on high, and carryed mee from the Sea-side unto the Sea in a Chaire, which the King your Grand-father gave unto mee for that purpose: going next unto me on the one side, the Vice-Roy Don Garcia, and on the other, Don John Deça, Captaine of Goa, and re-knowledging me for Patriarch, gave mee the honour due unto my dignitie.

Anthonie Fernandes. See Dam. à Goes of this siege, 1538.

In the meane-while, the Vice-Roy sickned of a Fluxe, whereof hee dyed: and Don Stephen of Gama succeeded in his stead. The which I presently requested to dispatch me, and send me to the Presbyter John with the succour, as his Highnesse had commanded, and he answered me, that he could not doe it, because one hundred thousand Crownes were not sufficient to dispatch mee or more, in hazard of never being recovered: and I answered him, that all that was nothing, for the Presbyter John, which without missing it might spend a Million of Gold or more, for he hath innumerable riches. It was determined, that he in person should transport mee: and presently he commanded a good Navie of Gallies and Gallions, and other ships well furnished, as for such a Voyage was

Stephen Gama Vice-Roy.

necessarie, and many chosen men, of the best that were in India. With the which Armie we came to the Port of Maçua in the Red Sea: where we found newes that the Emperour Onadinguel, was dead of his naturall death; of the which we all were very sorrie, and I above all, as he whom it touched most.

Maczua, or Macua.

The death of King David.

I encouraged my selfe, till there came from Presbyter John two Friers, good religious men, one of them Prior Provinciall of many Monasteries, and a great man among them, called Aba Joseph, which went to Jerusalem, and told us how the Queene, and a Sonne and Heire of hers did maintaine their estate, and resisted their Enemies. This being knowne, the Governour Don Stephen said unto me, that I should send to visit them, as in effect, I presently sent by one Arias Diz, Tawnie man borne in Coymbra.

Aba Joseph.

Arias Diz, a Mullato Portugall.

In the meane-time, the Governour like a good Gentleman, and willing to lose no time, and beeing a Captaine of a valiant spirit, went with the Gallies that came in the Fleete, to the Port of Suez, for to take or burne the Turkes Gallies, which were in that Haven, which he could not doe because they were on dry Land.

Being there, tarrying the Governours comming, there fled from the Fleet sixtie men in a Skiffe and a Boat to the firme Land, the which came to a Port of Land very dry and excessive hot, and being willing to travell into the Land, they found it so dry that they dyed for thirst, and being thus pinched with necessitie, one Captaine of the King of Zeila, that was in that Countrey sent to tell them, that he would send them Meate and Water, and would assure them their lives, so that they would give him their Weapons: and they seeing they had no other remedie, and beeing pinched with need they gave them: with which presently they slue them all.

Sixty fugitives.

At that instant the chiefe Captaine sent a Galley to Arquico, to seeke water, in the which he sent also a thousand Cotton Webs, for to change for Kine, or Beeves to eate: and they which carryed them going from Arquico

[II. vii. 1151.]

by Land, where the Armie was; a Bernagais, called Noro, Captaine of the King of Zeila tooke them from them, & sent word presently to the chiefe Captaine, that the King of Zeila his Lord was Lord of all Æthiopia, and had wonne all the Countries of the Presbyter John, therefore that he would make peace with him, and traffique with his Merchandize in his Countries, in the which there is much Gold, Ivorie, Civet, Frankincense, Myrrhe, and many other Drugges, and Slaves, wherein they might make great profit: and hee also would give him store of provision, and would restore the Cowes that hee had taken, and would make amends for the sixtie men that were slaine. *Commodities of Zeila.*

I told the Captaine that hee should not trust the words of Moores, for they were false, and that they said, was fained, to doe us some harme; therefore that wee should also use some slight with them, and it should be this. That he would send him a Present, and with it words of thankfulnesse for the good will that hee shewed us, whereby he may thinke that he hath deceived us, and may be assured of us: for by this slight we shall hinder his deceit. The chiefe Captaine did so, and commanded the Factor of the Armie to carrie to the Bernagaiz a Barrell of Wine, and another thousand of Cotton Webs; the Wine for a Present, and the Webs for to change for Beeves: and that he should tell him from him, that the other Webs, that seeing they were taken in good and lawfull Warre hee should not speake of them, and as touching the men that were slaine, that they deserved not to be revenged, for as much as they were Rebels and Traytors, and deserved the death they had: and as touching Traffique and Peace, that for the present they were in the holy weeke, and could doe no worke, but as soone as the Feast was past, wee would doe that which he desired, and would bring our Wares ashoare for to traffique with them. *Sic ars deluditur arte.*

Having taken counsell againe, the chiefe Captaine commanded that the Boates should not go ashoare, because no *The Portugals stratagems.*

Moore or Blacke-moore might have any meanes to goe thither, and give him warning. And commanded the Souldier to be in a readinesse, the secretest that they could: and that in the Boates, and the other light Vessels that were in the Armie: in the which hee commanded they should make no fire, because they might not be perceived: And commanded Martin Correa, that at ten of the clocke at night hee should land with sixe hundred men, and possesse the passages whereby they might escape, he went and killed some Turkes and Fartaquis, and tooke all the Carriage they had, which was but little, for he had no time to take any store. The Bernagaiz of Zeila, when he saw the King set himselfe to flight, hee likewise fled, and lighted upon Martin Correa, where being knowne a Caleever-man killed him; and men comming to rescue him were many of them slaine, Foot and Horse, and the rest saved themselves by flight. Our men thought good to cut off his head, and send it for a Present to the Queen, wherewith she rejoyced very much; shee sent a great man of her Countrey, called Esmacherobel Tigremacan, to the chiefe Captaine, and to me, to give us thankes.

The King of Maczua flyeth, and the Barnagasso is slaine.

Returne of the Vice-Roy from Soez.

As soone as the Governour Don Stephen came, hee gave order presently to dispatch and send me to the King and Queene, and because they understood alreadie, that the Enterprize was of honour and profit, many did covet it more then before: among the which, one was Don Christopher Gama, Brother to the Governour: who desired mee very earnestly, that I would give him the charge of all the men that he was to carrie, for he would goe with me. Presently there came where I was, Don John of Castro,* Don Manuel of Lima, Don Payo of Noronya, Tristram of Tayde, and Manuel of Sosa, and I granted their request, and gave him the command of the men for Don Christopher: of the which they were all contented and satisfied, and the Governour gave me thankes for it. And presently hee commanded to enroll the men that hee gave mee. So foure hundred men, among the which, there went many Gentlemen, and men of account,

**This is hee which had bin with the Vice-Roy in the bottome of the Gulfe, and did write that former Rutter. Peter Borges Henriques, was before appointed Captaine.*

which besides the number limited, carryed Servants, which increased the number and profited very much.

Beginning to order our departure, there came the Christian Bernagaiz, which had beene there alreadie, and brought some Camels, Mules, and Asses for to beare the Carriage, and also for service and to helpe. I commanded the Bernagaiz, and the Tigremacan, that they should command to bring us some victuals and refreshing for all the Armie: which commanded to bring many Beeves, Muttons, Goates, Butter, Honey, Millet, Figges and Quinces, and other things in abundance.

The Vice-Roy and the Pat. part company.

The Governour with all the Gentlemen of the Armie came to Arquico, where they requested me to give them my blessing: the which I gave them on Gods behalfe, to whom I recommended them, and they went to Sea, and we remayned on Land very solitarie. And beginning to travell, within three dayes we came to Debarva. Within a few dayes they used Schismaticall and Hereticall Ceremonies, differing from the Romane. I satisfied the best I could, Don Christopher and his men, and the murmuring ceased, and they concluded how to carrie the Ordnance when they journeyed. They made presently certaine Carriages like unto ours: the which, because in the Countrey there was no Iron, they shod them with certaine old Caleevers, which brake, because they would serve for no other use.

Barva.

Want of Iron.

I sent to the Queene, who came with all speed possible: whom we went to receive out of the Citie, a league, with all the men of Portugall in Warlike order, and Ancients displayed with Trumpets, and as well the Kings as of the Captaines. I say of the King, because wee had Ordnance, whereof she was amazed, being a thing unaccustomed. The first thing she did, as one that had a respect unto the things of God, she received my blessing: and presently received Don Christopher with great entertainment and honour, giving him many thankes, that hee would vouchsafe to take that Enterprize, and charge to defend her from her Enemies. From thence we went to the Citie,

[II. vii. 1152.]

and the next day we heard all Masse, and wee gave order that Processions should be made, in the which we all went, and the Queene also, with two Infantas her Sisters in-law, and a little Princesse her Daughter, which she brought with her, desiring all of God with great Devotion and many teares, that he would vouchsafe to heare us, and give us the victorie of his Enemies and ours.

§. II.

Don Christopher and the Portugals Warre on the King of Zeila, and having in two Battels prevailed, in the third are overthrowne. A new Captaine appointed. Don Christophers resolution and death. Mountaine of the Jewes.

DEparting from Debarva, we went eight dayes by rough Countries: at the end of which wee come to plaine grounds, and very well inhabited, and better then they past, but in them there dwelt Christians, which for feare did follow the Moore: which as soone as they knew our comming, went presently to Don Christopher, and gave him obedience. At the end of three dayes, we came to a very pleasant field, and in it a Fountaine of faire water: in the which we pitcht our Campe round about the Fountaine.

Goranya King of Zeila. Some call him Gradamet, Godignus cals him Gragna, which varietie happens by the different pronuntiation of so different a Language.

The next day there came a Messenger to us from Goronya, King of Zeila, with some of his men in company, and asking for the Captaine of those men, said unto Don Christopher, that his King sent to aske him who he was, and from whence hee came, or who gave him leave to enter in his Kingdomes with men of warre: for those Realmes were his, and hee had wonne them by his Lance, and of his Gentlemen, with the helpe of his Prophet Mahomet: therefore if wee would become Moores, and serve him, hee would entertaine them well, and give them his wages: And moreover, Wives and Goods to live upon: and if not, that wee should presently avoid his

Countrey, and goe out of it. Don Christopher answered him, that he was a Captaine of the King of Portugall, by whose commandement hee came with those men for to restore the Kingdomes of the Presbyter John, which hee tyrannously hath usurped, and to take them out of his hands, and gave them to whose they were. And with this message he sent him for a Present, a Looking-glasse and a pair of Mullets to pull the haire with, and an Egge of Silver of Pegu, signifying, that those things pertayned to him. And to the Messenger hee gave two Bracelets of Gold, and a very rich Sute of Cloth of Gold, which things the Queene had given to him; and he gave him also a Cypres of Bengala, and a Turkish Cassock with his upper Garment: this by my counsell in disgrace of the Goranya, raysed presently his Campe, and beganne to march toward the place where we were with one thousand Horsemen, and five thousand foot, and fiftie Turkes Caleever-men, and as many Archers.

Provoking Presents.

Don Christopher commanded to place the Queene (who was very fearefull) and the Women with all the Carriage in the midst of the Squadron. The Moore when hee saw us goe up a Hill (whereon stands the Church of the Ladie of Pitie) wheeled upon us to take the height from us: and he came alreadie so neere unto us, that the shot began to fight on both sides. When I saw the Battle was begun, I called sixe Portugals, and with the Queene and her Sisters in-law I was going aside, and in this I knew the Moorish King, which came neere to his Antient on a Bay Horse, and I shewed him to Peter Deça a Gentleman, and a good shot: which shot at him and slue his Horse, and hurt him in the legge. His men came about him, and set him on another Horse, and tooke him from that place. Our Captaine Don Christopher was also hurt in his legge; and I commanded the Steward to set up the Queenes Tent in signe of victorie. The Moore had invironed us on every side, when they saw us setting up Tents, and their King hurt, they began to retyre, and goe after their King, which withdrew himselfe with the paine of the wound

toward a Mountaine that was neere to that place to be cured.

At this instant there came to us a Moore that had been a Christian, Cousin German to the Bernagaiz, and told us how the King was hurt in his legge: and how great a favour God had done to us therein, for if it had not beene so he had taken us all, without doubt, but that God miraculously had delivered us from his hands: and that therefore hee with all his men did returne to us, and would serve us and pay the Tributes that unto that time they payed to that King: and that he went presently to his Countrey for to send us Beeves and Provision for our Campe: for hee was Captaine and Governour of all that Countrey where we were: the which belonged to the Presbyter, and he also: and when the King of Zeila conquered it, hee yeelded unto him, and now that he saw him over-come, he returned to us againe, whereby he seemed to be a man of, Live he that over-commeth.

[II. vii. 1153.]

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

In the meane while, it pleased God that Don Christopher healed of his wound; but we suffered great hunger, for there was very little provision in the Campe, and the people died with hunger. Don Christopher went to the Queene, and told her, that the people suffered great hunger, and that they had need to eate all they found, notwithstanding it was Lent, that it would be good to kill the Beasts, that they had in the Campe, for to eate: and with this request, they came both to my Tent, praying me that I would give the people leave to eate flesh in Lent, because of the necessitie there was: and besides, the Queene requested me, that I should give her my Oxen that I had for my carriage, to give them to the people, and as soone as her Captaine aforesaid came, shee would satisfie me, which would stay three dayes: and so it was, for he presently came with great store of provision, viz. Beeves, Sheepe and Goates, Butter, and other provisions for Lent, and for Easter, which was alreadie at hand.

Scarcitie.

Flesh in Lent.

As soone as Easter was past, the Goranya sent word to Don Christopher, that he would come to see him, that he

should prepare himselfe; which he did as he had said. He came to seeke us, with more and better men then before he brought: for, he had above two thousand Horse, and infinite number of foot, and an hundred Turks: for the which, the Queene was in such a feare with her Sisters in law, that they knew not what to doe, in such sort that being at Dinner, as soone as they knew the comming of the Moore, they would have left Dinner. Don Christopher being the next day ordering his men, before day, for to set upon the Moores; the Queene sent for me, and said to me, that shee saw the great power that the King Goranya brought, and that it was impossible to scape his hands if we stayed, therefore that shee desired me that we should be gone, for shee had so determined, and that in any sort shee would doe it; therefore that shee requested me very earnestly, that I would not let her goe alone, seeing I was her Father, but I should accompanie her, and goe with her. And I, to shew her the love that I bare her, and that shee should not thinke that I esteemed not her life, granted her request, and we both interprised the flight. But Don Christopher, which was alreadie warned for that purpose, sent after us ten Horse-men, and some Foot-men, crying aloud, and saying, that it was neither service of God, nor the worke of a Father, to goe away and leave them. Hearing these words, Shee by my meanes returned to the Campe weeping and bewayling her selfe. There Don Christopher said unto me, that as a Father and Prelate, according to the good custome of the Portugals, he requested me that I should give him my blessing, and should make him a generall absolution before he entred into the battell. I did so, and granted him a plenarie Indulgence of all his sinnes: which I might doe, because the Pope had granted it me, and was the stile of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. From thence we removed with our Campe, by the breake of day, downe the Hill, and marched till we came to a Plaine, and presently, with great furie, they assaulted our standings on every side. Our men defended themselves with the Ordnance and

The Queenes feare.

Indulgence.

The second battell.

Fire-works, wherewith they annoyed them very much: and before they came, they had cast a great quantitie of powder in the wayes, whereby they were to come up; the which, when they were in the heate of the battell, was set on fire, and it burned them, proceeding under their feet, they not knowing from whence it came, they understood not the stratageme. Our men did cast among them certaine Balls of wilde fire, and Pots full of powder, wherewith they burned the greatest part of them, and the other retyred with feare, and durst come no more neere us. The Ordnance killed many of the Horse-men, and of other People, that the Field was all full of them, and the Horses ranne master-lesse about the fields. The Turks with their Peeces and their Bowes, killed us twentie men, and the master Gunner. Our men killed fifteene Turks. The Queene was next to me, embracing a Crosse, and weeping, and said unto mee; O Father, what have you gayned in bringing me hither? Wherefore did you not let me goe my way? I said unto her: Lady, doe not afflict your selfe; commit your selfe to God, and open your eyes, and you shall see the great destruction that is done in your enemies.

Fierie stratagem.

At this time the Foot-men began alreadie to flee, and the Horse-men durst not come neere, but skirmished a farre off; and the King said to his men, that the Portugals were no men, but Devils, for they fought like Devills. And with this he retyred himselfe towards the Hill, and left his Campe.

The victorie.

We gathered our Campe, and went forward as fast as wee could, but they fled as fast as they could, and wee could not over-take them. But wee found many Abexins on foote and horse-backe which returned to us, which afterward were baptized, and loyall to their King. Of whose returne, the Queene and we all were as glad as of the principall victorie. We came to the campe of the Moores, which we found forsaken without any people, but wee found in it all the spoile, for the feare which Saint James put them in, gave them no leisure to take any thing

away. Wee found it with Tents up, and in them Apparell, House-hold stuffe, Mony, and other riches, and store of provision, which were very needfull for us, for it was alreadie very scant. Here wee stayed, and let the people rest two dayes. *Great spoile.* [II. vii. 1154.]

This Countrey and all the borders, is called the Province of Nazareth, and it is of the Patriarchs, their owne proper with all jurisdiction, without the King entermeddling in it by any meanes, neither hath he any Rent thereof. It yeeldeth for the Patriarch three thousand ounces of gold every yeere, the which King Thedrus appropriated unto them, for a certaine offence that he committed against a Patriarch. *Nazareth a Countrey appertayning to the Patriarch.*

From the Campe wee drew toward the Mountaines, where the King Goranya with-drew himselfe, and pitched our Campe in a field, at the foot of the Mountaine, invironed with the carriages of the Ordnance.

The Moore sent to Zebide to a Bassa of the great Turke which was there, to aske him succour, saying, that he should succour him, and not suffer those Kingdomes to be lost, which were all of the great Turke, and he held them for him, and that in token thereof, hee sent him one hundred thousand Oquies of gold, and twentie thousand for his person. An Oqui is a waight of gold, which in that Countrey is worth as much as ten Crownes or Cruzados in this, and weigheth as much. We with-drew our selves, while we knew what passed, to a strong Mountaine, the which was compassed on every side with Rocks and Crags, in such sort, that in it there was scarce a way for foot-men. For to carry the Ordnance and other carriage, was needfull to make a new way, the which the Captaines of the Countrey made with their men, and it was so streight, and so rough, that the Ordnance could not bee carried upon the carriages, but they carried it on their backs with Leavers. Above was a Plaine where wee pitched our Campe. From thence the Queene sent through her Provinces, and I also through mine, that they should bring us store of victualls, and other provisions necessarie, *The Turke solicited.*

of which we were presently well provided, and the wounded were well cured.

Being there well lodged, Don Christopher said unto mee, that wee should remove to a higher Hill which was neere from thence, because the Armie might be more safe; and that in the meane while he would goe to a Mountaine, which was neere from thence, inhabited with Jewes, in the which was a Captaine of the Moore with an hundred and fiftie Horse, as we were advertised. And being gone with the Portugals, and some few of the Countrey, for to shew him the wayes; hee left with us two Portugall Captaines with his men. As soone as hee came to the Mountaine, he set upon the Moore, and killed sixtie Horse-men, and tooke thirtie Horses, the rest fled. The Jewes, inhabiters of the Mountaine, pursued after the Moores, and taking the passages of the Mountaine, which they knew very well, they killed them almost all, and among them the Captaine, and tooke all the spoile they carried, and the women, which they brought all to Don Christopher, and gave it him for a present, with the head of the Captain, which they brought also; and among other Gentle-women which were there, the wife of the Captain Moore was very faire, the which Don Christopher tooke for himselfe. And because two of his Captaines did looke too much upon her, he was jealous of them, and tooke away their charges, they being as they said blamelesse.

Mountaine of Jewes.

The Jewes pursue the Moores.

Sixe hundred Turks sent to aide the Moore.

Don Christopher being in the Mountaine of the Jewes, the Moorish King came to seeke us with sixe hundred Turks, which the Bassa sent unto him, and two hundred Moores on horse-backe, and a great number on foot: and comming to the foot of the Hill where we were, he pitched his Campe. From thence he sent a man of his with a Boxe of pedlarie ware to our Campe, to sell Beades and looking glasses, and to tell Don Christopher that his Master was a Merchant, and came behinde, and would not tarrie three dayes, with very good merchandize that hee brought to sell him. This came to light upon George of Abrewe, and James of Silva, that remayneth with us, and

kept the entrie of the Mountaine, which tooke away his Beades, and brought them unto me, and I blessed them, and gave them to the women and devout persons, granting many pardons to them that did pray upon them, because that their mockage might redound to the praise of God, and the profit of his faithfull. We sent in all haste to call Don Christopher; which was not come from the Mountaines. Meane while, the Turkes in despight of our men entred the Mountaine, and did us much hurt. Presently that night after they were entred came Don Christopher, and sent presently for the other Captaines, to take counsell with them what were best to doe; which told him, that it were best to set upon the Moores by night: for when the forces are not equall in strength, the weakest have need to use some policie; and this is one of the best we can use with them, for the manner of the Turks is not to fight by night, in so much that come out of their Tents they dare not. And besides, we shall take them on a sudden and unprepared, and we shall overthrow them before they can come to themselves: and for the more amazing them, we will assault them on two sides. This counsell seemed not good to Don Christopher, because mutable Fortune was willing to change her course; and God, to make an end of sensualities, which at such times, men that are Christians, should not remember. Don Christopher said, that he would give battell to the Enemies by day, because they should not thinke that he was afraid of them, wherein he prevailed, though none liked his counsell.

Beades blessed.

As soone as it was day they went all downe, and before they set any thing in order (because the misfortune was to have some beginning) by a mischance, a Horse of ours brake loose, and ranne towards the Moores Campe, they came out to ketch him, and our men went out to defend him, and in this sort the fight began without any order or government. This skirmish lasted a great while; in the which many Moores and Turkes died: and likewise of ours there died some; among whom Don Garcia of

The unfortunate battell. [II. vii. 1155.]

Noronia was one. The Ancient-bearer of Don Christopher fought with the Ancient Royall, like a valiant Gentleman, and in his defence slue some of the Enemies, and wounded them so fiercely, that they durst not come neere him, untill that for wearinesse he could fight no longer; then they slue him. Don Christopher was wounded with a shot in the arme, of the which, although he suffered great paine, he left not therefore the battell till very late, that hee found himselfe almost alone, then hee retyred to the top of the Mountaine with some few that he found about him. Before he retyred, I seeing the spoile of our men, said to the Queene that she should mount, and goe to the Mountaine: and because shee would not leave some women that had not whereon to ride, I made her mount perforce, and one sister-in-law of hers and so I sent them before, and I tooke her daughter behind me.

Don Christopher hurt.

Lamentable and desperate act.

A Nurse of the Queene, a vertuous woman with two daughters, and other women, tooke a barrell of Powder; saying, God forbid, wee should bee delivered to the power of Infidels, they brought it into the Tent; set it on fire and burned themselves. The like did fifteene or sixteene men which came sore wounded from the battell, and could not travell. I went away with the Girle I had behind mee where her mother was, which thought shee had lost her alreadie, and when shee saw her shee gave great thankes to God. Wee went a little farther into the Mountaine, and there we made another stand, tarrying for more men, and for Don Christopher, for whom the Queene was very sorrie, and wee all were very sad for his not comming, doubting he was dead or captive. Being in this doubt, we saw him come hurt, as I said before, in an arme, with great paine of the wound; for it seemed he had the Bullet within. The Queene commanded me to cure him with a little Balme that she had, for to mitigate his paine; and shee tooke a Vaile from about her head, and tore it, and bound his arme therewith. But he tooke no rest, for he remembred more the losse and dishonour, then the paine of the wound: and said, that hee had better

beene slaine, then to have lost the Kings Standard; and that seeing it remayned in the power of his Enemies, that hee would not live. I answered him, that hee should not vexe himselfe so much, for with his life and health hee would recover againe (God willing) that which then hee had lost: for so wee saw it fall out every day in matters of warre, &c. And as touching the Ancient, in that Countrey they tooke no such regard of it; and that presently they would make such another, having men to fight under it, and a Captaine to governe them: for the men are the true Ancient, and not the signe which they carried.

Wee made him mount, and went from thence, and with all speed wee passed two Rivers so great, that the Footmen waded to the breasts. Wee travelled till we came to the River of the Draw-bridge, which they had told us, which was so deepe, that it could not be passed but by that Bridge. There Don Christopher said to me, that he would not passe the Bridge, but would remaine on this side the River: and called presently his servants, which tooke him downe, and set him up a Bed whereon he cast himselfe. He called me, and requested that I would shrive him: having ended his confession, he said unto me, that his will was to remaine there; I said unto him, that I would not suffer it, and commanded those that were there to take the Bed, and to carrie him in it as he was, and he said that he would kill himselfe if they carried him from thence. When I saw his determination, I said unto him, that I would remaine with him: he answered me, that I should not doe it; for I was necessarie for to governe those men, that they might not altogether be lost, and therewith all that Countrie: but that I should leave him a little Balme for to dresse him with, and that his Chamberlaine, his Secretarie, and other three Portugals, with which he would goe hide himselfe in a Grove that was there. I could never understand to what end he remained.

Don Christopher disconsolateness.

From thence I went to the Queene, and desired her to mount, and that we should passe on the other side the

Bridge; for it drew towards day, and our enemies would come: shee answered, that in no wise shee would doe it, nor passe any farther, seeing Don Christopher remayned there desolate. But I desired her to mount, saying to her, that not onely shee, but her sonne with all his Kingdomes would be lost if we tarried there. And with this the Queene mounted, weeping, and speaking so many dolorous words, as shee could have uttered for her owne sonne, if he had remayned there. Wee commanded all the men to goe with the carriage, and all the people with the greatest haste possible: and before we had passed we heard a rumour of Men, and noise of Horses, for the which we made great haste to goe over, and drew the Bridge after us. By this time it was alreadie day, and we beginning to goe up the side of a Hill on the other side, we saw many Moores about the place where Don Christopher remayned: the Queene, when she saw them, was greatly afraid, and said that wee could not escape. Her men told her that shee should not feare; for shee was alreadie in her owne Countries. Notwithstanding, wee went on with all haste possible for to lose them out of sight: and we travelled all that day, passing many Mountaines and Rivers with great trouble, and heat of the day. There was by those Rivers great store of Cassia Fistola, and Indian Dates, whereof our men did eate, for they had no other food. Finally, we came to a River somewhat big, where the people caught some Fish, which they did eate while the Captaine of that Countrie came with victuals, which presently brought great store: And there we began to rest, for we were alreadie in a sure Countrey.

[II. vii. 1156.] *Or Tamarindos.*

Wee wanted fortie Portugals: To the rest that remayned, which were few more then three hundred, I made my speech thus, and said unto them; that they saw very well that it was necessarie to give them a Captaine, that might governe them and fight before them, seeing wee knew not what might become of Don Christopher, remayning as hee was willing to bee left. They answered

me, that I should doe what I thought best; for they would hold it for very well done, and would obey whom I should command and ordaine. I declared unto them, that I elected for their chiefe Captaine, one Alfonso Caldera, borne in Coimbra, a discreet and valiant Gentleman: the which all received with a good will, except some Gentlemen, which because they were of Nobler bloud, thought that charge rather belonging unto them. These murmured somewhat of that which I did: but did not leave their obedience. I made also a Sergeant, and a Judge, to looke to the Souldiers, that they did no wrong to the people of the Countrey; or betweene themselves, one to another.

Alfonso Caldera made Captaine.

There came to us John Gonzales, and Alvaro Deniz, which remayned with Don Christopher, of whom the Queene demanded what was become of Don Christopher: they told us, how they being hid in the Grove where they remayned, there came a woman fleeing from the Moores, and came into the same Grove, and the Moore comming after her, found Don Christopher: and asked him who he was, and he told them that he was Don Christopher: whereof they were so joyfull, that they could not beleeve it: and they called an Eunuch which had beene ours that came there, and asked him if that was Don Christopher, and if he knew him well: and hee said, it was he without doubt, for he knew him very well. They presented him to their King, which also was very glad to see him. And after demanding some things of him, he said, that if he would become a Moore, that he would doe him much honour. Don Christopher answered him smiling, that he was the servant of Jesus Christ, whom he would not change for a lying Dog. The King hearing what he said, commanded to give him a Boxe on the eare, and to pull him by the beard. He desired him with great Oathes and promises that he would write to his companions, that they should leave Presbyter John, and returne to their Countries: and he said, that he would doe it. And presently he wrote a Letter, according to the will of the Moore: the which sent the Eunuch above-said, that he

Don Christopher di Gama taken prisoner.

His resolution.

His Letter.

should looke well what Don Christopher did write: and he did so, therefore Don Christopher wrote that which the Moore commanded, and no other thing: but set two thornes in his name, by the which he signified, that they should looke what they did. With this Letter of Don Christopher, the Gorania sent two Moores of his to our Campe, and they gave it to me.

The Queene, when shee saw it, remayned almost dead, thinking that Don Christopher had written that Letter of purpose, and that it would somewhat availe among the Portugals, by whom, under God, she trusted to have her Kingdomes restored: and shee tooke very strangely that deed of Don Christopher. But after that we declared unto her the devise of the thornes that came in his Firme, shee was glad, and tooke it in good part; and every one praised him very much. Finally, the chiefe Captaine Alfonsus Caldera, in his owne name, and in the name of all his companions the Portugals, answered to Don Christopher, that he should give many thanks to the King Gorania for his good will: but that they would not receive of him that favour, neither did they doubt that they should stand in need of it, rather to the contrarie, they hoped with the helpe of Jesus Christ their God, to finish the act, whereunto the King of Portugall their Lord had sent them thither, which was, to take or kill him, and deliver from his tyrannie, the Kingdomes of Presbyter John.

This Letter being delivered to Don Christopher, hee carried it to the Moore, and hee shewed him not therefore the worse countenance, for hee thought that Don Christopher had written faithfully, he asked him also wherewith he had cured himselfe, and he said unto him, that hee could make a certaine Medicine wherewith the wounds were very quickly cured: and the Moore desired him to cure with it his Captaine generall, which was sore wounded: and he cured him with such Medicines, that the Dogge lived but three dayes. For the which, the Moore commanded to give him many stripes and blowes, and said,

that hee would command to kill him. Don Christopher answered him, that he could doe him no more hurt then to kill the bodie, for the soule God had power over it: and that hee was very certaine, that Jesus Christ would receive his into everlasting life. The Moore commanded that they should carrie him to the place where the other Portugals died, and that there they should cut off his head. The which head of Don Christopher, that King did send for a Present to the Governour of Cairo: and one of his quarters he sent to Juda: another to Aden: and one legge to the Bassa of Zebide, which sent him the succour above-said. So much doe they esteeme in that Countrey, to overcome a few Portugals.

Don Christopher beheaded.

All the rest of the bodie of Don Christopher remayned there where they killed him: and from thence certaine Religious men carried it to their Monasterie which was neere to that place, and doe hold it in great reverence with estimation of a Saint: for presently, and many times after, did God shew by manifest Miracles, his labours to bee acceptable and meritorious before Gods Divine Majestie, his death precious, and his soule glorified. Presently, as soone as they cut off his head, God shewed a great and manifest Miracle by him: which was, that in the place where they slue him, there sprung up a Fountaine of running water, which had never been seene there, whose water giveth sight to the blind, and cureth sicke persons of other diseases, by the goodnesse and power of God. This Miracle is much like to that which God did in Rome, for his Apostle Saint Paul. The Reliques of the bodie of Don Christopher doe smell, yeelding so sweet a sent of themselves, that it seemeth rather heavenly then of the earth.

[II. vii. 1157.] *Miracles, if any be so prodigall of Faith to beleeve them. I adde them to let men see the probabilitie of other their miracles in India. In other things where they advantage not their fancies, I beleeve them as men: these which looke to Rome and superstition, incredulus odi.*

From thence the Moorish King went toward a Kingdome, called Dembia: whereby the River Nilus passeth, and maketh a Lake, which hath in length thirtie leagues, and five and an halfe in breadth. In this Lake are many Ilands: Asmache of Doaro, called Obitocon, which is to say, Don George, and Asmache of Guidimi, subjects of

A Huge Lake. Jo. Gabriel saith it is 60. miles long. and 25. broad. Supplies from the Negus.

**The Gradeus by Godignus is called Claudius.*

King *Gradeus, came with one hundred and fiftie Horse-men, and one thousand Foot-men. The Captaine conducted them unto the Queene, which received them lovingly, and asked whence they came; and they said, that they came from the Campe of Gorania, and that they departed from him there where they killed Don Christopher, the Moore going towards Dembia. The Queene asked them for the death of Don Christopher: and they told her the manner which wee alreadie knew.

A Mountaine of Jewes.

Wee comming to the skirt of the Mountaine of the Jewes, their Captaine came to us with victuals and refreshings, and said to the Queene, that shee should come up to the Mountaine: for in no place of that Province shee could bee surer then in that Mountaine; which had no more then one entrance, and that might easily be kept, and defended from the Enemies, if they came. This Captaine of the Jewes demanded Baptisme: and as soone as we were on the Mountaine, and had pitched our Campe,

Captaine of the Jewes baptised.

I baptised him, his wife, and his children. The Captaine Alfonsus Caldera was his God-father: and they named him Don Christopher. From thence Alfonsus Caldera went with ninetie Portugals, and some of the Countrey to forage some Townes which in that Countrey stood yet for the Moore: and they killed much people, burned the Townes, and brought great store of Cattell. Two honest old men seeing this, in the name of all the people, came to aske mercie of the Queene, saying, that they were hers, and were Christians, and that perforce they obeyed, and payed their Tributes to the Moore: and likewise for need, because they had none to defend them from the Jewes of the Mountaine, that did evill neighbourhood: therefore that it would please her Majestie to forgive them, which shee did.

§. III.

Comming of Gradeus the yong Negus, his rejecting the Patriarch and Pope: their reconciliation and battell with the Moores, in which Gorania was slaine, and after him the King of Aden.

AT this time came Arias Diz, which Don Christopher had sent to visite the King, the sonne of Onadinguell, and of this Queene, called Orita aureata, and the sonne was called Gradeus. This did not yet follow the Campe with his mother, because he was very young. This message brought Arias Diz, that the King would bee with us within two moneths. The two moneths almost past, wee departed from the Mountaine of the Jewes, where we were, and went to other Mountaines in another Province, whither the King came within eight dayes, accompanied with fiftie Horse-men and many on Mules. All the Captaines went to receive him a little way off the Campe, with all their men, Portugals, and of the Countrey, and accompanied him into the Campe. Entring into the Campe he went presently to my Tent, and there hee alighted to take my blessing. I came to the doore to receive him, which he esteemed greatly: for in that Countrey they hold the Patriarch in that esteeme that here we doe the Pope. From thence he went to see the Queene his mother, and withdrew himselfe, and mourned three dayes for Don Christopher. He commanded his Tent to be set up in the midst of the Campe.

Gradeus the young Negus.

Some few dayes being past, before we medled in any other thing, I sent to call the Captaine Alfonsus Caldera to my Tent, with the other Captaines and honourable persons of the Portugall Nation in the Armie, and said unto them.

The Patriarch Bern. his Speech to the Portugals.

My most loving children, and most Christian Portugals, I remember well, that a few dayes agoe, being in Debarva, some of your charities moved with a good zeale, did

mislike some Rites and Ceremonies, which the people of this Countrey doe use, differing from the Romane customes. A great Nation cannot be cleansed of all the Cockle and Tares which the Devill soweth in it; even as a field cannot be weeded of all the Weeds and Thornes that grow in it: for if wee seeke to weed them cleane, we shall also pull up the Wheate among the Weeds, as Christ saith in the Gospell. It is enough to doe now the principall, which is the obedience an uniting of the holy Mother Church: this is the Fountaine of all the rest, from hence depend all the other circumstances. This hath her foundation in the Head, which is the King. As soone as the King shall obey, all the rest will follow him.

[II. vii. 1158.] *The King acknowledged head by this Patriarch: only except the Popes case, and they say the same with us. But then one head may bee cut off to please the other.*

Comming to the Kings Tent, I found him with his Mother, whereof I was very glad, and said to him these words.

His speech to the Negus.

Most loving Son in Jesus Christ: You know, that the most Christian King your Father which in glorie desired mee that I would goe to Rome, for mee and for himselfe to give the obedience to the chiefe Bishop: and if you doe not remember it for your tender age, see heere a Letter signed by him, which hee gave mee that the chiefe Bishop should give me credit, and know that was true which I said to him on his behalfe: which as I say, was to tell him that your Father did acknowledge him to be the Successor of Saint Peeter Prince of the Apostles of Christ, and Vicar of his universall Church, it is also reason you should succeed him in knowledge, in vertues, and in the feare of God. Therefore, you conforming your selfe with the will and Ordinance of God, and imitating the vertue and knowledge of your Father, ought to give the obedience to the holy Father the Romane Bishop: for therein shall yee doe that which God commandeth, and shall have for your Friends and Brethren, and helpers in your necessities, the King of Portugall, and all other Kings his Brethren and Friends.

To the which hee not regarding what hee said, like a youth of little age, answered thus. You are not our

A.D. 1565.

Father, nor Prelate, but you are Patriarch of the Frankes, and are an Arrian which have foure Gods: and hence forward we will call you no more Father. I said unto him againe that hee lyed, for as much as I was no Arrian, neither had foure Gods: but seeing he would not obey the holy Father, that I held him for excommunicate, and accursed, and that I would stay no longer nor speake with him, and with this I rose to goe away: and he answered me, that I was the excommunicate and not hee.

The Kings Answere and refusall.

Why the Westerne Christians are called Frankes.

You may reade noted before in Alvarez.

From thence without any more speaking to him, I went to the Portugals, which stood without the Tent, and told them what passed, and how the King would not obey the Romane Church, but that hee was an Hereticke like Nestorius and Dioscorus: therefore, I commanded them in vertue of obedience, and under paine of Excommunication of my part, and in behalfe of the King of Portugall (whose authoritie I had for it) under paine of capitall crime, in no wise they should obey that King, nor follow him, nor doe any thing in his favour. Alfonsus Caldeyra, and all the rest said, that their Fathers and Grand-fathers were never Rebels to the Church of Rome, nor to their King, neither would they be: therfore, that I had no need to lay an Excommunication upon them, but that I should suspend it, for they without it would doe all that I should command, as obedient children. And from thence they all accompanied me to my Tent, and they went to their Lodgings.

They conceive wee beleeve foure Gods, because wee hold two Natures in Christ which they, following the Entichians and Monothelite heresies denie.

The Patriarcks Speech to the Portugals.

Within a little while the King sent a Captaine of his, to carrie three thousand ounces of Gold to the Portugals, to divide among themselves and a rich of advantage for the Captaine, and desired them not to leave him, but to helpe him against his Enemies, as they had done thitherto. They answered him, that as for that time they would not receive the favour that hee sent them for the difference betweene him and mee, nor to the rest, that hee said they could answere no other thing, but that in all things they would doe that which I should command them.

Their rejecting Gradeus his gift.

An Archbishop made by the Patriarch.

The Queenes mediation.

With this answere they tooke counsell, and agreed that the Queene should come with an Arch-bishop, which I had made, and all his Captaines to my Tent, to aske me pardon, I would command, and give the obedience to the Pope. The Queene came and desired me in honour of the Virginitie of our blessed Ladie Virgin, before, in, and after the Conception, that I would goe with her to the Tent of her Sonne, which was very faire, for that which hee had done, and said to me, that he would aske mee pardon and obey mee in all things. I answered her, that I would not remove from thence, but the way to Portugall with the Portugals my children, and companions. At this Answere, she kneeled on her knees before me, weeping, and said unto me, that shee charged me on Gods behalfe, that I should not doe such a thing: but that I should goe with her, for all should be done as I would. I, moved with pitie and compassion, went with her: and comming to the Kings Tent, he came forth to receive us, and with great humilitie hee tooke my hand and kissed it, demanding me pardon for that which hee had said to me. And wee three sitting downe, he said, that he was contented to obey the chiefe Bishop: and that the obedience which his Father had given by me was sufficient. But I answered him, that it was not sufficient: but that he particularly should give for himselfe the like obedience, for so was the custome of our Countries, that every King when he newly reigned did send his Messengers to give particularly for himselfe the obedience to the Pope wheresoever he was: and that seeing he sent not to Rome, as his Father did, that he should give it to mee in the Popes name, for I had commission from his Holinesse, to receive it of him. And besides, he should give a publike Testimonie signed by him, and sealed in his name, and of all his Kingdomes and Provinces, confessing in it, that the Truth of the Faith is this: that the Church of God is only one, and his Prelate the Vicar of Jesus Christ is also one alone, through all the Earth: by whom the Power and Jurisdiction of Jesus Christ extendeth to the other

[II. vii. 1159.]

A.D. 1565.

Prelates, and Christian Princes. The which Writing, one of the principallest men of his Kingdome, standing in a high Place or Chaire, should reade with a high and cleere voice, before all the people that were there with him. He did so, and commanded it to be done with solemne Pompe and sound of Trumpets.

The truth of Popish faith: or a new Article added to the Creed, to beleeve the Papacie.

This being done, within a few dayes, the Captaine Alfonsus Caldeyra running a Horse, had a fall; of the which within a few dayes he dyed. Alfonsus Caldeyra beeing dead, I tooke counsell with some principall men of the Portugals, and we thought it good, to make Arias Diz chiefe Captaine, because he was a discreet and a good Gentleman: which had discharged himselfe wel in some important matters, which had beene committed to his charge. Especially, because the King Gradeus desired it of me, I sent to call him, and desired him that he would take that charge upon him. Hee tooke it, and promised to doe in it to the uttermost of his power.

Arias Diz, or Diaz, made Captaine or Generall of Portugals.

Within a few dayes the King sent me word, that hee would goe through his Countrey with his men, because we could not be there altogether, wherefore hee desired mee to remaine there with his Mother: and I answered him not, because I understood that he would flye away. The King sent presently after me the * Azaige of Gallan, that with all reverence and courtesie should say to me, that the King my Sonne did send to request me, that I should send him thither the Captaine Arias Diz with all the Portugals, for so it behooved for the service of God: I answered him, I would doe it with a good will. There remayned with mee sixe Captaines of the Countrey, with two hundred Horse, one thousand Targeters, and five hundred Archers, and fiftie Harping Irons, with their Hookes all very cunning in Armes. Every Horseman carryed three sorts of weapons. With all this people I came to the skirt of the Mountain, where Goranya was, & caused to pitch my Tent very neer to the hil, and neer unto it, all the Campe with Feasts and showtings, and sounding of Trumpets, as they are wont to do in Camps.

The Kings flight.
**A proper name of a Ruler.*

The horsemen skirmished, and the Footmen rejoyced, and said, We will all dye for the Faith of the Sonne of God. Our men entring into the Mountaine, went presently to a Towne neere from thence: in the which they found no people, but found some provision, especially, Wine made of Honey in many pots of Earth, of the which two heedlesse men did drinke and dyed suddenly, for the Moores had poysoned and left it, for to kill our men. Our people seeing the two men dead, would not drinke of the Wine, but broke the Vessels and spilt the Wine: and returned from thence.

Poysoned Wine.

With these newes, I sent presently two Horsemen to the King, that hee should come in all haste to possesse himselfe of that Countrey, before the Moore came; for I was alreadie going to hinder the comming of the Moore, and to take the passages whereby he was to come. And I sent to the Captaine Arias Diz, by a Portugall, to tell him that I stood in danger of encountring with the Moore, that he should presently come to me. The King doubted the Journey, and would not come: but Arias Diz said unto him, that it neither was nor seemed good, the Portugals to bee slaine in his defence, and for to restore him his Kingdomes, and hee to runne away and leave them. Arias Diz being departed with the Portugals, the King tooke counsell to goe after him: and set forward in such haste that he over-tooke them before night. And altogether travelled so much that night, that they came to our Campe before it was day-breake.

As soone as it was day, I left them which came wearie, and with the people that I had before began to ascend the Mountain before the Moore came, because they having that Mountaine, was a great part of the Victorie. We went by such narrow wayes, that wee could goe but two and two, and by Rockes and rough places, that had any bodie fallen from thence, had beene crusht in a thousand pieces. We came to the top, by Gods assistance, and came to a Monasterie of Friers, which was on the Mountaine, which was of the Invocation of Saint Paul. The

Monastery.

Friers came out to receive us in Procession, with the Crosse on high, and censing with Censers, and leade us to the Church to make our Prayers, and give Thankes to God for the succour hee had sent them. Prayers being ended, the Captaines pitched their Campe, and rested. When the King knew that we were above, hee commanded his people to tarrie behind, and hee came with the Portugals, neere to the Ancient of the King of Portugall, leaving his owne. It might bee an houre before Sun-setting when he came up, and his men came within night, for all the day was spent in comming up to the Mountaine. So troublesome it is to ascend.

All the Armie prayed, and did sing Letanies, praying to God that hee would give us the victorie, and to our Ladie, and to all the Saints that they would pray to God for us. The Religious men did the same in their Monasteries, and the people in their Townes. At this time there came innumerable people to joyne themselves with us, from the Provinces and Countries round about. We saw from the top of the Mountaine, the Moores of Goranya his Campe goe skirmishing in the fields that were beyond the Mountaine, and heard them say: Before foure dayes be past, yee shall all be slaine, and your King shall be gelt, and shall be Keeper of the King of Zeila his Wives: and the Patriarch that brought you hither, shall have a tosted stake thrust through his fundament, that may passe through his necke, and come out at his head. The Generall of the Abexines asked leave of the King to goe with some people to skirmish with those Moores, and having gotten leave he was shriven, and went downe with foure hundred Horsemen, with the which after having killed many Moores, he went so farre from his men that the Enemies compassed him round, and beeing very wearie, and wounded sore, they tooke him, and before they killed him, they cut off his privie Members, for so doe that people use, and afterward they killed him.

The Abbassine Generall slain. [II. vii. 1160.]

The death of this Captaine grieved the King so much, that hee wept publikely, and rent his haire: to the pulling

off his Crowne, and hurling it on the ground. In the meane season, they came to tell him, that the King of Zeila was come, and pitched his Campe at the foot of the Mountaine, as one that determined to come up. King Gradeus hearing the great noyse of the Ordnance, which resounded through the Mountaines, tooke so great a feare, that hee determined to flie.

The Bernagaiz understanding what the King determined, came in haste to call me at the Monasterie where I was, and shewed mee on the tops of the Mountaine, much people of the Abexines in armes, saying to me, that all those were doubtfull, and if they saw that wee suffered any detriment, or knew that the King did leave us, that they all would bee against us, and would overthrow us. Therefore it behooved me to be present, for to stay the King, and encourage the people: and that might not seeme, that I absented my selfe with distrust. I left presently the Monasterie, and went with him to the Campe: and the people that were on the Mountaines, when they saw me, made a great showt, and said; Seeing the Abuna goeth, the Victorie is ours. Comming where the King was, I saluted, and said unto him. Hope in the mercy of God, which redeemed us by his precious bloud, that hee will give us the Victorie. And staying no longer, I went presently where the Portugals were, to whom I said. Sonnes, commend your selves to the Lord, and doe like your selves. And I commanded them to kneele downe there, and Every one to say the Lords Prayer five times, and I did the same, in praise of the five principall wounds of our God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and I granted them all a plenarie Indulgence, giving the blessing of God and mine.

The King and his people, when they saw us set forward, were amazed at our great and determinate resolution, and stood on a high place, where they discovered all the Campe, for to see what we did. The Moores seeing us come forwards, resolved to come and meete us: We going downe the Hill, Goranya the King of Zeila came before

his men, mounted on a white Horse, all in a complete Armour, and two Turkes with him on each side one: and comming neere unto us, within Caliver shot, all three stood aside as they came, to give place for his men to fight. In this space, one Peter of Lyon, which had beene Servant to Don Christopher, a very low man of stature, but a very good Marke-man, and desirous to revenge his Masters death, shot at him, and strucke him dead from off his Horse. The same day did others to the other two which came with him, and killed them likewise, shooting at them. The Moores, when they saw their King dead, some turned their faces, and some stayed them, in such sort, that they were troubled, and hindered one another, that they neither fought nor fled: our men seeing their disorder and confusion, set upon them and slue many. *Gorania slaine.*

At this time came in King Gradeus his men, and the Moores and Turkes forsooke the Campe and the field: In the which our men found great Riches, Provision, and Ordnance, and other weapons and furniture. They found the Turkes which then came by the way, with Wallets full of Bread and sodden Hennes, and others dead with the bit in their mouthes, and found their purses full of Money of their pay, which they a little before had received. They tooke here the King of Zeila his Sonne; the Queene fled to the Province of Dagua. They entred a good way into the Countrey of Dembia, whence they brought also many Silkes and Bedens, and Fotas of Ormuz, and rich Coverlets. The King Gradeus seeing the great and miraculous victorie which God had given him, commanded a Monasterie to bee built very richly, in the place where the battaile was fought, in praise of the secret of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And because it is not well that the base Spirit of an Abexine do passe without noting, which would have gloried of that which he did not, and enjoyed the labour of another; I will tell what he did. A Captaine of King Gradeus, which saw the King of Zeila slaine, went unto him and cut off his head, and went to present it to his *Vaine glorious foole.*

King; saying, That he had killed him, because hee should give him the reward that therefore hee deserved, which was very great: for that death, was the principall cause of the victorie under God, and of the restoring of those Kingdomes. The King was very glad to know who had slaine his enemy, and thanked him heartily, and made him besides Captaine Generall of all his Kingdomes. But the Captaine Arias Diz, which knew the truth, and was present when the Abexine brought the head, and knew besides, that Peter of Lyon had kept the left eare of the Moorish King (which he cut off when he slue him) said to the King: I beseech your Highnesse, command to search the head how many eares it hath: they looked and found but one alone. Arias Diz said, A better Gentleman then that, hath kept the other which wanteth, which killed him, and cut it off, when you all looked from the Mountaine what we did, and that other did counsell you to runne away; and sent presently to call Peter of Lyon, that he should bring the eare of the Moorish King: Hee came and shewed the eare, which appeared well to be the fellow of the other. And moreover, Peter of Lyon said, That the Abexine should shew the weapon wherewith he slue him, and what wounds he gave him, to the which he answered nothing: Then said Peter of Lyon; Let them goe seeke the dead bodie, and they shall find that he was slaine with a shot, with which the Abexine cannot shoote: they went to see, and found it to be true, whereof the King and all his men were much ashamed, and that his Captaine in great disgrace.

[II. vii. 1161.]

A dissention amongst the Portugals about their Captain, is here omitted.

We rested there neere two moneths: while we were there, the King sent the newes of the victorie to his mother, which was a daies journey from the place where we left her: and he sent her word, that she should come where we were, that we might all rejoyce and give God thanks together, and to congratulate mee, because I gave order to that which was done, and was the cause of that victorie. The Queene comming within a league where we were, the King knew it, and without telling me any

The Queenes comming and entertainment.

thing, went with his Horsemen to meet her. The way whereby she was to come into the Campe, for the space of a Bow shot, was hanged with Curtaines of Silke, and Testers of the same, and on the ground rich Coverlets. They gave meate in abundance to all that would have it; and this lasted one whole weeke. The Queene comming by the way, she came to see me to my Tent, and asked me, What evill was it she had done to mee, that I being her Father, went not to meet her with her Sonne: I answered, That the fault was not mine, but her Sonnes, which would not take me with him, neither told me any thing.

Countries reduced.

Having past some daies, the King determined to goe and recover the Provinces of Maro, Joa, Guidime and Goiame, which the King of Zeila had in his power, and gave order to beginne the Warre in the Confines of Joa, which is a great and rich Kingdome; and said, that I and his Mother should remaine, taking our rest in his Countries. The King departed with all the Armie, as well of Portugals as of his owne men, to a Countrey called the Monasterie of Sion: where there are very tall men of stature, which seeme Giants. These as they were yet under subjection of the Moores of Zeila, would not obey King Gradeus, although they were his, neither would they give him provision for his men. Alfonsus of France seeing their disloyaltie, said to the Captaine Arias Diz: What doe you Sir? Wherefore do we stay longer on these, but enter them perforce. They sent for the two Faukonets, with the which, and with the small shot they assaulted them, and peppered them in such sort, that they said, the Portugals were no humane men, for they fought not like men. Finally, they chose for their best Market to yeeld themselves, and sent to tell the King, that they delivered themselves into his power. And they also requested him, he would command the Portugals, not to take from them their Wives, and their Daughters, nor steale their Goods, for they had heard that they used so to doe.

Tall men like Giants.

They yeeld.

Being there, the King of Aden sent word to the King

This was the King of Adel. Gradeus, That hee should not thinke that the King of Zeila was dead, for he remained in his stead, and because he should not thinke that those were words of a Cowheard, which threateneth and doth nothing, he would presently come to seeke him. Departing from thence, they marched so long, till they came to a very great River, where they marched to meete the enemy, and to passe the River, they invented a good invention of Leather Boats, which they made in this sort. They killed many Beeves, *Leather Boats.* and with the skinnes lined the Boats of Wood, in which they passed the men: the Horses did swim over, for it was not so deepe to hinder the passage. This being done, men went over to fasten some Cords on the other side, for to passe over by them: This they did halfe a league distant from the Campe of the enemies, and by night that they might not be seene. Having passed over the River, they set upon the Campe of the enemies, of the which they *King of Aden slaine.* killed many, and among them the King of Aden. But there dyed also many Christians, and King Gradeus was also hurt, and like to have beene slaine, with the great disorder that hee and his had, because they knew not how to fight by night: for they disperse themselves through the Campe, and could not keepe together, nor helpe themselves, and therefore many of them were slaine. The Moores seeing that their King was slaine, set themselves to flight; The Portugals followed the chase of the Moores, till they slue the most part of them, and brought backe againe the Kings wife of Aden: and the King gave them great thankes, and praised God highly, for that so great and assigned victorie; and said, that he would have of all, no more but the Sword and the Horse of the King of Aden, and that all the rest should bee the Portugals, as well that which they tooke in the pursute, as that which they found in the Campe, which was wonderfully rich, that all the Portugals should divide it among themselves brother-like, seeing they had got it; and for himselfe and his, he would have no more, then the peace and restauration of his Kingdomes, which by the vertue and Armes

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of Portugall he had recovered. But as touching the Queene of Aden, called Dinia Ambara, because it were not decent that she should be captive of any man lesse then a King, that he thought good if she would become a Christian, that she should bee the Wife of Arias Diz, and that he gave them for them, both the Kingdomes of Doror and Bale, which had beene hers, and tooke for himselfe onely Oygere.

Daroa and Bale given Arias Diz.

§. IIII.

[II. vii. 1162.]

Disgusts betwixt the Negus and the Portugals: Arias Diz his treacherie. Battell betwixt the Abassines and Portugals. Their exile; Arias his death.

AFter the King Gradeus had recovered his Kingdomes, and was in peace, I tarried that he should solemnize and approve more the obedience which he had promised to the chiefe Bishop, and the conformitie of faithfull Christians, celebrating the Sacraments, and using the Rites and Ceremonies of the Romane Church. But hee as he promised it with an evill will, so he let it be forgotten, and did the contrarie. I sent him word, that the next day I would come and visite him: but he made no account of me, nor of my message, nor of my comming. I sent also to the Captaine Arias Diz, that I was come thither, that he should come to receive me with him men, as it was fit, and they had for a custome. Hee came the next day in the morning with one hundred and fiftie Portugals: which came to take my blessing, entertaining and making great offers unto me: and especially Arias Diz.

The King comming neere where I was, neither hee nor his did make any motion, but were looking out at their Tents and Standings at us, as in mockage of us. Arias Diz came to mee, and said: The evill will, Sir, which the King beareth you is well seene. And with this began to put forth his Horse, and to skirmish. Some other of the

Gradeus his ingratitude.

companie, when they saw him feast, did even the same. But Manuel of Accunia, Gaspar of Sosa, and Deniz of Lima, which came neere me, said unto me: Sir, dissemble with this tawnie Moore; for know yee, that all this which he doth, and sheweth outwardly, is malice and deceit: for his heart is as the Kings heart; and he will not stay long without shewing the signe of it in the Colours of our Lord and King; therefore trust him not, but redouble still upon him; for all that he doth and sayth, is also feigned and false. The same did Lope of Almansa, James of Abrew, and other honest men. Whereof I remayned much amazed: for I held him for no such man: but Gentlemen, and good men telling it me, made some impression in me to beleeve it. At this time, wee drew neere where the King was, and dismounted, and I went to the Courtains where he was, and I heard him say, speaking to Arias Diz. Marke my Captaine generall, doe not carrie any more in my Kingdomes that Ancient of the King of Portugall: but carrie mine, and leave that. Arias Diz answered him: I will not leave the Colours of the King of Portugall. Then the King commanded a Page of his to take them, and carrie them away from thence, and Arias Diz consented, and suffered him to carrie them away. But a Portugall Gentleman, called James of Brito, tooke the Colours from the Pages hand: and because he would not let him goe, strooke him with his sword over the head, and made him leave them perforce.

When I saw that, I returned to my lodging, and all the Portugals with me, and the Traitor Arias Diz also. Sending him away with this answere, Arias Diz remayned telling mee by way of counsell. Sir, I know not how well it is to speake hardly, and anger the King Gradeus, for wee are in his Kingdomes, farre from our Countries. At this, many Portugals arose, and said unto him, that certainly it appeared, that he was a Traitor to the Crowne of Portugall, and his King; for his words and deeds declared it: therefore that hee was not to bee Captaine of the Portugals.

Hee answered, that he was Captaine of the Emperour of Ethiopia, and not of the King of Portugall: therefore that they could not call him a Traitor for speaking in favour of the service of the said Emperour, to whom he did owe that and much more, for favours which he had done to him, and marrying him with Dinia Ambar late wife of King Mahomet, and giving the title of his Countries. Whereunto I answered, saying: Arias Diz, I have notice, that you have forsaken the Faith of the Baptisme, which you received among the Christians Catholicke, according to the use of the Romane Church; and were baptised againe with the Baptisme of the Heretikes and Scismatikes of Alexandria, and have changed the name of Arias into Marke. When he heard me say thus, without any tarrying he rose up melancholie, and went to his lodging, with some few Portugals that accompanied him.

By this time the King sent me word, that he requested mee that wee would come the next day, because that day it was alreadie late, and there was no time for it. Entring into his Tent, the King did not arise, neither tooke my blessing, as he was wont, neither gave mee my seat in my accustomed place, but onely bowed his head a little, and let me stand. I seeing his new and unaccustomed discourtesie, said unto him. Not onely, King Gradeus, to the King of Portugall art thou unthankefull; whose Colours thou didst despise, with the which, thou restoredst thy estate: but also to Jesus Christ art thou unreverent in my person, which doe represent him, thou also wilt bee cast away, and bee accursed and excommunicate, if thou dost returne to the Heresies of the Jacobites and Dioscorions of Egypt: the which for their sinnes and disobedience which they committed, rebelling against the holy and right Apostolike Sea of Rome were lost, and are [II. vii. 1163.] Captives to the Turkes, and Infidels: and so shalt thou bee, if thou wilt not amend. Hee answered me, that they of Egypt, and of the Sect of Dioscorus were not Heretikes, but that we were Heretikes that worshipped foure Gods, as the Arrians: and that if I had not beene his

God-father, as I was, he would command me to be quartered. And having passed other talke of this qualitie, I returned to my Lodging, where I found many Portugals that tarried for me, to whom I gave account of what had passed with the King.

Being in the Campe with the Portugals, the King sent me word, that I should not meddle in commanding in the Campe of the Portugals, nor make any alteration in them, for as much as they were delivered to Marke, his Captaine generall; and that by him hee would they should be governed, and by no other. I sent him word, that the Portugals were subject to the King of Portugall, who had delivered them unto mee; and I, at the request of King Gradeus, delivered them to a Portugall, called Arias Diz. But the Portugals said they would not, neither was it their honour to have for their Captaine an Heretike and a Traitor; neither would they fight under any other Colours but of Portugall: and besides, seeing that King Gradeus did not maintaine that which he had promised, which was the obedience to the chiefe Bishop of Rome, Successor of Saint Peter, that they would not serve him, but would returne with mee to Portugall.

Peter Straw went with this answere to the King; and said moreover, that if hee would not obey the Church of Rome, and publickely so proclaime, that we all would leave him, and returne to Portugall, as we said. Whereunto he answered, that he was King, and Lord of that Countrey, and that we should not goe out of it, except he were willing; for he would that Marcos his Captaine generall should have the command and jurisdiction over the Portugals.

The Portugals determined to die, or defend themselves from the tyrannie of the ingratefull man, and of a Traitor: and they asked me, what meane we should have for to give the battell to so great a number of people. When I saw their determination, I said unto them; Sonnes, doe not dismay, for in the greatest tribulations is God, and so will he be with us in this. And because our Campe had

three entries whereby they might assault us, wee tooke order to fortifie them with some Munition, because when it were so necessarie, wee would fortifie our selves within, and defend our selves as well as we might. The munition that we laid in those entries was pots full of Powder hid, against the enemies did come in to set them on fire and burne them, as in effect it was done with their great hurt, as presently I will say: but before they assaulted us, between eleven and twelve at night, our Hors-men went out, and set upon the Kings Campe: which sudden feare, and the noise of Trumpets, and Shot, did such effect, that all of them set themselves to flight, and had altogether beene overcome, if the number of our men had beene sufficient to have followed them: but because they were but few, they retyred themselves presently.

The Portugals assault the Kings Campe.

The King in this hurliburly was seeking for a Horse to flee with the rest: but seeing that our men were retyred, quieted himselfe: and when it was day, hee commanded we should bee assaulted. Every one set in a readinesse, both his and ours, his Targettiers came, before which were the most and the best men that they had, and assaulted us by the three places which gave entrance where the Powder was, where our men tarried for them; and comming with great furie, and cries, our men fayning weaknesse retyred inward, and gave them leave to come where the Powder was: comming unto it they gave fire, wherewith many were burnt and slaine, the rest fled away scalded and sindged. When the King saw the losse of his people, and the deceit of the hope which he had, he tare his rich garments that he ware, which among them is a signe of great sorrow, and sent presently to call Marke. He came, and having taken counsell between both, they agreed that they could not overcome the Portugals by warre, without comming into great danger, and want: therefore, they determined to take them by sleight and deceit, in this manner. They sent to tell us, that he repented him much of his errour, because God had manifestly shewed him, how much he had erred in not accom-

Powder-plot.

plishing that which he had promised and sworne unto me, but that now he would accomplish it, and doe all that I would: and therefore he desired us we would doe no more harme to his people: to the which we answered, that the evill we did was not by our wills; but that they had given a cause thereunto, whereof it grieved us very much: therefore if hee did us reason of himselfe, and did accomplish that which he had promised to God and to us, that we would doe that which alwaies we had done, which was to serve and love him as a Father and Lord: but if hee would have any other thing, that we hoped in Jesu Christ, that he seeing our justice, would defend us from his tyrannie, and from the malices of Marke the Traitor. This answere the King imparted to Marke, to the which he replied, that to come the sooner to an agreement with them, hee should use two policies: one was, to command all his Subjects, that none should serve us, nor provide us of any thing necessarie, under paine of having his eyes pulled out for a Traitor: the other, to offer and give us much money and rewards, not onely promised for hereafter, but presently, for on the one side, the necessitie; and on the other, the covetousnesse would overcome us.

Two sleights.

The King did so, and sent us presently an assurance with much money for the men, and for mee a great Present of Beeves and Muttons, and other things for provision, promising mee that all should bee done at my will, and that against Christ-masse next, which was within foure moneths, I should celebrate generall Orders, as before wee had agreed. Besides the assurance of the King, the Bernagaez Isaac, did promise that he would be on our side, and favour us by himselfe, and with all his power: and more he said, and sware that he perceived the King to be very repentant for the wrongs he had done us. We being about to goe where the King was, Marke came with the Portugals that were on his side, and were with him, to accompanie us, and so we departed altogether, and going by the way, I desired Marke that there might be no discord betweene him and the Portugals, he promised so

[II. vii. 1164.]

to doe. The King shewed so great contentment of our friendship, that he came out to receive us out of the Campe, with all the great men of his Court: and all his men both high and low were very joyfull.

Within a few houres, there came to me Baltasar Montera, Antonie Ferrera, Simon of Andrade, James of Brito, Antonie Vaz, and said to mee, that the treason which they had invented for us was discovered: for they had bidden them make them readie to goe banished every one to his Countrey, farre distant one from another, charging the Lords of those Countries, to keepe them in good safeguard; all by counsell of the Traitor Marke. I went to the Lords of the Countries which carried them, and desired them to intreate them well, the which said to mee. Father, know you that Marke commanded us to carrie these men in Irons, and give them other apparell of Slaves, and use them like Slaves; but for your sake, which are our Father, we will deale better with them. And I went presently to the King, and said unto him: Now Sir, what shall I doe? I see you doe not fulfill your word, and you send my Brethren prisoners. The King answered me with a good countenance. Father, there shall no wrong be done to you; but because it is necessarie for us to prepare to the Warres, which the Gallas make upon mee, as you know, in the meane while you shall remayne in the Countrey of the Gaffates, praying to God for mee, and you shall eate the Rent of that Countrey, which will suffice well for you and yours, for the last dayes I being retyred there it sufficed mee and all mine: and I will command to doe you much honor, and to obey you as mine owne Person: and against Christ-masse, if it please God, I comming with health, as I hope, you shall celebrate your Orders, as we have agreed. And as touching these men, which I command to depart from hence, let it not grieve you, for I doe it to have no mutinie among the rest. In the meane while came Marcos in, and said to the King, I beseech your Highnesse to send to Alexandria for to seeke the Patriarch; he answered him:

Treacherous dealing.

Blessed bee thou of God, Marke my friend. That is done alreadie.

The Patriarch sent to the Countrey of the Gaffates.

The King commanded a Captaine of his to carrie mee to the Countrey of the Gaffates, and should give me the possession of it, and command the Inhabiters of it that they should acknowledge me for their Lord, and resort to me with the Rents which they accustomed to pay to the King, for so his Highnesse commanded it. I carried with me all my servants, free and bond; and I carried besides a man of that Countrey, called Franciscus Matthæus, which had beene a servant of the Ambassadour Matthæus, which Queene Helena sent to Portugall, in the time of the King Don Manuel, your great Grand-father of glorious memorie, and had beene with the same Ambassadour in Portugall. I gave him the charge of all my house, because he was discreet, and had good knowledge. Taking leave of the King, I travelled eight dayes journey, for it is so much whence the King remayned, to the Countrey of the Gaffates, which lyeth betweene many high and rough Hills, and is inhabited with a very barbarous people. After we had passed the Mountaines, we descended to a great Valley, so deepe, that it seemed we descended into Hell, and the Hills remayned so high that they seemed to reach to Heaven. The Captaine, which carried me, commanded all the principall men of that Countrey to meet, and said before me, that the King commanded that they should take mee for their Lord, and to pay mee his Rents, but that they should keepe me well that I went not away from thence, nor returne to the Kings Court, and they promised so to doe.

A rough countrey and barbarous people.

I was in that Countrey seven moneths, in the which the King went to make warre upon the Gallas, as he had said to me, and came from thence wearied, and almost over-come without doing any thing to his profit. Within a little while Marke dyed, and hee commanded him to bee buried in a Church, where the Kings of that Countrey were buried, with great pompe; he and his shewing so great sorrow for his death, as though he had beene their

Arias or Marke the Traitor dyeth.

owne Brother, or Father, and so they said, that in him dyed all their refuge and defence of their Countries. Knowing of the death of Marke, I determined my returne to the Court. And on a day, I commanded to take a Captaine that kept us, for some fault that I found against him, and commanded to pull him by the haire and to buffet him, and to binde him hand and foot, and commanded my Calivermen to shoot off their Peeces neere unto him, which was so afraid that hee bepist and berayed himselfe, and desired me for Gods sake to loose him, and he promised me to goe so farre from the place where I was, that he would never see me, nor I him.

A plot by fearing the people, to escape.

I commanded to loose him, that hee might give newes to the rest, as in effect he did. And I commanded the shot, which were ten or twelve, to shoot off many shots, which resounded among the Hills that they seemed thunder; and by mischance they killed two men of those with the bullets which they shot at randome. Wherewith we skared them in such manner, that they fled, and unhabited the Countrey where we were: and the Captaines sent to desire me, that I would goe where I listed, for they promised me not to hinder my journey. We made such haste on our journey, that about evening Prayer wee had gone a dayes journey, and made an end of comming out of the Mountaines. Two dayes before we came where the King was, we found a Portugall, called Franciscus Magellanes, who came from seeing certaine Lands which the King had given him: for he gave Lands to all the Portugals. And after I told him how I came, he told me of the death of Marke, and how for his death the King had made one James of Figueredo Captaine of the Portugals, which within a few dayes died of a laske; and before his death, hee had made two Captaines together, one for the right hand, another for the left; for hee had ordayned that the Portugals should guard him, and goe alwaies neere unto him in two Squadrons: of the which he made Captaines, Gaspar of Sosa, and Lope of Almansa. Which Lope of Almansa, because he was a stranger, and

[II. vii. 1165.]

of those that favoured the partie of Marke, the Portugals would not that hee should bee their Captaine, and Gaspar of Sosa remayned; wherewith I was very glad: for this Gaspar of Sosa was my Nephew, and my friend. Wee went all in companie till wee came neere where the King was, and there wee separated our selves. Hee went to tell the newes to the Portugals that were with the King.

The Portugals, as soone as they knew of my comming, came all to see mee with great joy. The King also sent presently to visit me by his Page, and sent mee word, that hee was very glad with my safe arrivall, for he did greatly misse me. He commanded to give me apparell, and besides, five hundred ounces of gold; and I remayned more, because the Portugals desired me then by mine owne good will, because I perceived that he did separate me from him, by reason of the other Patriarch, which was come from Alexandria, and was every day to come to the Court, and he doubted that we should meete, and that we would make some tumult.

§. V.

The comming of another Patriarch. The Calide killed. Of the Gallas and other Provinces, subject and bordering on the Negus, and rarities there observed. The escape and returne of the Author.

AFter the King departed, the Asmache Robel came one day to mee, and said unto mee: Father, I being so much yours, as you know, will discover unto you a secret that imports you very much; but it shall be, you pleighting your faith unto me never to bewray me, for if the King doe know it, he will command to cast me to his Lions. Sir, you are to know, that because you are of the obedience of the Church of Rome, the King will not that you be Patriarch of his Countrey,

and sent to Alexandria to seeke another Patriarch of his obedience, the which is come alreadie, and is in Debarva, on the way toward the Kings Court, therefore the King will not carrie you with him, because hee will possesse the other with your charge; and besides, because hee is much grieved at you, because you made him sweare to obey Rome, and publikely to proclaime that every one should obey him. Now see what you will doe, for if you will be gone, I will absent my selfe from hence, that the King may not say, that I was consenting to your going. I thanked him heartily for the warning, and said unto him, that hee saw, seeing it was so, how much it behoved me to goe to the Court; therefore that hee should absent himselfe as he said, whilest I departed. Going on my journey, I found a Portugall, called Manuel Alvarez, Groome of the Chamber of the King your Grand-father; by whom I sent word to the Captaine Gaspar of Sosa, that I was going to the Court about a matter very important to them all, whereof I would tell him when I saw him; for he was certaine, that the King would not be pleased with my comming, I requested him, that hee with all the Portugals should aide me when it were needfull. *Another Patriarch.*

The next day comming neere the Campe, I found another Portugall, called Laurence Gonsales, which told me that the King knew my comming alreadie, and commanded they should take me, and carrie me to a Rocke where I might end my life, not being able to come out from thence. And because your Highnesse may know, what Rocke it was where he commanded me to be carried; it is thus, That in the Countrey there be certaine high Hills, over-pearing the Countrey with great advantage, and all about steepe like a broken Rocke, so that in no wise they may bee ascended, but by very narrow wayes made of hand; and on the top are great Plaines, some of a league and more, and some of seven or eight leagues, with very good Fields, and Fountaines of good waters on the top, and other dispositions for people to live in them, as in effect there doth. But the wayes are so dangerous, that *The Author sentenced to a Rocke.*

none can come in or out from those Rocks, without the consent of them that keepe them. These Rocks serve for Fortresses, and therefore in that Countrey there are no walled Cities. To one of these, did King Gradeus command mee to bee carried by two of his Captaines, to make an end in it, without any hope of comming out. As soone as the Portugals knew that they carried mee prisoner, they came presently to rescue mee from the hands of those that carried me.

[II. vii. 1166.] Within a little while, the King came also with his men, and pitched his Campe neere unto us, and sent word to Gaspar of Sosa, that he had not done well in taking me from his Captaines. And he sent him word againe, that hee knew no error in his action, seeing hee had delivered his Prelate from the hands of Tyrants, the which for doing good to unthankfull persons suffered troubles and injuries. And that his Highnesse knew very well how much hee did owe the Patriarch, and how much favour God had shewed him for his sake; and how, while he was in the Armie, and they did obey him, God gave him alwayes the victorie against his enemies; and after we put him from us, and dealt uncourteously with him, were over-come of the Gallas, which entred in his Campe, and came to slaughter his men neere to the Kings Tent, having no body to resist them; and his Highnesse saw himselfe in such a danger, that he fled from them with great dishonour. And finally, hee let him understand, that hee and all the other Portugals would not forsake the Patriarch, which was their Father, and had brought them from Portugall, and prayed for them to God. The King seeing the Portugals resolution, he sent to desire mee to see my selfe with him: I said I would, and the Portugals said they would goe with me, and so they did. The King received me with so great curtesie that I misliked it. I gave my hand to the King which asked it of me, and promised him not to goe from the Portugals, nor from his Kingdomes without his licence. Of the which hee was contented; and gave mee for my maintenance so much Land, that the Rent of it was well

A.D. 1565.

worth twentie thousand Cruzados every yeere, and ordayned that the Patriarch Joseph, which hee had commanded to come from Alexandria, should bee his Patriarch, and I of the Portugals onely; and commanded that Franciscus Matthæus, which was my Aduge (as here an Archdeacon) and all the other Officers which I had, should serve Joseph.

Order for both Patriarchs.

The King, to bring the Patriarch Joseph to peaceable possession in his Countrey, thought it necessarie that I should be absent with all the Portugals, and therefore ordayned to place us in some part of his Kingdome out of the Province, which he most frequented, which is called Amara, where then he was tarrying for the Patriarch Joseph. And to busie the Portugals in something, he sent them to the Province of Doaro, which neighboureth upon the Gallas his enemies, to lye there in Garrison in the frontier. The Province of Doaro is also neighbour to the Kingdome of Zeila. But the Captaine Calide was not contented that they were placed there, because he tooke away his living to give it unto them. And therefore determined to kill them, or drive them out of the Countrey. This Captaine was a great Lord, and mightie: for besides this Province of Doaro, being great and strong, he had also the Province of Bale, and the Captaine of Hadia for his neighbour and friend. From which Countries hee joyned seven hundred Horsemen, sixe hundred Archers, and sixe thousand Targetiers. He levied these men so secretly, that almost hee came one morning before day to set upon us. But howsoever, wee alwayes kept a watch, and his men feared us, and doubted the setting upon us, they were perceived of our men, and could not give the assault that they would. And because the Calide was knowne by the device he wore, our men ordayned that seven Caliver-men should have an eye at him particularly, and shoot at him; for he being dead, his men were quickly over-come. So they did: and as he came in the fore-front, knowne among the rest, before the battell began he was slaine.

This was he which after the first battell recoyled from the Moore to the Portugals.

The Captaine slaine.

With his death some of his men made signes of peace, these were of those Lands which the King had given us: which sent us word that they were our subjects, and would obey us, and pay us our Rents as the King commanded, for that Rebellion was not mooved by their will. The rest stood still without doing any thing, till we set upon them, and made them flye, and we slue some of them. With the which newes the King was very glad, for he alwaies was doubtful of the Calide, for he was the neerest Heire to the Kingdome by his Mothers side. I say by his Mothers side, for by the Father he could not be according to the custome of that Countrey. The custome is, that all the male children of the Kings, except the Heires, assoone as they be brought up, they send them presently to a very great Rocke, which stands in the Province of * Amara, and there they passe all their life, and never come out from thence, except the King which reigneth departeth this life without Heires, for then they bring from the Rocke him that is neerest, to come and raigne. The which neither bringeth Wife * nor Children from thence, if he hath any there, but they remayne upon the Rocke, and hee marrieth in the Kingdome with another Wife.

Custome of inheritance.

**Alvarez placeth it out of this Province, but perhaps in a larger sense, it included in it.*

**Alvarez hath an instance to the contrarie.*

By the death of the Calide of Doaro, wee rested foure monethes quiet, at the end of the which the King sent us word, that we should stand upon our guard, for he had intelligence, that the Gallas determined to come upon us on a sudden, for they desired to overcome us by whatsoever meanes they could: because they had not, nor all the Enemies of Presbyter John any other griefe or annoy, but that which we did unto them. These Gallas inhabit in the Countries bordering to Magadoxo: they are a fierce Nation, they make warre with their Neighbours, and with all people, no more then onely to destroy them, and disinhabit the Countries: in the Countries where they overcome, they kill all the men, they geld the young men, the old women they kill, the young they keepe for their use and service. It seemeth, that from hence came the

The Gallas.

A.D. 1565. [II. vii. 1167.]

* Suimbas, which came destroying all Guinea, for in their crueltie they are like. Hearing the warning which the King sent us, we beganne to prepare our selves with things necessarie for the Warre, especially of Powder, for with fire principally did we our parts, and supplyed the forces which we wanted. We had great store of provision to provide our selves with Powder, for in the Countrey there is great store of Salt-peeter, Brimstone, and many Osiers to make Coales, wherewith we made it very fine, we commanded also to rid the Countrie of the women, and young men, and all the people that could not fight: and the rich Inhabiters fled also with these great and small, with feare of the crueltie of the Gallas.

** Suimbas, or Zuimbas, a Generation of Blackemoores, so called, like, or the same with the Jags, mentioned by Battell and Pigafetta in Congo.*

The Gallas approach.

One day they appeared. They were many without number, and they came not disordered like barbarous people: but close in troupes like Squadrons, and assoone as they had sight of us, they stayed tarrying for the rest, and from thence they came all in one bodie to pitch neere unto us, in a distance where our shot could doe them no hurt. We because they were many, and wee few, went not out to receive them: but remayned in our Campe. We were at the most an hundred and fiftie (for the rest were alreadie dead, almost all in the Warres, and some of sicknesses; which were not so many, as it seemed they might have beene for our men, that Countrie being hot and situated under the Sunne) and so returned to India with Manuel of Accunia, assoone as the King of Zeila was slaine, for they thought that by his death all the contention was ended. Our Campe stood on a Hill, where we mastred the other grounds, and subdued those that did assault us. There we defended our selves ten or twelve dayes tarying for the King. In which time wee slue many of their men with shot and fire-workes: for they came neere us without any feare, that we mist no assault of theirs, nor any stroke of ours that wee did not bestow it wel.

By this time our Powder failed us, and the King came not; wherefore we were faine to leave the place and goe

to seeke him. The Gallas did not follow us, for peradventure, they desired also to goe from us, and I doubt not, but that if we had had more forces, that wee had made them retyre in despite of them. By this time the King came, and hearing that the Gallas remayned Lords of the Countrey, he fell in a swound, without any sence for a great space. And afterward wept like a child, and said. Great is my sinne, seeing it hath done me thus much hurt. Wonder how I lose not my wits, thinking on the great losse that I receive. As in effect hee lost three great Kingdomes: two of them, Bale and Doaro, as bigge as Castile and Portugall, and Hadia, alone as bigge as all France. This Kingdome of Hadia reacheth to the borders of Melinde. And in this Countrie is great store of Myrrhe, Incense, and Gumme Aunime. Some Portugals answered him. Let not your Highnesse grieve, for God can remedie it all, and will remedie it, if you will reconcile your selfe with the Patriarch Don John Bermudez, which is the true Patriarch, and not regard the other Schismaticke. Whereunto he gave no Answere, but set on forward, and said unto me that we should follow him. And because he held at that time the warre with the Gallas to be unfortunate; Hee determined to goe and see some Kingdomes of his Empire, which yet he had not seene, and at his returne to set upon the Gallas, if yet they were not retyred to their Countries: for they came but to spoile and destroy, and so returne.

Losse of three great Kingdomes, Bale, Doaro and Hadia.

We travelled toward the South-west from Doaro seven or eight journies, and came to a Kingdome of Christians, called Oggy, in the which raigned a good man named Frier Michael, Brother-in-law to King Gradeus, and his Tributarie. Who made us very welcome, and good entertainment to the people. This Kingdome hath five thousand Horsemen, of the which sixe hundred are great Horse and harnassed, and the rest are light Horsemen, and they ride on the bare Horse. It maketh also ten thousand Footmen: the which fight with Darts which they throw, and the Horsemen with long Speares like ours.

Oggy, the force and armour thereof.

The armings for their Horses are of Elkes skins quilted within, and garnished very richly on the out-side. He carryeth in his Armie sixe hundred Hand-mils, which women doe grind with. This Kingdome hath a Province of Gentiles, called Goragüe, which bordereth with Quiloa, and Mangalo. These Gentiles of Goragüe are great Witches, and doe divine in the Inwards, Guts, and Entrailes of the Beasts that they sacrifice. They by their Witch-crafts make to appeare that the fire doth not burne in this manner. They kill an Oxe with certaine Ceremonies, and anoynted with the Tallow of that Oxe they command to make a great fire, and cause to seeme that they goe into it, and that they sit downe in a chaire, and so sitting at leisure in that fire they divine, and answere to what is demanded of them without burning.

Goragus.

Great Sorcerers.

The Goragues doe pay to their King every yeare for Tribute, two Lions of Gold, and three Whelpes of Gold and one Ounce of Gold, and certaine Hennes with their Chickens also of Gold: which all wayeth as much as eight men can carrie: and this Gold is fine and good. They pay him also sixe Buffes laden with base Silver. They also pay one thousand Beeves alive; and many Lions, Ounces, and Elkes skinnes. In this Countrey is great store of Civet, * Sandalos, * Blacke Wood and Amber. The men of this Province say, that there come to traffique in it White men: but they know not of what Nation, if Portugals, or Turkes, or any other Nation.

Gold.

A beast so called.

**Or Dates.*

**Or Eben wood.*

Westward from the Kingdome of Oggy lyeth the Kingdome of the Gaffates Tributaries also. The Gaffates are Gentiles, and vulgarly it is said that they were Jewes. They are a barbarous and evill people, rebellious & quarrelsom. There be many of them in other Provinces of the Empire, but in every place they are held for Strangers, & different from other people, and abhorred of them; as the Jewes are here. In this Kingdome they are Lords, and have no other Nation among them, but some Christians which separated themselves from the Abexines, at the time they denyed the obedience to the Apostolike

Gaffates said to have beene Jewes. [II. vii. 1168.]

Romish Catholikes, if they be not as invisible as their wood.

Sea: which Christians even now doe say and protest to bee in the obedience of the same Sea. The Gaffates doe possesse in these parts a great and rich Country, of much Gold, and of some good Commodities, especially of fine Cotton Clothes. Within the Countrey they have spacious and plenteous fields. They say that in this Countrey there is an invisible Wood, and it maketh men invisible. The King when hee came to this Countrey, commanded to make warre upon the people of the Countrey, and to enter with force of Armes into their Towne, because they had rebelled since the death of his Father, and would not pay him his Tributes, nor reknowledge him for their Superiour. The Gaffates came at this, and a morning before day assaulted the Campe of the Abexines, and slue many of them. The Portugals were neere the Kings Tent, for they were his Guard: when they heard the cry and stirre, they came being alreadie almost day, and drave the Gaffates out of the Campe killing many of them: and followed after them.

The Portugals here in their Townes found great riches, wherewith they returned joyfull and rich. They found Bezutos, which are like fine Quilts: and they found Cotton-cloathes very fine like Lawnes: and they found Cypresses so fine, that a piece of thirtie or fortie yards would be contayned within ones hands. They found also store of Gold in Pots, and Pans, and buried under their hearthes in the houses where they make their fire: for there they use to keepe it hidden as most secret, and they themselves discovered it to our men, because they should not kill them. The King would make no long tarrying there, for his pretence was not to do them much hurt, but onely to threaten them: and because Winter came on wee left that barbarous people quickly, and went the way to Damute, which lyeth almost to the West from these Gaffates.

Damute. On the West side bordereth presently with the Gaffates, whereof I spake before, the Kingdome of Damute, which standeth upon the River of Nilus: that River maketh

there many turnings and very great. The entrance to this Kingdome is difficult, in respect of the rough and high Rockes that are by the River of Nilus: in the which besides their beeing rough, there are also made in them at hand certaine passages, in the Rockes broken with the Pick-axe, and shut with gates and kept with men at Armes, in sort that with a little force they resist and defend the entry from their enemies, if against their will they will come in. These Gates, when the Emperour commeth thither, are broken and open freely to all that will passe through them. Damute is a great Kingdome, and hath many subject Provinces. The principall is of Christians, but some are of Gentiles. In all of them is found great store of Gold and Crystall stone. The Countries are very plenteous and fruitfull, especially those which are neere the River Nilus, the which have more Mountaines and Rivers then the others. They breed many wild and tame beasts, and strange Wormes and Serpents very venemous. They breed Oxen, Horses, Buffes, Mules, Asses, Sheepe and other Cattell: the Oxen are greater then ours, so much that some of them are almost as bigge as Elephants. They have great hornes, that some of them doe hold a Tanker of Wine, and do serve to carrie in, and to keepe Wine and Water, and as the Tankers Barrels here. I was bold to speake this, because Don Roderick of Lima, brought one of these hornes of this bignesse to this Kingdome, in the time of the King your Grand-father, when the Embassadour Tagazavo, and the Father Franciscus Alvarez came with him. There is found in these Countries a kind of Unicorne, which is wild and fierce, fashioned like a Horse, and of the bignesse of an Asse. There be in them Elephants, Lions, Ounces, and other beasts, unknowne here with us.

Gates or rock-passages.

Gold and Crystall.

Oxen almost as bigge as Elephants, with huge hornes.

An Unicorne, or Asinus Indicus not that which the Painters present with a horne in the fore-head.

There is neere to Damute, a Province of women without men: which doe live after the manner of the ancient Amazones of Scythia, which in certaine time of the yeere permitted the companie of some men that were their Neighbours, and of the children which they bare, they

Amazons.

sent the men-children to their Fathers, and the women they kept with themselves, and brought them up in their customes and stile. In the same manner doe these of Æthiopia, and they burne also their left paps, as those did for to shoot more readily with their Bow, which they use in their Warres, and in Hunting. The Queene of these Women knoweth no man, and for that act is worshipped among them for a Goddesse. They are permitted and preserved, because they say, that they were instituted by the Queene of Saba, which went to see King Salomon. In this Province of the Women there be Griffons, which are Fowles so bigge that they kill the Buffes, and carrie them in their clawes as an Eagle carryeth a Rabbet. They say, that here in certaine Mountaines very rough, and desert, there breedeth and liveth the Bird * Phenix, which is one alone in the World, and it is one of the wonders of nature. So doe the Inhabitors of those Countries affirme, that this Bird is there, and they do see it and know it, and that it is a great and faire Bird. There be other Fowles so bigge, that they make a shadow like a Cloud.

Another tale of the Queene of Saba.

Griffons.

[II. vii. 1169.]

Upward by Nilus towards the South there bordereth with Damute, a great Province, called Couche. This is subject to Damute, and Gentiles doe inhabit it: the Prince of it is called by the name of his Title, Axgagce, that is to say, Lord of the Riches, as in effect it is so. The Axgagce maketh when he needeth ten thousand Horsemen, and more then twentie thousand Foot-men. He

* Monstrous huge fowles, or foule monstrous fooles & lies, which happly the cunning and bragging Natives reported and we had need of their faith of Miracles to beleeve. For how did God create first and after bring into the Arke all Creatures Male and Female, if this Phenix bee sole? Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi. He which beleeveth this Phenix, and these Griffons, &c. may beleeve Gamas Miracles. Which I speake not to disgrace the whole storie (which is usefull) but to make the Reader warie where things are told upon report, or are advantagious to Rome or Portugall. Much of this Chapter seemeth to mee Apocrypha, but I leave libertie of Faith to the most licentious Credulitie, which shall thinke fitter to beleeve then to goe and see. And yet may Africa have a Prerogative in Rarities, and some seeming Incredibilities be true.

carryeth in his Armie one thousand Hand-mils used by Women, which doe grind with them the flowre necessary for the people. At the time that wee came to Damute, this Prince was in Armes with the King of Damute: wherefore, the King Gradeus said to me, that as a Prelate and Mediator of Peace, I should send him word, how his Majestie was very angrie against him, by reason of his Rebellion and Disobedience, and that hee determined to destroy him by means of the invincible and more then humane force of the Portugals, which he brought with him for that purpose. I did even so, and sent him word, that he should obey his Emperour, and bring him his Tributes, and see him, for I did assure him that his Majestie would use clemencie with him. So he did, and came presently with a great summe of Gold, and great quantitie of Beeves, and other provision in abundance for all the Armie: and many Slaves, Mules and Asses, for the necessary service.

The Axgagce provided the Emperours Campe with all things in abundance, without wanting any thing. And at the last he himselfe came, accompanied with many and proper men on Foot and Horse: and he was verie richly attyred. Assoone as hee came to the place where hee might be seene from the Emperours Tent, hee dismounted from his Horse, and put off the rich clothes he had on, and remayning in others of lesse value, he came to the Tent, and tarryed till they commanded him to come in. After that he entred into the first receit of the Tent (for it was divided with certaine Curtaines) and there he cast himselfe on the ground untill the Emperour commanded him to arise, and received him with good words, and commanded him to apparell himselfe, and commanded to give him some meate, and there hee spake with him behind the Curtaines, without admitting him to his presence, till after foure dayes he commanded him to come in where he was.

For this honor and courtesie that Gradeus shewed to Axgagce, he said unto him, my Lord, I wil doe you one service, that neither I nor my Fore-fathers ever did to your

Father, nor to the other Emperours your Predecessors, which is to shew you the riches and secrets of my Countries: for with this condition we doe obey you, that you shall not see them but with our will. Finally, he led us through his Countries to a great River of sixtie fathome breadth, or more, in whose borders there be many venemous Snakes, so much, that their biting is mortall: but by the goodnesse of God, Nature hath provided a remedie against that hurt: and it is an Herbe, that groweth in some places of that Countrey, which is so contrary to the Snakes I spake of, that they flye from it as from an Enemie, and came not neere him that hath it about him, neither hath their Poyson any strength where it is, either stamped and laid in a Playster, or the juyce of it. We saw one of these Snakes that made an end of eating a Buffe that it had killed, and the King commanded to kill it, which had leaves of grease like a great and fat Hogge, which was good for the cold, and other diseases. There be others also, which they call, Of the * shadow, because it hath a skinne on the head, wherewith it covereth a very precious stone, which they say it hath in her head. On the other side this River is a barren ground and unhabited, the kind of it is browne, red and dry, as that which wee see in some parts of Ribateio. This Earth hath two parts of Gold, and one of Earth, for so it yeeldeth in the melting whereof there bee as many workemen in that Countrey, as here there are Smiths, and more, for in that Countrey there is more Gold, then here we have Iron. The Lords doe not permit that any Bridge or Boate bee in the River, that there may no easie passage bee had, and because every one that listeth may not goe over to gather the Gold. The meanes to passe that River is this. They have Buffes accustomed to passe over, and when they will goe over to the other side they put them in before, and they goe swimming fast by their tailes, and they fill certaine Bellows which they carrie with that same Earth, and tye them about their neckes, and come againe fast by their tailes as they went. In this manner the

Fat and venemous Snakes.

Strange herbe.

**Or Canopie.*

Incredible quantitie of Gold.

passage is not common to all. And those that doe passe are bound to try the Gold they bring, in the melting houses of the Axgagce, for they all are his, for to pay him his duties.

The King Gradeus to certifie himselfe better of the truth, commanded some of his men to go to the other side, which went over, and brought of the earth, which the others brought, the which being tried yeelded as much as the other, and the men of Gradeus said, that all the ground of that Province was of that qualitie, for they went a great way in it, and found it all to be so, and they said that the ground is so hot, that they could not lay them downe to sleepe upon it, but that they sought Caves and Slates on which they lay, and also that there were in the Countrey certaine red and great Ants that did bite them, and were so many, that they did not let them sleepe. We thinking that we had reason to wonder at the great quantitie of Gold which we saw, the Axgagce of the Countrey said to King Gradeus, that hee should not wonder, for he would shew him yet more: and lead us downe the River towards the South-west, travelling very easily two dayes, at the end of the which hee shewed us on the other side the River a Mountaine that in places glistered like the Sunne: and said unto us that all that was Gold. [II. vii. 1170.]

A golden glittering Mountaine.

With these and other entertainments that hee did unto us, King Gradeus was so contented, that he determined to make him a Christian: and he desired him he would be one, and that hee would be ever his very great friend. He answered, that with a good will he would be one. The King commanded presently to prepare his Baptisme, and a Bishop Prelate of the Monasterie, called Debra Libanus Christned him, which is the head of the Monasteries of Amara, and King Gradeus was his God-father; and they named him Andrew. There Andrew told King Gradeus, how he had in those parts certaine neighbours which did evill neighbour-hood to him, and did over-runne his Countries, robbing and killing his

The Axgagce baptized.

Subjects: and requesting him, that seeing God had brought him thither with that Noble people of Portugall, whose fame did feare the people of that Countrey, that he would revenge him of his enemies which did him great annoy, and they would be warned not to offend his subjects any more. The King granted his request, and commanded his men and the Portugals to enter into the Countrey of the enemies, and over-runne it, warring against it with fire and sword, robbing and destroying their goods, taking the people captive, and killing those which resisted. This they did for a great space of the Countrey, in the which they found great spoyle of rich Jewels, and much Gold which they brought. This being done, King Gradeus returned to Damute, where we heard the men of the Countrey say, that there were things to bee seene of great admiration; so much, that being told to them that saw them not, they seeme Fables, therefore they are not all to be put in writing. But beleeve your Highnesse, that with reason is Africa called the Mother of Monsters; for so it is without doubt, especially in the Countrey within, neere to the River of Nilus, where there are Mountaines, Rivers, and desert places, with great disposition of the Countrey and favour of the ayre, and of the heavens to bring forth and produce what it listeth.

Goiame.

Returning from Damute by the River Nilus, downeward toward the Red Sea, wee came to the Kingdome of Goiame, which bordereth presently upon Damute. Goiame is also a great Kingdome, plentifull, and fruitfull, and rich. It is inhabited with Christians, subject to Presbyter John: It hath Gold, but not so much as Damute. In this Kingdome of Goiame there be certaine Rivers, in the which, under the Sand are found certaine spongie stones like our Pumice-stone, but that they are heavy and yellow; the which being tryed, are converted in Gold, the most part of them, saving some little drosse. In this Kingdome of Goiame is the Catadupa of Nilus, whereof Tully maketh mention in the dreame of Scipio, and I will declare to your Highnesse what it is, for it is a great

Gold stones.

Catadupa, by the Ancients placed neerer Egypt.

thing, and worthy to be knowne, and it is not all a dreame, as in effect some things that some large tongued men doe speake of this, and of other things which they never saw, are but dreames.

This Catadupa is a great fall of the River Nilus, from a high Rocke downe. The Rocke is almost halfe a league high, steepe downe, without any slant or hillocke, from thence falleth the River Nilus, altogether in a deepe Lake, and close betweene great and high hils. The quantitie of water is great, for it commeth gathering from more then three hundred leagues to that fall, and it maketh so great a noyse, that it seemeth a great Thunder, and amazeth them that are not accustomed to it: it soundeth so, that three or foure Bow-shot round about, it stunneth the eares, in such sort, that in all that space there is no other noyse heard, be it never so big, but that: neither can the ayre receive any other but that, which filleth all, so doth that sound drown all others, as the greater light doth darken the other smaller. That place is called in the Countrey language, Catadhi, which is to say, a noyse, or a great sound, whence it seemeth that Latines did make the name Catadupa. *The Falls, or Catadhi.* Westward from these two Kingdomes, Damute and Goiame, towards Guinea, are barren grounds, and evill inhabited; and in them inhabite the Gaffates, and other Gentiles very savage. *Gaffates.* These are not well knowne, neither have they dealings with the people of that Empire, to the which they neither give their oath, nor owe any subjection, for almost all of it lyeth to the East of Nilus. There is Gold in those Westerne Countries towards Guinea, but that they say, that the Gold of the Land within hath sparkes of Sand, as some that commeth from the Antillas.

By the streame of Nilus below Goiame, neere neighbouring is another Kingdome of Abexines ancient Christians, great and good, called Dembia. *Dembia.* In this Nilus maketh a great Lake, which hath in length thirtie leagues, *Huge Lake.* and twentie in breadth, wherein are many small Ilands, all inhabited with Monasteries of religious men, of whom

I made mention before. And this is not the spring whence Nilus proceedeth, for it commeth from farre above.

Agaoa. A little below there lyeth another Kingdome, called Agaoa, inhabited with Moores and Gentiles mingled together. This hath a King by it selfe, which neither obeyeth the Presbyter John, nor the Turke. It extendeth to the Borders of Egypt: unto Dembia the River Nilus runneth, from the South-west to the North-east, and commeth within thirtie or fortie leagues of the Red Sea, almost opposite to Suaquen: and from thence windeth to the North-west, till he commeth into the Mediterranean Sea. In this Nooke determined the King Onadinguell to make a Trench, and turne the River Nilus to the Red Sea, as his Predecessour Ale Belale began to do, and therefore sent to demand Pioners of the King your Grand-father.

[II. vii. 1171.]

Trench intended from Nilus to the Red Sea.

Subia Nubia. To the West from Dembia lyeth a Province, called Subia Nubia (which now is of the Moores) and they say, that sometime it was of Christians, and it seemeth to bee so, for in it are some Churches found, yet old and ruinated; and presently joyning with Subia Nubia more to the West lyeth a Kingdome of Moores, called Amar, and it is very great, where through the Merchants of Cayro doe passe that go to Jalofa, and to Mandigna, and other parts of Guinea to seeke Gold: and from Amar they carrie Salt, which groweth there in Mines, which is very deere in Guinea, for the great scarcitie there is of it. Before we doe depart from the River Nilus, in those Countries whereby the River Nilus runneth, in July, August and September, is the force of Winter, and therefore doth that River increase then, and not at other times, and bringeth great store of water, for it commeth very farre above Damute, more then two hundred leagues, and to his entring into Egypt eight hundred, with turnings and windings which it maketh, and passeth by great Hils, where it gathereth great store of water from many Rivers of great waters. All men doe not know the inward parts of Africa, especially above Nilus, the which, neither the

Inhabitors of it doe know, nor have any notice of it all, for it is very great and difficult to search out; and therefore I digressed a little from my Historie, to give an accompt briefely to your Highnesse of these things I saw because peradventure there is not another in this Countrey that knoweth them by sight but I, that dwelt in it thirtie yeares or more. And moreover, if it had not beene that journey that I went with the King Gradeus, although I had beene there as much more, I had knowne no part of the Countries which above I have rehearsed. Now I will returne to give an account of my selfe and of my Companions.

King Gradeus, after he had spent in his visitation tenne or twelve moneths, determined to returne toward the Provinces of Simem and Amara, where the Kings and Emperours of that Countrey do make their abode and continuance, because the Countrey is better then the other, and more secure, and because they are borne and naturall from thence. In Amara and Vedremudro are Mines of Copper, Tinne and Lead. Heere are certaine Churches cut out of the hard Rocke, which they say the Angels did make. And indeede, the worke seemeth more then humane. The Traffique of these Provinces to Damute, where the Abexines chiefely doe provide themselves of Gold, is for the most part by Iron, whereof there is great store in them, especially in the Province of Tigremacan, which is also a neighbour with these: which Iron is so much worth in Damute, that they give for it Gold by weight, quantitie for quantitie. I touched this matter here, because I thinke, that the Kingdome of Damute, and the Province of Couche doe confine with Sofalla, and if from Sofalla they have the Iron that they have need of, they will give their Gold also for it. These Provinces lye to the East from Goiame and Dembia; and the Province of Bethmariam remaineth to the South-east, where the King satisfied us our Rents, which by the comming of the Gallas we had lost in Doaro.

Simem and Amara.

Of these see Alvarez.

The Province of Bethmariam is great, and well *Bethmariam.*

inhabited, and of great Rent, all the which the King released to us the Portugals, and the Lands divided among us according to the qualities of the persons. He that received least for Rent to his part, had more then one thousand crownes a yeare; the Captaine had more then tenne thousand, and I had as much. The King gave us this Province, because it was a Frontier to the Kingdome of the Gafates that were risen, because that from hence the Portugals might make in-roades in their Countries, and punish them, and bring them to obedience. Finally, our journey being ended, and the King seated in the Province of Simem, the Portugals did aske him leave to goe and see the Lands which he had given them in the Province of Bethmariam. And I demanded also licence to goe to my Countrey of Portugall, as I meant, and he gave it mee, understanding that of Bethmariam. I asked him this cloaked licence, because I would not breake the oath that I had made unto him, and because I knew that if I had asked it plainely, he would not have given it me, but rather would have hindred my comming, or taken away my life, as he desired many daies before.

Riches of the Portugals.

I was in the Province of Bethmariam as long as Winter lasted, which beganne to come on when we retyred our selves; and for to win their favours and love of my subjects, I cherished them all that I could, and did ease the rents that they were bound to pay me, to make them benevolent and affected, that they should not bewray me when I would go away: for the King had commanded them all, that they should looke to me that I went not out of the Countrey. The same had the King also commended to Gaspar of Sosa, Captaine of the Portugals, the which for that respect sent many times to visite me: and I for to assure him, made my selfe sicke of the Gout in one of my Legges, I tooke my bed, saying; That I could not go on foote. In the meane season, Gaspar of Sosa went to the Court, and I had opportunitie to doe what I desired. And also, because I would have no hindrance of them of the Countrey, I sent to call some of the princi-

Dissimulation.

pallest of them, and said unto them, that I was very sicke as they saw, and would goe in Pilgrimage to the Monasterie, called Debra Libanus, to commend my selfe to God, and to request the religious men there, to pray to God for me; therefore, that I desired them they would resort with my Rents to a Servant of mine, with whom I left the charge of my house and people.

Debra Libanus. [II. vii. 1172.]

And because the way to Debarva, directly was by the Countries where the King was, I determined to goe by another Countrey distant from thence, and unhabited, and therefore I commanded to carrie provision sufficient for my selfe, and seven or eight persons which I carried with me, whom I most trusted, which I commanded to say by the way, that I went verie sick, and that I went to cure my selfe to Debarva, where the Countrey and Ayres are more healthfull. By this way I crossed a Nooke of Nilus, where I passed it twice, with great trouble, because the Coasts of the River were very craggy, and with great danger of not letting me passe through certaine gates that are in them, guarded with armed men. Here I commanded my men that they should say, that a Servant of the King came behind which was knowne, that carried me to Debarva to be cured: and with this deceit they let us passe. At last, with the helpe of God, by the intercession of our Ladie, to whom I commended my selfe, I came safe to Debarva, where certaine Portugals received me which were there, with great joy and entertainment: the Bernagaez of that Countrey, as soone as he knew that I was there, came to see me, and asked me, saying; What good comming is this, Father, to this Countrey? I answered, that I went very sicke, and that I went to be cured. He said againe, that he thought I would passe to the Countries of Franquia, which are neere the Sea; therefore that hee desired me that I would not doe so, but that I should rest a few daies, and returne unto the King: I answered, that in no wise would I returne to the King, for he knew very well, and all men did know, how great reason I had to flye from him: but my intention was to dwell in that

Crossing Nilus.

Countrey, in an hermitage of our Ladie that was there, and end my life there. Saying that is your will, said he, I will write to the King, and request him, that he will let you be here, and that I take you to my charge, for to give account of you, that you shall not goe away from hence, and I will send him word that you are very sicke, therefore trouble not your selfe, for all shall bee done at your will. And said moreover, Father, That which I aske you for Gods sake, is, that you will suspend the excommunications, and cease from the curses which you lay upon the King, and upon all this Countrey, because some evill may not come to us; and besides, that you incense not the King against you. He sent an honest man of his house to the King, which returned in few daies with the answer: And it was, that the King was much mooved against me, especially, because I said that he was an Hereticke and excommunicate. And the King said, That if it were not for the Portugals sake, that he had commanded me to be slaine. And yet said more, that I was a Traytor and forsworne, because I had broken my Faith and my Oath that I had sworne to him, not to goe out of his Countries without his licence. To which I answered, that he had given me the same licence, as it is said in the former Chapter. Finally, hee commanded that I should abide in Debarva, and not to go from thence without his speciall commandement; and to the Bernagaez, that he should have a speciall care of me.

Excommunications and Curses.

Baroa, or Barva.

I was in Debarva more then two yeeres, commending my selfe to God, and said Masse the most daies in a Church of our Ladie that was there, where about nine or tenne Portugals that were there accompanied me, which came flying thither with others, from the unfortunate battaile in which the Goranya overcame us, and tooke Don Christopher. About this time, there came a Venetian, called Micer Suncar, which came from Gran Cayrus with a message from certaine Venetian Merchants which were there, and had taken in charge fortie odde Portugals, which were taken captives in the parts of Ormuz, and the Turkes

Ransome of Portugals.

demanded thirtie thousand crownes: and Micer Suncar came to know of Presbyter John if hee would ransome them, who ransomed them, giving the said price, and other two or three thousand crownes for their expenses. There came also to mee a religious man of the company of Jesus, called Master Gonçalvo with his companion, which came from India to enquire after me, and the other Portugals, and of the estate of that people of Presbyter John, which after I informed him how it was, went to the Kings Court, and did informe himselfe in that Countrey what I had done and suffered, to reforme that people to the obedience of the Church of Rome, and gave a publike testimony and relation in the Cathedrall Church of Goa.

Gonçalvo a Jesuite: this is Gonzalvos Rodericke, Whose Epistle followeth in the next Chapter.

Being in Debarva, tarrying for passage to India, there arrived to the Port of Maçua, Antonie Peixoto a Portugall, with two Foysts, whereof he was Captaine: Master Gonzalvo and I determined to goe and visite him, and goe with him for India, and that I might doe this without hinderance of the Abexines, I had a good excuse in this manner. The Church of our Ladie which we had in Debarva, was burnt a few daies before by a disaster, wherefore I desired the Bernagaez which had the charge of me, that he would let me goe to Maçua to aske some almes of the Portugals of the Foysts to re-edifie the said Church, and that he would lend mee a Mule to ride on, and some men to accompany and guard me. He did it willingly, for hee thought I was already seated in the Countrey, and had no desire to returne to Portugall, and sent with me a Priest of his owne Sect and Nation, and sent besides other sixe or seven men to accompanie and guard me, charging us to returne presently, and that we should not stay. And for more his assurance, there went in our company an Ambassadour of Presbyter John to the Governour of India, for whose respect he thought also that the Captaine of the Foysts would not carrie mee, if he desired him the contrary. But Antonie Peixoto the Captaine was very glad to carrie me, and when the Ambassadour saw me

De Barva, called elsewhere Baroa.

[II. vii. 1173.]

embarked, went backe and would not goe with us, thinking that for my sake he should not be well entertained among the Portugals. There went with me, as I said, Master Gonçaulvo, and those few Portugals that were in Debarva.

His escape to Goa.

We came to Goa after the passing great Tempest by Sea and want of victuals, Franciscus Barreto being Governor of India, who received us with great joy, and commanded me to bee lodged in Saint Paul, with the Fathers of the company of Jesus, which shewed me great love and honour while I was there, which was about nine or ten moneths, tarrying for shipping for this Kingdome. The Governor commanded the over-seer of your Highnesse goods, to provide me of all things necessarie, and so I was alwaies well provided for of all things necessarie in the Countrey, and for the Voyage. The Patriarch Don John Nunnez came thither I being there, and the Bishop Don Andrew with their companions.

Numez the Patriarch the Story of whom, and of Andrew Oviedo followeth.

His returne home.

As soone as the time of shipping came, I went to Cochin, because the ships are wont to depart from thence, and the Governor commanded to give me a good lodging in one of them, and provision in abundance. Don John Menesez the sonne of the Nayler, came for Captaine of that Voyage, and also another Don John Menesez, of whom I received great courtesie and entertainement unto the Iland of Saint Helen, where I remained against his will, contending much about it: There I continued a yeere suffering some bodily trouble, of hunger and other necessaries, because that Iland is so distant from humane communication, that there commeth no people, but some fugitive Slaves which had runne away from some ships that came thither: and it was said, that they had killed another Chaplaine, with the which mine beganne to be corrupt, and would not serve me. Wherefore destitute of all humane helpe in mine old age and sicknesse, I came perforce the next yeere to Portugall, in the ship called Saint Pablo, wherein Ruy of Melo came for Captaine. I came to Lisbon in the moneth of August, the yeere 1559. Your Highnesse reigning, whom God give long

life, with Peace and Grace in this world, and the glory of his Kingdome in the world to come, Amen.

They brought newes of us hither, as of men cast away: and without doubt, that was a great and inhumane carelesnesse, and was the cause that there was no more good done in the Countrey. For your Highnesse may beleeve, that the matters of that Empire were in such estate, that if that small number of Portugals had beene maintained with supplies of men, it might have gotten such a possession and authoritie, that King Gradeus either with his will or without it, would have obeyed the holy Mother Church: and his people with the conversation of ours, and the doctrine of our Preachers, which would have taught freely, had taken the true Christian Religion, and had left the errors of the Alexandrines, which for their sinnes are destroyed, they and their false Doctrine, whereby it hath no vigour for to resist the truth if it were preached and favoured: for among them there are no proud and stubborne learned men, but there are devout religious men, and very humble, which in good simplicitie desire to serve God, and take very easily the doctrine of truth, and apply their understandings to it.

More profit in this adventure, then in the East or West Indies.

In Temporall things had such profit beene gotten, that neither Peru with his Gold, nor India with his Trafficke, had surpast them: for there is more Gold in Damute and her Provinces, then in Peru, which might have beene gotten without the expences which the India maketh, and without warre.

Of my selfe I gave also some account in this Treatise, though not much, not to trouble you, as I have said: for I travailed many yeares in those Countries, and passed many troubles for the service of God and of your Highnesse, wherewith I should have wearied your eares if I had told them, or the lesse part of them: For the first time I went to India, I went in company of Lope Suarez, Alfonsus of Alburkerke being Governour of it, and was there to the time of James Lopez of Sequera, by whose commandement I passe to the Presbyter John of Ethiopia, in company

He passed to Ethiopia with Alvarez.

of Don Rodericke of Lyma, and the Father Franciscus Alvarez, which returned from thence with an Ambassadour of that Emperour, called Tagazavo, of whom I made mention in the beginning of this worke, in whose gage and hostage I remained in that Countrey: in the which they alwaies shewed me great honour and good usage, to the Emperors taking me for God-father of his sonne and heire Gradeus, and before the death of his Patriarch, called Abuna Marcus, he elected mee Patriarch of that Countrey and his Empire, according to his custome, and desired me on his behalfe and mine to goe to Rome, to give the obedience to the chiefe Bishop, and to desire him he would confirme to me that dignitie and Patriarch-ship, and from thence to Portugall, to doe that which I said in the beginning of this Booke. Which journey I made by Land comming to Cayro, and to Jerusalem, and was taken by the Turkes and misused, and almost slaine, but by Gods assistance I came to Rome, in the time of the holy Father Paul the third, who not onely approoved my election, but instituted me besides, and confirmed mee Patriarch of Alexandria,* and gave me personally the possession of that Seat. And in testimony of the truth of all this, he commanded to passe me his accustomed Letters and Authenticall Instruments, which were seene and approved in this kingdome, which I lost with many other things in the battaile where Don Christopher was taken, and because I shew them not they mocke me: but it is no matter, seeing God knoweth the truth, and knoweth how much I laboured for the restoring of the Faith and Religion of that Countrey. He forgive my adversaries, and to me he will give himselfe in reward of my travails, and to your Highnesse long life, peace and prosperitie in this life, and in the life to come eternall glorie, Amen.

An easie thing to be liberall of another mans.

[II. vii. 1174.]

Chap. VIII.

Late Changes of State and Religion in Ethiopia, with other remarkable Observations.

§. I.

Relations of John Nunnez (or Nonius) Baretus sent for Patriarke of Ethiopia, and Andrea Oviedo his Successor.

*P. Jar. Thesaurus rer. Ind. l. 3. De Abassinorum reb. N. God. lib. tres. *God. l. 2. c. 14. & seq.*

JOhn Bermudez * a Spanish Priest had been sent by the Romane Bishop into Abassia, which Patriarchall dignitie (before this mission of Nonius) and having beene taken by Turkish Pirats, yet after divers Adventures, perced into Ethiopia, where by Claudius * the Emperour he was well entertained in shew, to hold the Portugals the faster to his succours in the Warre against the King of Adel: who being slaine, he would acknowledge no other Patriarke to him nor his, but the Alexandrian. Hence arose great hatred of the Abassines unto Bermudez, insomuch that it was vulgarly bruted that he had stolne a Vessell of Gold out of a Church: so that hee was forced to returne into Europe. Him have I (being then a Boy) seene at Lisbon, where hee made an end of his life and labours.

*Gradeus.

Peter an Abassine.

About those times, one Peter an Abassine, a Monke of Saint Antonies Order, with some others of his profession came to Rome, who being of a forward and industrious disposition, learned the Latine and Italian Tongues, and easily insinuated himselfe into the favours of many; dealt also with Pope Paul the Third, very earnestly to send another Patriarke into Ethiopia: as for Bermudez, there wanted not causes of that hatred which he had incurred; but for any other, hee should no sooner set foot in Ethiopia, but all men would adhere to him, forsaking the Alexandrian and his Abuna. The Pope by Letters commended

the businesse to the King of Portugall, to choose a man
Peter Faber. fit for this businesse, who named thereunto Peter Faber, and writ to the Pope to confirme him; but death tooke him away. The Abassine continuing his importunate sute: in the yeare 1554. Julius the Third gave eare hereto, whose Buls were ratified by Paul the Fourth his Successor, in whose time Nonius was consecrated at Lisbon, and with him Oviedo, the one Patriarke, the other entitled Bishop of Hierapolis. King John gave many holy Vestments of Silke and Damaske richly and curiously wrought; Crosses, Chalices, Pyxes, and other Vessels of Gold and Silver to commend the Romane Pietie by this sacred splendour to the Abassine Nation.

Nonius before his journey to leave behind him Monuments of Jesuiticall Humiliation * (the heart makes it Humilitie by the discreet manner and divine end, which otherwise in most servile Offices is as meerely titular as was his Patriarkship) in this his Patriarchicall dignitie made himselfe a Servant to the Societie, wayting on them at Table, yea, (his Episcopall Ring laid aside) was a continuall helper of the Cooke, washed with care and pleasure, the Dishes, Boxes, Pots, and either Vessels of the Cookerie; besides this, hee was a diligent Hearer of Confessions, not

* Jesuiticall humilitie unknowne to Prophets and Apostles, Offices Ecclesiasticall are called Orders, holy Orders: God is a God of Order, Ordo, saith Saint Aug. est parium impariumque verum sua suique loca tribuens dispositio. Saint Paul bids men walke in their calling, and forbids inordinatenesse. Babylon hath name of Confusion. And what inordinate Confusion, how confused Orders are a Patriarch-Scullion, a Bishoppe Continuall Coqui adjutor? &c. Even as hee which stiles himselfe a Servant of Servants, and a Bishop, and makes himselfe King of Kings, yea, Deposer and Translator. Christ once washed his Disciples feet, yet did not the Apostles ordinarily doe it, but had their Widowes for this service. Let Francis and Ignatius with their followers, be Examples of lowsie lowlinesse, and scullerie humilitie. To mee hee is humble, which beareth patiently what God sends and doth not send for phantasticke crosses; which breakes not his ranke to seeke Enemies, but valiantly holds and fights in his owne file and standing; which denies himselfe to obey God, and not neglects God to please himselfe, in men-dazzling will-worships, in Musters and Monsters of needlesse shewes, unmortified mortifications, and perhaps proud humiliations.

refusing once in the night to goe to a meane Cottage to shrive a Negro Slave. Before he went his Patriarchall Voyage, the King sent to Peter Mascaregna, the Vice-Roy, to send an Ambassage into Ethiopia, to prepare way to the Patriarch, who sent James Dias with Gonzales Rodericke a Jesuit Priest. Who in the year 1555. [II. vii. 1175.] arrived at Ercoco, which then belonged to the Abassine, to whom they went thence by Land: and having declared their message, and delivered the Kings Letters, they find his mind altered (for he had written before to King John in that businesse.) But the whole discourse will better appeare in Roderickes Letter in September, 1566. from Ethiopia to the Jesuites in Goa: which (so much as concerneth this purpose) I have here transcribed.

ON the fifteenth of May, we came to the King of Ethiopia. He was then in his Campe encompassed with many Pavilions. Beeing certified of our arrivall, hee commanded a Lodging to bee provided where we might bee entertained. The next day wee had accesse. Hee sate in his Tent spread with a faire Carpet, and adorned with silken Hangings on a Bed, the Curtaine opened. James approaching delivered him the Kings Letters, which hee commanded to bee read before all the Portugals in the Campe, with a loud voyce. In them the King signified amongst other things, that the next yeare hee would send thither one of his Houshold, and some Religious men besides, famous for life and learning. Claudius frowned at the hearing hereof, but answered nothing to the purpose: and thus dismissed, wee returned to our Lodgings. Two or three dayes after hee went to see his Grandmother ten dayes journey thence: and we were left in the open field, not having one man in the Emperours name to provide us any thing. Yet were we not forsaken of God, by whose providence and bountie it came to passe, that a Portugall tooke care of us, and brought us to a place whereof he was Lord, three leagues distant, entertained us at his House, and commending to his the care of

us, followed after the Emperour. Heere wee spent almost a moneth, in which time I writ a Booke of the Errours of the Abassines, and the truth of the Romane Faith, to offer it to Claudius at his returne. For hee openly said, as I learned of a Portugall, neere about him, that hee neyther needed our Doctrine, nor intended to obey the Romane Church. It was also commonly reported, that some of the Chiefe men did openly affirme, that they would more easily subject their neckes to the yoke of Saracens, then exchange their Customes with ours. Which did the more confirme mee, to deliver my mind rather in writing then by word; so to learne his Answere and unmaske his opinion so long closely concealed. So soone therefore as hee returned to these parts, wee went to his Campe and were entertained of the Portugall Souldiers. For the Emperour had quite forgotten us, nor cared to know how or where we lived. Now, because I had made my Booke in Portuguse, and it was necessarie to turne it in Chaldee, I petitioned of him by Letters, to assigne me two of the best learned Monkes to turne some Doctrines of Christian Faith into the Chaldee Tongue: for I would in writing shew how undeservedly the Abassines reckoned the followers of the Romane Faith amongst Heretikes, and affirmed, that they were worse then Mahumetans: for so they openly said and reported.

Abassines blind zeale.

A Booke called the adulterie of the Frankes, that is, of the Westerne Church.

And because I knew that they had a Booke which they called the Adulterie of the Frankes, made by the Alexandrine Schismatikes, wherein the Chalcedon Councell is reprooved, and many lyes are forged on us; I desired of the Emperour that I might have the use thereof. The Booke hee denyed, the Monkes he granted; which yet when they had begunne to translate the Booke, whether because they had beene so commanded, or else were afraid of any thing, or for some other unknowne cause, refused to proceed in the Enterprise: untill that by the Portugall Captaines intercession, they were commanded to finish it, assisted therein by a Portugall, an honest man, and well skilled in the Chaldee. When againe, I needed another to

transcribe in right Characters that which was translated, he was also desired and obtayned of the Emperour. Yet had he scarsely begunne, when the Emperour in a rage sent to revoke him, and in his name to tell me that I should not stay, but send him the Booke as it was, or surcease such busines. That the thing therefore might be no longer deferred, nor the Emperor have any excuse for his sinne, I thought it necessary to shew him the Booke ill written and blotted, appointing thereto a certaine day, which was the twentieth of August. When that day was come, with the Captaine and seven or eight other Portugals, I present my selfe before him, and having saluted him, shew the cause of my comming. He forbids me to proceed, and diverting his speech to another matter, warily escheweth all the blowes made at him. Then I letting other things passe offered him the Booke, which beginning to reade, hee conceived so great fury, that he could not but utter his concealed Poyson. Thou askedst (said he) of me that thou mightest make a Booke wherein to declare the veritie of the Faith, and Monkes to translate it into Chaldee, both which I granted. And behold, thou hast done quite otherwise. For neither dost thou explaine the veritie of Faith, but doest ascribe Errours to them which are free from Errours. Thou shouldest also have knowne how farre this thine Enterprise disagrees with thy condition, which art but a simple Priest. Knowest thou not that these things belong to Bishops, and pertaine only to great Prelates? Why hast thou thrust thy Sickle into anothers Harvest? I confessed my selfe a man of small worth, yet to have done nothing discrepant with my condition, seeing I had written those things which are plainly contained in the Booke of the Gospels, and in the Holy Councels, and which are to be beleeved of a Christian man. Thou objectest, said he, many Errors to me and mine, wherwith we are not entangled, I determine not of your Faith, O Emperour, quoth I, but I am sure your Abassines are erroneous, nor doe I falsly ascribe any thing to them. If it please you to make tryall, you may command your

The discourse betwixt the Negus and the Jesuit.

Monkes and most learned men in your Empire to come hither, and I will make it appeare, that they are so ensnared in the Errours there mentioned, as none shall be able to denie. He replyed, that he hated the Quirkes of Disputations, and that it was the custome of Ethnikes to commit their Superstitions to Questions, which Christians, especially the ancient did altogether forbeare. There had now passed above one thousand yeares since they professed that Faith: if any part thereof were false, how chanced that in so many yeares none durst doe as I had done? I answered, that God provoked by bad workes of men often suffered them to fall into evill: that he ought to give great thankes to God that he sent in the time of his life and Reigne, one to shew the way of the sincere Faith. Then He. The Church of Christ hath beene divided into foure Seas, we are ingraffed into one of these from the beginning; from it right and Lawes prohibit to be now separated. I assent (quoth I) that there were foure Patriarchall Seas from the beginning, but the Romane by Divine * Statute was preferred before the rest, as the Head Mother and Mistris of all. When others have failed, whosoever obey them against the Romane, are Enemies, and miserably divided from their Head. Looke in my Booke, there shall you find the Solutions of all doubts which you propounded. But take diligent heed that the speech of the Prophet, Noluit intelligere, ut bene ageret, be not applyed to you. After many words on both sides, the Portugall Captaine being Interpreter, I added at last, that I wrote my Booke to that purpose, that I might know whether his Errours laid aside, he would obey the Romane Sea, and entertaine those Religious and Learned men which the King of Portugall sent him. For if hee would not entertaine and heare them, there was no cause that they should come to Ethiopia, which sought nothing but the salvation of the Abassines. He answered, that hee had Learned and Religious men in his Kingdomes, and therefore needed not that any should be sent from any other place; neither was it ever in his mind to subject himselfe or his Countrey

[II. vii. 1176.] *Antiquitie pleaded against Rome for the Abassine Errour and long Peace.*

**Where is it?*

to the Romane Bishop. For that which Gaspar Magalanes had done in his name with the King of Portugall, was done by the mistaking of an Arabian Monke which translated his Letters and understood not his minde. Once; besides the Alexandrian Patriarch, whom alway hee hath obeyed faithfully, he would acknowledge no Superiour in holy things at all. Whereupon, being out of hope to mollifie his obstinate mind, having leave I departed. When I went away, looking upon the Portugall Captaine, he highly commended my Learning, saying, that hee much marvelled how beeing so young, I could bee so excellent in knowledge. I learned after that hee read my Booke thorow, and often had it in his hand, and shewed it to his Mother, often to his Brethren, and other Princes of the Empire.

The Abuna can better curse then dispute.

It was also told me that the Abuna knowing what was in it, forbade the reading thereof with a grievous Curse. Therefore, the second day after a Messenger was sent to him from the Prete, which in his name might aske leave to reade it which the Abuna denying, the Emperour in a rage gave him many reproachfull and contumelious words, called him Heretike and Mahumetane, which read the Alcoran of the false Prophet Mahumet, and forbade so holy a Booke, and made by such an Authour to bee read. He added further, that seeing he came into those Abassine parts to performe the Office of an Abuna and Doctor, he should speedily answere to those things which a simple Priest opposed. The Abuna denyed that hee would enter into any Disputation against me: for he came into Abassia not to dispute, but to give Orders. Nothing was more common in mens mouthes, and some Countries favoured our part, others the contrarie: whereupon the Emperour sends for some Monkes in best reputation of Sanctitie and Learning, and commanded them to transcribe my Booke very purely. I was much afraid, lest they would have left out some things which I knew the Emperour was disgusted eyther to heare or see, as those things which I had written of Pope Leo, and Dioscorus the Patriarke

of Alexandria. For the Abassines thinke and say, that Dioscorus was a Saint, Leo a bad Man, whom they so much hate that they cannot heare his name without horrour. Also they reject the Chalcedon Councell for Errour in Faith, and say that it condemned Dioscorus unjustly. Therefore, ever since the time of that Councell (the Decrees whereof they wholly reject) they have beene divided from the Romane Church.

Leo condemned, Dioscorus approved. The Romanes lost that which they never had. For that Councell decreed the Priviledges to Constantinople, with Rome (except Prioritie of order) and that (not upon promise by Christ, or Succession from Peter) because that and this were Imperiall Cities: and the Councell of Nice acknowledged Alexandrias Priviledges in Africa, equall to the Romane in Europe.

They follow also the Heresie of Sergius Paulus and Pyrrhus, condemned by the sixt Synode at Constantinople, and many other Errours. When the time was come that the Emperour should answere me, as he had promised, I went to the Court, and sent one to signifie to him that I expected an Answere. Whereto he said that his Fathers Ambassadour had beene tenne yeares in Portugall, neither could hee dispatch his Affaires in all that space: it is therefore meete that the Ambassadour of the King of Portugall should patiently waite my Answere. I perceived whither these things tended, nor did I thinke it fit to stay any longer, but desired leave to depart into India. He cunningly deferred, as a thing unmeete, that I so great a man should so soone be gone, specially having come to treat of Matters so weightie; nor could I spend my time better then in hearing there the Portugals Confessions. But if I were fully resolved to depart, I should yet give him one monethes space to answere: that being past, if I had no Answere, I should dissemble an Answere, and might goe whither I would.

Discourse of the Queene & the Jesuite.

After this, on the fourth day of October, the Emperours Mother sent a Servant to mee, desiring to speake with mee, and to see the Chalice which I had brought from Goa, a thing much magnified amongst them. I went presently with some Portugals, all which shee was willing should enter with me. After [a] a few words, comming to talke of Religion, shee said, Seeing your Faith and ours differ nothing but are one and the same, What needed it I pray, to write any thing thereof, and make a causelesse broyle? Whereto I briefely, Whether your Abassines hold the right

Truth you may perceive by my Writings. This I affirme to thee, O Empresse, although you had no other Errour, this one, [b] that you are separated from the Romane Bishop, the Vicar of Christ on Earth, it would bee enough and more, unto eternall destruction. She answered, that she and her people were subject to Peter and Paul, the Apostles, and especially to Christ himselfe. I denyed, that he is subject to Christ which is not subject to his Vicar; when Christ himselfe saith, He which heareth you * heareth me, and he which despiseth you, despiseth me. And if it be true which the Evangelist John from the same Lord relateth, that there shall be One Shepheard, and one Sheepefold, whom did she thinke to be that Shepheard? She answered, Saint Peter.* If said I, Peter be that one Shepheard, the same Office must needs agree to them which in order succeed Peter. She answered, neither I nor mine deny obedience to Saint Peter: We are now in the same Faith wherein we have beene from the beginning: if that bee not right, why did none admonish us in so many Ages? Heere I, the Romane Bishop, which is Pastor of the whole Church of Christ, could not in the yeares passed send into Abassia, by reason of the Mahumetans stopping up the passage. But the way by Sea being now open, he is able to doe it. Shee should take knowledge that the Common-wealth of Christ wheresoever it is, is one mysticall body, which in Heaven hath Christ the Head, in Earth the Vicar of Christ, which is the Head of all Christians. It may not bee doubted, but that members must be subject to their Head, and to be directed thereby. From the time the Church began till the yeare 488. it was well in Abassia, and all the Patriarchs of Alexandria, but thenceforth they fell to ruine. If they would attaine salvation, they ought againe to conjoyne with their lawfull Head, and become one

[b] *Would God this were their one and only, for then their errour would bee found the Ancient and Catholike Truth.* [II. vii. 1177.]

**The Apostles were no body with this Jesuite; or all are swallowed into the Romish Whirlepoole: and no marvel, for Christs owne prerogative, Of one Pastor, is next arrogated: as if the Church had no Christ to be Pastor, nor no Apostles to heare, but the Roman: called to that headship by Phocas, and since this dispute, publishing a new Creed added to the Trent Councell. The Abassine and Jesuite have divided the truth betwixt them in some things, which in some other both want. Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. * Christ saith, I am that good Shepheard, &c. John 1 c. and by Peter, is still so acknowledged, and other ministeriall Pastors of their flocks to feed them, not to domineere, &c. 1. p. 5.*

bodie with him: for Christ himselfe had said, That there should be but one Sheepfold in the Church, and one Shepheard: but one body except it were monstrous, could have but one Head; whereas the bodie of Christ is most perfect, and free from all filthinesse. So great a worke said she, as that is, to wit, that the rest of the members be joyned with the Romane Head, belongs nothing to me, nor to thee. It is meete, that other Patriarchs congregated with the Romane, should deliberate of so weightie a matter, and decree by their authoritie what is to bee done: For to forsake old Customes and Rites by private counsell, and to undertake new, is a thing full of danger and offence. I on the other side said, That they were very ancient which the true Faith teacheth, nor have any noveltie in them, and therefore it did rather take away then give offence, whatsoever is done according to the rule of Faith.

After some other such like things, followeth in the same Epistle of Gonzalus. A few daies after, the Emperour removed this Camp to a place a daies journey distant, and we followed him. When we were in a certaine field, three Monkes came to me; one of which was accounted learned, and was very desirous to see and speake with me about Religion. In the beginning of his speech he confessed, that all our things pleased him, but yet he could not approve that we neither observed the (Saturday) Sabbath, nor abstained from Swines and Hares flesh, vomiting out other venome. For he affirmed, that the soules of the just departing out of this life, although nothing remaine in them to be purged, are not yet presently received in Heaven to see God, but are conveyed to earthly Paradice, there to expect the end of the world. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father. That the Sonne is equall to the Father in regard of his humane Nature. That onely Mahumetans and Ethnicks after their death, are cast into Hell, to abide there everlastingly: but Christians which live badly are there to be tormented in the fire of Hell, till they purge their sinnes: for all which are signed with the Character of

Grosse errors of the Abassines about the Sabbath & meats, &c. Divers others most abhominable.

Baptisme, shall at last be saved, and so he construed Christs words, He which shall be beleeve and be baptized, shall be saved. But I so convinced his errors by reasons and Scriptures, that comming neerer, he acknowledged himselfe satisfied. But lest his Fellowes which were unlearned should heare, he whispered thus to mee. The things which thou teachest are true, and I will keepe them all in my mind, and so went away. The moneth being past, I went to the Emperour, and desired an answer and leave to depart. Hee answered, I might be gone at my pleasure.

As touching the religious men which King John sends me, when they shall come to Mazua, there shall be some to receive and conduct them to me, I shall willingly heare them discoursing of the Faith. Then departed I from him and betooke me to my journey. By the way, I visited some Townes of the Portugals, heard many of their confessions, brought some of them from Concubines to lawfull Wedlocke, their Concubines first (being Abassines in Sect and Nation) instructed in the Romane Doctrine, and revoked to the Faith. Because the Churches of this Region are consecrated to the holies of Schismatickes, neither have Altars accommodated to our uses, wee carried an Altar with us. When I was in one of these Townes, one came thither to salute me, sent from a principall Abbat, which sixe miles off ruled two great Monasteries; one of Monkes, the other of Nuns. The name is Belivanos, or Plurimanes, famous in those parts. For from thence proceeds whatsoever is to bee beleeved in all Abassia, because there is thought to bee the rule of Faith, and for that cause the Abbot himselfe is in great honour amongst all. I thought it meete to visite these Monasteries, and went together with the Portugals my Companions. The Abbot was absent, I briefely viewed the Monasteries. Both they and the Monkes much differ from ours. Each of them hath his owne little house separated from others: hee hath his owne part of ground which he tilleth for himselfe. So are they all divided in

Plurimanos Monastery very famous.

Abassine Monkes.

habitation and occupation, that you would thinke you saw not a Monasterie, but a small Village. And although the Monkes dwell on one side, and the Nuns on the other, yet are they not so separated, but that many Children are said to be begotten betwixt them. Their Order or Family is neither Franciscan nor Dominican, but is called Tecleay Manot. This was the name of the Founder, which with them signifieth, The Pillar of the Faith. He hath great opinion of sanctitie among the Abassines, and is said to have wrought many Miracles. That is the most famous, that hee slue a Serpent, esteemed by the Ethnicks for a God, and converted the Ethnicks: first to the Faith of Christ, and after that, many of them to this forme of life. Thus much Gonzalus.

The Nuns.

Alfonsus of France a Portugall, which had bene Interpreter betwixt the Emperour and this Gonzalus, did write to Goa to him, touching a discourse twixt the said Emperour and him, touching the said heresie of Dioscorus, which he had said might bee evinced by holy Scripture, and authoritie of Saints and Councels. If your Scripture, said the Emperour so deemeth of us, God knowes what ours deemeth of you. I know, quoth I, That the followers of the Romane Faith are esteemed Heretikes of the Abassines, and accounted Nestorians, as if we admitted two persons in Christ, as well as two Natures; for so they had often objected * to me with contumely: and after mention of his yearely re-baptizing, contrary to Saint Pauls saying; One Faith, one Baptisme, he grew very angry, and threatned me with his Sword, but seeing my constancie he departed. He concludes, I thus thinke Gonzales, that this Emperour will more easily endure the yoake of Saracens, then of the Romane Bishop.

[II. vii. 1178.]

Letter of Alfonsus of France a Portugall, to Gonzalus.

**Therefore Claudius had objected foure Gods to Bermudez.*

On the thirtieth of March, 1556. John Nonius Barret, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Andrew Oviedo, Bishop of Hierapolis, and other Jesuites sayled from Lisbon to the East. In the way a great Tempest happened, which (saith our Author) by the Patriarchs Prayers was appeased. For taking water in a vessell, and (attired in his holy Vest-

A.D. 1556.

ments) blessing the same, he sprinkling part of it in the Sea, part on the Sailes, Tackling, and other part of the Ship, with a certaine forme of Prayer brought to passe, that the Seas and Winds were quiet. Well; if hee could also have given sound lims to Francis Rodericke, his fellow Ignatian, whose helpe he used in hearing the confessions of the Passengers, being a man lame and going on Crouches. So should hee have freed him from that scoffe of the Moores at Mosambike, that his Arguments could not stand against Mahomet, himselfe being so lame; nor could they bee right, himselfe being so crooked. He answered well, That their Sect was more deformed then he, and wanted both feete and head too. But the Miracle might have cured his bodie and their soules, or done good in Abassia, if their miracles were as readie before Infidels, or those whom they call Heretikes, whose curious eyes may examine them, as before Catholikes, whose credulitie rather makes then findes them. Once, miracles are not for Beleevers (which must walke by Faith, not by sight) but for Infidels. But let us leave their mysticall tales, and come to the Historicall Relation. Having stayed a moneth at Mozambike, they proceeded to Goa, where discouraged by Gonzalus his Letters, he advised with others, which thought it meetest that he should stay at Goa till King John might have knowledge, and that Oviedus with some others of the societie, meane while should be employed in that Ethiopian businesse. This was put in execution: and Nonius aboade at Goa six years space, which he spent in his daily Massings, Contemplations, hearing Confessions: somtimes visiting the Kitchin (as before) alway mending his owne cloaths when they were torne; sweeping also his Chamber, and the rest of the house, carrying forth the Dust to the place appointed: often washing Pilgrims feete, and on set daies of Novices; most observant of all the Lawes of the societie, how free soever from any Superiour, but the Pope onely. Hee dyed in December, 1562.

Exorcising the Seas & Winds. Let this be a generall rule to the Reader, to beleeve a Jesuite lest in things neerest Rome, in other things to give him Faith, where this Romish Faith is not a brewing. For I disclaime not their humanity, though I trust not their divinitie in all points. Yet even Jannes and Jambres against Moses, did as great miracles as this, or as any which I beleeve of their relation done by theirs. False Prophets have, Deut. 13. and false religions, pretend miracles, 2. Re. 1. which John Baptist, an extraordinary and true Prophet had not.

Andrew Oviedo a Castilian, was appointed by Ignatius,

according to the Popes Order, an Adjutor to the former Patriarch whilst hee lived, and his Successour after his death: and was with him consecrated Bishop of Hierapolis, as before is said. His Kitchin and Chamber labours, and domesticall other services, fetching Water in Earthen Vessels on his shoulder, lying on the ground among Beggers and famous humilities, I omit (not envying those new-coyned vertues * to that new Societie; I hold it much better, they were all busied in the Indian Skulleries and drudgeries, then in European State-affaires. I know bodily exercise is easie to them which love not their ease, and light to such as delight to be magnified, as hath appeared in Pharisees, Essees, in Baals Priests, Molochs Votaries, Turkish and Ethnicks Regulars; I had not mentioned these things, but that the Jesuits use to insult and instult so much hereon) I magnifie more both Oviedo and others, for whatsoever labours undertaken by the Kings Mission (I quarrell not altogether the Popes Commission) to reduce strayed soules, as were these of Abassia, whither we now follow him. I am not angry with vertuous designes, neither in Pope nor Jesuite; yea, in such things I honour them: neither will I for their sakes thinke worse of that which is a good deede, if not altogether well done, materially commendable, if any way formally defective. When they seeke knots in Rushes, and would deforme reformed Christians, let them have Peters, Get thee behind me Sathan: but in converting the Gentiles from perverse errors, or this Abassia from Jewish, Jacobite, Monothelite heresies, I will assist them with my Prayers, and applaud their endevours: and say, Flesh and blood hath not taught them this, but the heavenly Father; and if Christ be truly preached, whether under a pretence or sincerely, I therein joy, and will joy. Let them still compasse the world to win Proselites, if it be not to compasse the world, and circumvent their converts; yea, as Moses learned of Jethro to rule Gods people, so I would some of ours in Verginia or else-where, would follow the Jesuites so farre as they follow Christ.

*I rehearse these things in the Story of Jesuites, that the world may see by what art they attained to that reputation in the Papacy: dazeling mens eyes with a seeming splendour of humilitie, such as is rejected, Col. 2. ult. laying this low foundation to their haughtie aspiring, creeping to the lowest, and terrifying the highest.

Phil. 1.

A.D. 1557.

In the yeare 1557. on the Ides of Februarie, Oviedo with five other Jesuites, passed from Goa into Ethiopia: Their names were Antonie Fernandes, Andrew Galdanes, Gonzalus Cardosus, Francis Lopez, Emanuel Fernandes. There were besides some twentie Portugals: they arrived safe at Arcoco. Had they stayed five daies longer, they had lost their Voyage, if not themselves. For on the second of Aprill, the Turkish Admirall with a great Fleete tooke Mazua, (being then in the ayd of the King of Zeila) and Ercoco, also the only Port Towne then left to the Prete, fortifying them in such sort, that all passage to Christians was prevented. Let us here insert the Letter of Emanuel Fernandez.

[II. vii. 1179.]

Mazua and Ercoco taken by the Turkes.

Letter of Emanuel Fernandes.

ON our Ladie day in March, 1557. we came to Baroa, and the Barnagasso being certified of our comming, came to meet us, and received us, especially the Bishop, with signification of honour and good will. There was great rejoycing of the people to see him, which came with great alacritie to kisse his hand. In that Citie we stayed twentie daies, in which happened the commemoration of our Lords Passion; and the mysteries of that holy weeke, we performed in the most pious manner wee could. On Good-Friday we made a pompous Procession (respecting that place) from our Church to theirs. Great was the concourse of people to us, approving and applauding the Romane Rites. Wee spent a good deale of time in hearing the Portugals confessions, and other holies. Many of their Servants and Children were annointed with Chrisme, and confirmed by the Bishop. The Barnagasso came often to visite him, and he often, but in vaine, exhorted them to the obedience of the Romane Church. The spring comming on, when those parts were in feare of the Turke, we went from Baroa to the Emperour, in which wee spent fiftie daies, every where meeting some of Portugall race which needed Sacraments. Eight daies before our arrivall at the Emperours Tent, one of his chiefe men was sent to us to salute the Bishop in his name, and

Baroa, or Barua.

many Mules were brought for carriages. At last came one in the Emperours Name, to charge us that we should proceed no further without his command, which happened two daies after. When we were a little off from the Camp, the Emperour sent word, and we pitched our Tents, and therein aboade that night. The day following about noone, many of the Royall blood, and others of the chiefe Nobilitie, not a few, preciously attired and well mounted, came to us in our Tents. Two of these were of principall place, to whom was the office committed of conveying the Bishop to the Emperour. Meane while the Emperour with his Mother and Brethren ascended into a high place, whence he might behold us comming. When we were come, the Prete appointed that we should passe on Horse-backe into the first Court (an honourable courtesie, and differing from the Court custome) and before the entrance of the second Court, wherein was the Tent Royall, we alighted. At the doore of the Tent on both sides were many men, venerable by Nobilitie or age, ranked in goodly order, and leaning on staves. Heere we stayed a while. Then came forth two (Isaac the Barnagasso was one) which with lowly bowing of the whole body, saluted the Bishop, and (we attending) led him in to the Emperour. He also shewed no small signes of honour and love to him at his comming. After that a few words had passed, Oviedo produced his Letters from the Viceroy, the Patriarch, and others in India, which were presently read in the presence of all. The Emperour was not a little disturbed therewith, nor was able to conceale his backwardnesse to the Romane Church: but warily, and being well affected to the Portugals, he indevoured as well as he could to hide it, and to seeme well apayed: not so yet, but some evident signes of perfidiousnesse appeared. And although he never purposed to relinquish his errors, yet at the first he well entertained the Bishop, and allowed him and his company large maintenance. Nor was there any which in word or deed durst wrong us, in respect of the Princes favour. Set aside his perfidie, in the whole

Abassine Empire, was not a man, whom the Emperour Claudius did not exceede in prudence, magnanimitie, and other royall vertues. He was very gentle and affable to the Bishop, and alway gave him some hope of reclaiming him. When they began to treat of Religion, Oviedo desired him that he would be present at their disputations with them, which amongst the Abassines were esteemed most learned. He consented and often heard the Bishop arguing matters of Faith with a great troupe of men learned: but in regard of Claudius, all the rest of that faction were mute. He alone both in heate of speaking and eagernesse of victory, surpassed all which he brought into that contention with him, and with such dexteritie of wit did often defend his errors, that he wrought us some trouble. And although Oviedo alway got the victorie in dispute, the adversaries yet (such is the custome of obstinate minds) with laughters and immodest clamors, boasted themselves to have gotten the better. When therefore the Bishop saw that he prevailed nothing by this course of disputing, he gathered in writing the erronious opinions of the Abassines, and offered the same confuted by reasons and authorities to the Emperors reading. He tooke the same and read it, and as he could, answered in writing to every thing, stifly averring, that he would never yeeld obedience to the Romane Bishop, nor decline from his Predecessors steps in things of Religion, but would hold that Faith which they held; and therefore in vaine did any mortall man indevour to make him in any sort to relinquish it. Herewithall he began also to shew some tokens of indignation against the Bishop, and openly to affirme that his presence was distastfull to him. Whereupon lest he might provoke against him and his the fury of an impotent man, hee thought best to yeeld to the time, and leaving the Emperor, sought to draw others to the truth. Thus farre Emanuel.

Commendation of Claudius.

But when Claudius heard that many of the Nobles and others, both Plebeians and Monks were by the Bishop and his Companions brought out of their darknesse to light,

he was much moved, the Abbots especially with complaints incensing him. Whereupon he sent for him, and sharply reproved him, commanding him to treat of the mysteries of Faith with the Portugals, and their Posteritie, but with none of his Abassines. He answering, that he was therefore sent thither, and must obey God rather then Man, what danger soever he incurred; so provoked the Emperor, that he reviled him, and forbad him to come any more in his sight: telling him further, that his labour was vaine to impose on him or his the Popes yoake. This was in the yeare 1559. in Januarie. In Februarie following, the Saracens called Malachales invaded those parts. On Maunday-Thursday was a battell betwixt them and the Abassines, in which these were put to flight, and the Emperour slaine, his head cut off and sent with ludibrious triumph to the King of Adel. The Captaine of the Saracens, in acknowledgement that this victorie came from God, alighted off his Horse, and triumphed on an Asse. To Claudius having no issue, his brother Adamas Seguedus succeeded, a man of evill qualities, and a cruell enemy to the Romane Faith. He had beene before taken in warre by the Saracens, and carried into Arabia, where denying Christ hee turned Mahumetan, but being redeemed by Claudius, he returned to the Abassine Faith. The Bishop went to gratulate his succession, and received honourable entertainment. But after that, upon occasion of Converts to the Romane Church, he commanded him to bee brought before him, and sware, that if he proceeded in that kind, it should cost him his life: and then also rent his garment, and laid violent hands on him, at last condemning him to exile with Francis Lopez, in a barren high Mountaine, taking away his Chalice also, to hinder him from saying Masse. There they continued eight moneths, in Caves, lying on the ground, living on wilde herbs: this place also being a receptacle of Robbers, whence they set upon Passengers. Hence at length he was delivered by intercession of a Noble woman, which comming thither, saw (they say) a glorious light shining

[II. vii. 1180.]

Malachales: the Author doubteth whether they were of the Amalekites posterity.

Modesty of a Moore.

Adamas Emperour.

Oviedo banished three times.

A.D. 1562.

about his person and Mansion. He persecuted also the Abassine Converts with death and banishment: five of which being cast to the Lions, found the beasts more mild then the Emperour, who againe sent Andrew and them into exile: where being in danger of starving, at Oviedos prayer (I will not urge your credit) a River (like Jordan) opened her bowels, and yeelded them a hidden treasurie of Fishes. Againe, he was revoked, and againe for like reconcilements to Rome exiled, having before offered with his own hands to take away his life, his sword (by I know not what miracle) falling out of his hand. In this third exile, he adjoyned all the Portugals, and that without their wives and children. But a conspiracie being set on foot by Isaac Barnagasso and others, which exalted Betanc Zarcar, illegitimate sonne of the Emperors elder Brother, this made him send for the Portugals from their exile. In the first battell Adamas was overthrowne: in the next, he tooke and slue his Corrivall. In the third, another legitimate Brother of Zarcar was set up, and the Turkes called to help with their Ordnance, which put Adamas to flight. This was in the yeare 1562. in the next yeare he died.

Miracles like a bad herb, make the Jesuits Stories often distastfull and doubtfull. You cannot have their Rose without such prickles: or any remote religious Storie without such vanitie. Other miracles they tell which I have omitted, as enquiring more after the Abassine state and Church, then Popish miracles.

The Empire was now rent into divers factions, some creating the sonne of Adamas Emperor, others that brother of Zarcar, and some looking to other parts. Andrew, which was now Patriarch (Nonius being dead) got him into Tigrai, neere that famous Abbey, called Abba Guarima, and dwelt in Fremona, a small Village, sixteene yeares together, in which he never saw Abassine Emperor. For warre had set all things in such combustion, that although he might reduce some Abassines, yet for reconciling that whole State was no opportunitie. Malaseguetus the sonne of Adamas raigned but seventeene yeares (Barnagasso being dead) the Galæ in the meane time, invading, wasting, overthrowing and spoiling all in their way, possessing with victorious armes, above one hundred Regions or Shires, the greatest part of the Empire in a short space. The Turks also from the Sea shoare which they held, made

Malaseguetus Emperour.

The Galæ.

often inroads, slaying and captiving many. Oviedo meane while was preserved at Fremona.

Sebastian King of Portugall understanding how things were desperate in Abassia, dealt with the Pope to send this Bishop to Japon, which by Pius the fifth was granted, in the yeare 1556. The Copie hereof he received the next yeare from the Jesuites of Goa, but excused himselfe in a Letter to the Pope, alledging the Impossibilitie of getting thence by shipping, the Saracens infesting those Seas. But if five hundred Portugall Souldiers were sent thither from India, which wee long (saith he) expect, and earnestly desire and hope in God to obtaine; there will be no doubt, but not onely the Abassine Rebels will come to the obedience of the Romane Church, but many Ethnicke people also to the Faith of Christ. For here are in Ethiopia innumerable idolatrous Nations, whom we may goe to without crossing any Sea, and easily draw to the Faith. We know for certaine, that many of the Kingdome of Damute (which they say, extendeth from Mosambike to Sofala) have come to the Emperour, and desired to become Christians, rejected notwithstanding for private respects, he desiring rather to have them Slaves in condition, then in Religion Brethren. There were also three yeares since some of the Countrey called Sinari, which sought to make peace with a certaine Prince, the Emperours Kinsman, with whom they had warres, and offered themselves both to Tribute and Religion, but repelled by hatred and avarice, exceeding Charitie. There are almost innumerable of the neighbouring Ethnicks, whom the Saracen Merchants buy and sell to the Turkes, which all would give their names to Christ, if Covetousnesse did not pervert their Princes. Those five hundred Portugall Souldiers, before mentioned, might prevent these evils, both with great commoditie to the Portugall affaires, and strengthning the Indian power. For if the Turkes (which easily they may) doe first possesse Ethiopia, it is hard to say, how much they may thence endanger the Indian businesse, being furnished in those places with

Oviedos Letter to the Pope.

Harvest lost for want of labourers.

Sinari.

necessaries for shipping, Iron for Armes, provision for Armies, Slaves for service, and the like. That Emperour which persecuted the Romane Faith is dead. His Sonne [II. vii. 1181.] which succeeded him is young, in judgement weake, and in name rather then in power an Emperour. For hee hath the same Adversaries which conspired against his Father, beeing both Principall in Nobilitie and the most in number. Whereby all things are so confused, and embroyled with Civill Dissentions and Forreigne Warres, that nothing were more to bee wished then some refuge of Peace, which the most know to consist in the Romane Faith. And although the Monkes and many Nobles doe oppugne our Faith, and persecute the Catholikes, yet the Communalitie, so much prompter to truth, as it is lesse tyed with humane respects, doth approve the Romane Decrees, as doe also of the chiefe men not a few.

We indeavour the Salvation of both by publike and private Preachings and Disputations, with Writings also refelling Writings, not altogether in vaine. For some are converted and more would be, but for feare of punishments, an eagre Enemie of the Truth in base minds. This is the cause that in these places especially, Religion desireth an armed hand, that they which will may come without feare to the Catholike Tents, and those which have comne may abide constant. I am of opinion, holy Father, that this Ethiopian businesse is very conducent to the enlarging and splendor of the Catholike Religion, although it be, as other things of weight, intangled with many difficulties. Yea, if I bee not much deceived, no Expedition can now be offered, which can bring greater ornament to the Romane Church, or greater accesse to the Catholike Affaires. Here where now I am, about two hundred and thirtie Catholikes dwell, divided in two little Townes, which therefore we have lately built, that they which before with losse of their goods and greater danger of their soules, wandered like Pilgrimes thorow divers parts of Ethiopia, might have a fixed Seat, for instruction

An armed hand and band required to further the Jesuits preaching in Abassia.

and Christian Sacraments. Others not a few else-where, waite the opportunitie to come hither, &c.

Thus did Oviedo move the Pope and the King to suffer him there to abide whiles he lived, still urging that band of five or sixe hundred Portugall Souldiers to be sent thither. In the yeare 1576. when the Abassine Emperour sent a Messenger into India for that purpose, the Patriarch againe writ to the Pope about it, reckoning many Commodities which thence might redound to stablish there the true Faith. His Miracles, in judgements inflicted on such as tooke away his goods in procuring life and death by his Prayers, in chasing away Grashoppers, &c. I omit. He dyed of the stone in September, 1577. and was buried at Fremona, where the Abassines, as they use to Saints, often made recourse to his Grave, and offered Wheate, Frankincense, and other Odours.

And there our Author relates many Miracles to be done, which yet in Jesuiticall Relations of remote parts are now no Miracles, nor rarities, they are so common. His five Companions Jesuites, are by the Jesuite our Author also much commended for their Apostolicall life. Anthonie Fernandez was set over the rest, and was the first which passed out of this life: Cardosus the next, slaine by Theeves. Gualdarus was slaine by the Turkes. Lopez lived longest, and dyed in May, 1597. before whose death Melchior Sylvius was sent into Abassia, by the Archbishoppe of Goa. As for Melchior Carnerus made Bishop at Goa, to succeed Oviedo in the Patriarchate of Æthiopia, because he came not there, we have also excluded him from hence. Anno, 1560. Fulgentius Frerius a Jesuite sent out of India to visit Oviedo, was taken by the Turkes in the Red Sea, and carried to Cairo: twentie yeares after the same happened to Anthonie Monserrate and Peter Paez Jesuites, which were seven yeares in Captivitie. Abraham Georges 1595. sped better, being taken and martyred for confessing Jesus in Mazua. But having a Colledge erected at Diu, P. Paez, Anno 1603. Anthonie Fernandez two yeares after with Fran. Anthonie de

Jesuites which passed to Abassia.

Angelis; Azevedus and Mangonius 1606. were shipped by Moores at Diu, and carried to Abassia.

§. II.

Description of the Countries, and the severall Regions, Religions, and Abassine Opinions.

THat part of Æthiopia, which is under or neere to Egypt, is called Abassia, namely, so much as is, or in more flourishing Estate of that Empire, hath beene subject to the Negus; called Priest John, by errour of Covilanus, followed by other Portugals in the first discoverie, applying by mis-conceit through some like occurrents the Relations in M. Polo and others touching Presbyter John, in the North-east parts of Asia, (therefore called a Priest because he had the Crosse, as the Westerne Archbishops used, carryed before him) unto this King; the Abassines also in Europe, willing by names of neerer sound to confirme that fancie, tending as they supposed, to the credit of their Prince. On the East it is bounded with the Red Sea from ten to twentie degrees of North Latitude, ending in Suachen, anciently called Aspix. On the West with high Mountaines rising along, or neerer the Bankes of Nilus: the North parts extend as farre as Meroe, the South to Avia, thence reaching to Adel, a Kingdome of Moores, whose chiefe Citie is Ara in nine degrees of North Latitude. The whole circuit is sixe hundred, or after others betwixt seven and eight hundred leagues. The Name Abassia seemes derived from Abases, which Strabo saith is given to inhabited places environed with Desarts. [II. vii. 1182.]

P. Jar. Thes. l. 3. c. 31. N. God. de Abas rebus l. 1. c. 3.

John Gabriel, sometimes Generall of the Portugals in Abassia, a man expert in many Languages, hath written, that the Abassine Empire contayneth by ancient right, sixe and twentie Kingdomes, distributed into fourteene Regions: The first eight lye from Suachen Westward. Tigrai containeth seventeene Tracts or large Shires, each having a Lieutenant: the Turkes now possesse the Sea

John Gabriel a Portugall.

Tigrai the first Kingdome.

Ports hereof, and the Moores the adjoyning Continent, the in-land parts are inhabited promiscuously by Christians and Heathens, blacke, miserable and deformed within and without, in soule, bodie and state. The next to Tigrai is Dancali, washed on the East by the Red Sea, thence extended Westward in a short and barren Tract of Land, inhabited by Moores, tributarie to the Abassine. Angote followeth, the fourth Boa, the fifth Amara, the sixth Leca, all inhabited by Christians. The seventh, is Abagamedri, very large, contayning seventeene Tracts, inhabited partly with Christians, partly with Ethnikes, as is also Dambea, having only two Tracts. On the other side of Dancali, along the Sea Coast runneth Aucaguerle, inhabited by Moores which acknowledge not the Abassine, abutting on Adel, the chiefe Citie Zeila, sometimes Aualites. Next to it is Dahali, extending towards Mombaza, the Inhabitants partly Christians, partly Mahumetans, tributary to the Negus. Oecie is within Land, partly Mahumetane, partly Ethnike, subject to the Abassine: after which follow Arium, Fatigar, (both Christians) and Zinger, Ethnike. The sixteenth, is Rozanagum inhabited by Christians, not subject to the Prete. Hence to the North is Roxa an Ethnike Kingdome, Goma inhabited by Christians and Ethnikes obeying the Abassine: towards Monomotapa is Nerea, both Christian and Ethnike, a large Kingdome: Zethe only Ethnike, but subject to the Emperour: after which are Conche, Mahaola, only Ethnike, and Goroma which hath twentie Tracts of Christians and Gentiles, almost made an Iland by Nilus encompassing, able by the fertilitie to nourish divers Armies (which almost continually infest it for that cause) the Sowers following the Reapers without other Tillage. The three last Kingdomes lye towards Egypt, to wit, Damote, Sua, Jasculum: Sua, the heart and sometime Chiefe Seat of the Empire: Jasculum extends to Cairo, inhabited by Mahumetanes, yearely every Lent travelled by Pilgrims to Jerusalem, going in Companies out of Dambea.

Dancali.

Angote and the other five.

Aucaguerle.

Dahali.

Oecie.

Rozanagum.

Nerea.

Goroma, large and fertile.

The names of the Provinces are Dubane, Xuncho;

Daraita, Bora, Calaoa, Aga; (these three are inhabited by Christians in name, otherwise Ethnikes, the first of the former by Ethnikes, the next Saracens; the third Christians) Arima, Arbum, Xancala, Xancora, Suggamo, Bergamo, Aris (which is on the other side of Nilus) Evara. Of all these Kingdomes, besides Tigrai, Abagamedri, Goroma, and Dambea, scarcely any is subject to the Abassine.

But foure Kingdomes now subject to the Negus.

The same Gabriel recordeth foure principall Rivers in this Abassine Æthiopia, and as many huge Lakes. The first River is Taucea, running from the South to the North, but intrapped and drunke up of the thirstie sands before it can pay Tribute to the Sea. It hath neighbouring Mountaines of admirable height, almost inaccessible passage, and fortified scite, inhabited by Jewes, still observing the Mosaicall Ceremonies, dreadfull to the adjoyning people. The second River is Oara, running into the Sea of Zeila, richer in waterie treasures then Nilus: but such is the Abassine Superstition, that they refuse to drinke of his pleasant waters, because it watereth in the passage the Regions of Mahumetans. (And is not some mens fancie of like phrenzie with us, which refuse our Churches for the living, Church-yards for their dead; and others not so sicke, our Ceremonies and Rites, for a Popish passage, bee their Antiquitie, Innocencie, and seeming profitablenesse never so plausible, and nothing lesse then Popish?) The third River is Gabea, which runnes towards Mombaza, and the fourth Nilus. The first Lake, is Aicha in Angote: the second is Dambeabahar, that is, the Sea of Dambea, not farre from Gubbai, where now is the Emperours Court, if at any time he leaves his Tents for the Citie: it is about threescore miles long, and five and twentie broad, admitting Nilus on one side. It hath many Fishes, River-horses, which endanger Sailers; and hath many small Ilands therein to which Traytors are confined. The third Lake is Zella, in Oecie, the fourth not farre thence Xacala. Antonie Fernandez a Jesuite, in a Letter dated 1610. attributes fortie Provinces to Abassia, but in substance

Rivers and Lakes.

Jewes.

Oara.

Gabea.

Lakes.

A. Fernandez his Letter.

agreeth with Gabriel, whose Tracts are as huge as the others Provinces.

Nature of the Abassine soile.

THe same Fernandez addeth, that the Abassine soile is for the most part hollow and full of deepe openings. In the midst of the Champaigne Plaines, in many places out of the hard Rocke arise Rockie Hils, which in times of warre serve them for Fortresses. The whole Countrey abounds with veines of Metall and Metall-medicines: but the Inhabitants partly by ignorance, and partly for feare of the Turkes Invasion, if such things should bee knowne, suffer them to lye hidden in the Earth. Only they make use of so much Iron as they find upon the face of the Earth without digging. Of Plants and Trees is great varietie: but fruits not so pleasant as in Europe. One yet there is very usefull for the Wormes which breed in them by eating raw flesh, which would gnaw thorow their entrailes, if they did not prevent that evill with monethly purgations by this Fruit, which both kils the Wormes and emptieth the belly. Peaches, Pomegranates, Indian Figs, Oranges, and Vines are there seene, but rare and few. Hares, Goats, Harts, Bores, Elephants, Camels, Buffals, Lions, Panthers, Tigres, Rhinocerotes, and other Creatures are there seene, and one so huge that a man sitting on Horse-backe, may passe upright under his belly: his shape is like a Camell, but his nature divers, feeding on leaves which he reacheth from the tops of Trees with his necke stretched forth. There are many Rivers and Lakes, in all which are River-horses innumerable very hurtfull to their Corne: of great bodies, and a mouth so wide that they can gape a Cubit and halfe. By night they goe out of the waters into the fields to feed; for they live on Herbs: and if the Husbandmen watch not well, in one night they will destroy their Corne. In the water they are very bold, and assaile men like fierce Dogges, and cruelly teare those which they get. They are so afraid of fire that a little Boy holding a lighted Torch, may scarre away many thousands of them. There are some which hunt and kill

Wormes in the belly by use of raw flesh.

[II. vii. 1183.]

This seemeth to be the Camelopardalis.

River-horses, and their nature.

them for their flesh, which differeth little from Beefe. In these Rivers and Lakes is also found the Torpedo, which if any man hold in his hand, if it stirre not, it doth produce no effect: but if it move it selfe never so little, it so tormenteth the bodie of him which holds it, that his Arteries, Joints, Sinewes, & all his Members feele exceeding paine with a certaine numnesse: and as soone as it is let go out of the hand, all that paine and numnesse is also gone. The Superstitious Abassines beleeve that it is good to expell Devils out of humane bodies, as if it did torment Spirits no lesse then men. They say, if one of these alive bee laid amongst dead Fishes, if it there stirre it selfe, it makes those which it toucheth to stirre as if they were alive. There is great store of this kind in Nilus, in the furthest parts of Goyama, where there is a Meere or Fenne [a] without bottome, welling and admirably boyling forth waters continually, whence Nilus springeth. It ariseth small and first for a dayes journey and halfe trendeth Eastward. Then it enters into a Lake as great as any imagined to bee in the World, running thorow the midst thereof with a swift course, flying all mixture of waters, and throwes it selfe from very high Rockes, whence having gotten freer scope, it expatiates it selfe a while, and shortly is as it were swallowed up in deepe yauning Gulfes of the Earth, and so straitned, that in some places a man may stride over it. But after it hath passed five dayes to the East; it bends backe its course to the West, and sometimes greater, sometimes lesse, according to the Season, passeth towards Egypt. The Abassines report, that it is no hard thing to turne the Rivers course some other way, and to sterve in Egypt, which I scarsly beleeve.

The Torpedo, a strange kind of fish.

[a] *Paulus a bottomlesse poole. Strange Springs and Course of Nilus, which some fetch much further from beyond the Line, perhaps, not so truly. J. Baptista Scortia a Jesuite hath published two Bookes of this one River ascribing to it two originals, one a Lake in twelve degr. of South latitude, fiftie five of longitude, whence Cuama floweth, Spirito Sancto, and Coanza: the other under the Line in fiftie five of longitude, being a Lake of 1700. furlongs over, here mentioned by Fernandez. The Abassine opinion by the Kings Letters appeare, that Nilus ariseth hence. Seasons in Abassia, the Red Seas course.*

The Abassine Aire is most part warme and temperate, but in low Land is exceeding hote, and somewhat unwholsome. Their Winter is from the end of May to the beginning of September; and then it beginneth in the

Red Sea. I have found by experience, that this Sea from the change of the Moone to the Full, fourteene dayes together flowes in, and as many through the whole Wane ebbeth or runneth out. In Winter it raineth almost every day in these parts, alway afternoone, and not without Thunder. From this Kingdome of Dambea where we live, both Poles are seene, but Antarctike the higher. Neere it are many Stars in forme of a Crosse, whence it hath that name. In this Tract of Heaven appeareth a certaine spot like a Cloud: we suppose it a part more thinne then others not starred: let Philosophers examine. About this spot many Starres shine lesse then those which adorne the other Pole. The yeare beginneth heere with the Spring on the first of September. Their yeare hath twelve monethes, each of them thirtie dayes, and those which remayne from August to September, are reckoned by themselves. The Abassines no way more expresse their joy and jollitie then by eating and drinking: and easily on Holy dayes they come to the Churches, which usually are compassed with Trees for shade, where are many Vessels set full of their Wine, which after Service ended, they sucke in so unmeasurably, that first Drunkennesse and then Brabbles, and lastly Frayes usually follow. They make Wine of Honey tempered with Opium, both pleasant and profitable taken moderately.

Power of the Moone.

Abassine good fellowship.

Scarcitie of Wine.

Peter Paez.

Wine of Vines is rare, and for their Masse in Vintage time they use Must, at other times Wine of Raysins. Peter Paez a Jesuit writ, that Anno 1604. hee was with the Emperour who desired him to say Masse, which hee could not for want of Wine, which no where could be gotten.

Succession of Emperours.

**Before him was Nahu, whose Predecessor was Alexander; to him Ciriacus, &c.*

At what time Rodericke Lima entred Abassia, David * reigned, and after hee had held the Empire thirtie sixe yeares, his Sonne Claudius succeeded: who in the yeare 1559. was slaine, having ruled almost twentie yeares. His Brother Adamas succeeded called also Mena, and reigned foure yeares dying in the yeare 1563. Sarsa Dengel succeeded, who leaving his former name, would

be called Malac Seguetus, and died, Anno 1596. His Sonne James succeeded, a childe, which after seven yeares was taken by his Subjects, deprived and sent into the Kingdome of Nerea, a certaine Cousin German of his usurping the Scepter, which he scarsly held a yeare, being slaine by his Subjects, Anno 1604. James was restored, and in the second yeare after expelled and slaine in battell by another of his Uncles Sonnes, called Sacinus: Paez calls him Sasinozius.

Abassines apparell.

ANtonius Fernandez thus writeth of their apparell. The richer sort buy Garments of the Saracens, and clothe themselves in their fashions. The rest both men and women cover their bodies either with a Skinne or Pelt, or with a course Hempen cloth without other arte then the Weavers. When they doe reverence to any, they put off this Cloth from the shoulders to the navill, remayning halfe naked. They let their haire grow, and that serves them for a Hat and Head-tyre. For finer braverie they curle and anoint their haire with Butter, which shewes in the Sun like Grasse in the morning dew. Lest their locks and curles should be disordered, when they goe to bed, each one pitcheth a Forke or Cratch a foote high in the ground, betwixt the hornes whereof hee reposeth his necke, and sleepeth with his head hanging. They use to brand markes in their bodies, especially in the face. And on their little fingers they suffer the nailes to grow as long as they will, like Cockes spurres, which also they sometimes cut from Cockes, and fit to their fingers. They colour their hands and feet (which are bare) with the juyce of a reddish barke. They usually are artlesse and lazie, neglecting hunting and fishing, and whereas Wooll, Hempe and Cotton might easily be had, yet the vulgar are clothed with undressed Pelts, each wearing a Rammes Skinne tyed to his hands and feet. They lye on Oxe-hides without Quilts or Mattresses: for Tables they use great bowles of wood, rudely hollowed, without any Naperie. Vessels they have of blacke Chalke. Few but

[II. vii. 1184.]

Foolish braverie.

Dul Ignorance and Idlenesse.

Their Arts.

Saracens use Merchandize and in few places: most exercise Husbandrie, the Gentry follow Armes and the Court. They have no great Cities, but Villages unwalled and unfortified. Their greatest Towne hath scarsly one thousand sixe hundred Houses. Their Houses are small, without elegance, without storie, almost without arte, round and covered with Earth and Straw. They write no Letters, nor use Records in Judgements, or other Writings, but in their holy things, and Officers of Accompts for the King.

Townes and Houses.

Little or no writing.

They use no Dirges or Devotions for the dead. They use Pictures, but not carved nor graven Images. They paint Christ, the Blessed Virgin and other Saints in blacke forme, as Devils and wicked men in white: so they paint Christ and his Apostles at the Maundie blacke, and Judas white; Christ in his Passion blacke, Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, Herod, and the Jewes white: Michael blacke and the Devill white. Their fasting is rigorous not freeing the Sicke. Some Religious men abstaine wholly from flesh, which is no easie thing farre from the Sea, where they have few fishes. They fast Wednesdayes and Fridayes, not tasting ought till night, then eating Herbes without Oyle (which they have not) or Butter, and Bread with Apples.

See of these Fasts, Alvarez.

Churches.

Their Temples are round and encompassed with a double porch; they neither walke, nor talk, nor spit, nor sit, nor laugh in the Church: nor admit Dogges or other Domesticke creatures into the Church-yard. Horsemen alight and walke on foot before the Church as they passe. The great Altar is in the midst, Curtaines being drawne betwixt the doore and it from one side of the Church to the other, wherein none not in Orders may enter: without may Lay-men stand, which have Crutches to support them if they be sicke or old. Some Churches are only for men, others only for women: in small Villages they are common to both, but with severall Divisions that they may not see each other.

Ludovicus Azevedius in his Letter 1607. saith, that

they confesse not the number and kinds of their sinnes, but only say in generall, I have sinned, I have sinned. They use not Confirmation, nor Extreme Unction, nor the Communion-Viaticum.

Ant. Fernandez.

ANtonie Fernandez, 1606. writeth, that in Dembea where hee then was in the Citie of Gorgorra, some received the Romane Faith, others refused: that the Emperour that yeare writ to the Pope to send thither some Patriarch, and to the King of Spaine for Portugall Forces, to reduce his Empire to the Faith, to which the Princes and Grandes opposed, and must by Armes be forced; but hee feared notwithstanding the mutable inconstancie of the Abassines, which care little to hold promise. God open their eyes: of twentie parts of the Empire, seventeene are almost gone. The next yeare he writeth; we are here five Priests of the Societie, some of us attend the Emperours Campe, to conserve and encrease our Catholike number. Many commend our Doctrine, but are afraid to professe it. They observe Jewish Circumcision, Sabbaths, abstinence from the flesh which is to the Jewes uncleane, and from Fish without finnes, and though they confesse them forbidden by Gods word, yet will they not forsake them. Following the Emperour, I take view of a great part of the Ethiopian Continent. Touching their Rebaptisations, and tradition of Soules from humane seed, and equalitie of Christs humane Nature with the Divine, with other Abassine errors, I have had often conflicts with their learned men, which yeilded to other things easily: but in the two last opinions were obstinate. They call Dioscorus, Blessed, condemne Leo with the Chalcedon Councell, with many reproches, and Father on him many lies touching the Natures and operations of Christ. They hold also, that God doth effect nothing besides the Consecration of things and Miracles when they are done, and thence gather that the Soule is produced of Seed. They circumcise not onely Males, but with a peculiar Rite Females also. Yearely on Twelfth day they renew

Baptisme: Apostatas returning from Mahumetanisme, are also rebaptized, and likewise they which have committed some erroneous crime, or have married, or have entred into any Religious Family. On the other side, they are so rigorous to Infants, that before their appointed day they die without Baptisme. They come to the Eucharist without Contrition or Confession, even the most wicked amongst them. They dissolve Marriages when they list: before the day of Judgement they say, that neither the Soules of the Blessed are in Heaven, nor of the wicked in Hell: Purgatorie they deny, and the Spirits proceeding from the Sonne. These errors are common to all; some are peculiar to some of them, new Heresies daily springing up without danger as every man listeth.

[II. vii. 1185.]

In his Letters, 1609. In this Ethiopian Empire, every man liveth in manner in Armes, nor is the Emperours life more quiet then of other men. For every yeare, Winter being scarsly past, himselfe in person and his Captaines, renew the Warres, sometimes against Rebels, sometimes against neighbouring enemies. It cannot be uttered what confusions have happened these two last yeares. As soone as the present Emperour began his reigne, three or foure chiefe men usurping the Royall name, rebelled against him, but were vanquished in battaile. This very yeare, the second of his reigne, as many as have attempted the same and comne into the field. Neither of long time have things bin quieter. We are also constrained to wave up and downe with these stormes; sometimes flying to the Mountaines, sometimes hiding our selves in secret Caves, sometimes we pierce thicke Woods, and unpassable places, and suffer innumerable evils, which wee could more patiently endure, if we could gather any harvest to offer to God. This very yeare, when the Emperour was gone against a Rebell, suddaine newes came to the Campe, that the Galæ (a savage Nation of Cafres, begotten of Devils, as the vulgar report) were at hand. It is a hundred yeares since these passed from the fields and woods, where they lived by keeping Cattell, and shaking off the Ethiopian yoake,

Ethiopia civill Combustions.

The Galæ.

have attained such power, that they possesse about the twelfth part of Ethiopia, and are a terrour to all. The Emperour went against them, but was overthrowne, to the ruine well-neere of the whole Empire. I sought to comfort him as well as I could, but he gathering his forces, suddainely rushed on the Conquerours, and recovered his losse.

One Juan de Baltasar, a pretended Abassine, and Knight of the Militarie Order of Saint Antonie, hath written a Booke in Spanish of that Order, founded (as he saith) by the Prete John, in the daies of Saint Basil, with rules received from him, above seven hundred yeares before any Militarie Order was in the world. I know not whether his Booke (which I have by me) hath more lies or lines, a man of a leaden braine and brazen face; seconded, if not exceeded by the Morall, Naturall, and Politicall Historie of Ethiopia, the worke of his Scholler Luys d'Urreta, a Spanish Frier and lyer: the said Godignus every where through his first Booke confutes him, it is more then enough that wee have named such more then Utopian, such Legendarie fore-heads: and though we will not blot Paper with mention of their assertions, yet have their overflowing commendations of the Ethiopian Faith, and admiration of their State, made thus many Witnesses to be mustered, sometimes repeating the same things, by more abundant allegations to signifie and proove the truth. We will further trouble the Reader with some extracts of Peter Paez, chiefe of the Jesuites in those parts. For Melchior Sylvius a Priest of Goa, sent into Abassia, consulting with the Abassine Portugals, which way any Jesuite might be sent thither, was answered, that the Port of Bailur over against Moha, was freest of danger, which Paez seeking to doe, by the Monson was prevented, and the next yeare by a Turke, Servant of the Captaine of Suachen, trading at Diu, named Rezoam Aga, was in Armenian habite thither conveyed. His journey himselfe hath written in a Letter to the Jesuites at Goa, the foure and twentieth of July, 1603.

Bailur twelve leagues within the streights on the Abassine shoare.

Letters of P. Paez.

THe two and twentieth of March we set Saile, Rezoam Aga sent me of his provision twice a day, and landing at Mazua, procured me favour of the Governour, with licence to goe whether I would into Ethiopia or Cairo. I thanked him, and said, That I would goe to a certaine Towne to see whether my Kinsman being dead, I might succeed in the Inheritance. The Banean Saranga or Captaine of the ship had received charge of the owner touching me, and sent two Saracens with mee, with whom and five Christians of Abassia, I departed on the fift of May. I went in a vile ragged habite for feare of Theeves, which there use to rob and kill, which so freed our Company, that as wee went by night none spake but whisperingly. Neere morning wee thought to have slept, but a Lyon terryfied us, within eight paces of me, but with our showting he departed. The next day we passed high and cragged Hils, for feare of Theeves, and came at night to a Village of Saracens. On Holy-Thursday, we came to certaine Christian Herd-men, which supposing mee a Turke, fled, but learning that I was a Priest, kissed my hands with joy, and refreshed us with store of Milke in vessels of Straw, which they set on burning stones to heate. Bread they had none, and was, they said, a rare thing to them, and farre brought. Their wives which had hid themselves, came the next day to intreat my blessing, some kissing my hands, others falling at my feete. We went thence over rough Mountaines, troubled also with raine, the way not above three foote broad, on both sides so steepe, that I durst not looke downe for feare of giddinesse. Blind almost and wearie, we came at last to the top, and found a plainer path, (for I had not beene able to have descended the like) and a Towne of Christians which brought us their Bookes and Crosses. Here wee were invited to a poore Cottage, which yet was in good season for us, a violent raine following, which else had oppressed us. On the tenth of May we came to Barua, where all my Company left me, but one Saracen and a Christian. Another Saracen which dwelt here sent mee a Hen, but

Strange paths.

the Christian which was with me gat him away, because the Abassines (forsooth) eate not any thing killed by a Turke: and I for feare of offence, sent it backe with thankes to the sender, eating dry Bisket brought from Diu, without any other things, though faint. Neither would the Gold I had doe me any service heere to buy provision, their currant Money being stones of Salt. The Bread of my Companions was halfe baked Dough, of round forme, which they bake with putting a hot stone into the Dough, and rolling it, cast it into the fire, so that the out-side is scorched, the in-side unbaked. This they carried in their Budgets, but my stomacke could not beare it. Hither on the eleventh of May, came John Gabriel, the Captaine of the Portugals, having received my Letters from Mazua, with other Portugals. To give me better entertainment, they killed a Sheepe, which I tasted not, they eating it a little scorched and halfe raw, after the Countrey custome. Here I had a Mule, and we travelled twentie together, yet not without feare of Theeves, the raine also towards evening daily molesting us (and we were forced to lye in the open fields) heat also exceeding in the ascent of an exceeding Mountaine, and as exceeding cold on the top. On the fifteenth of May, we came to Fremona, where Oviedo and others of our Fathers were buried in the chiefe Church of the Portugals. We were received with great devotion of the people. I went to the Patriarchs house, which is round as an Apple and covered with straw, as are all which we have yet seene in Ethiopia, (all of Earth, and round, little, without distinct roomes; except those of the King and great men which have severall roomes, but yet of Earth and Thatched.) The Patriarchs House was twentie palmes or spans over. Heere were Melchior Sylvius his things, which had carried with him the holy Vestments. Sunday following being Whitsunday, I celebrated a dry Masse and preached. Many came to Confession. The Portugall Captaine was sent for to the Court by the new Emperour, to whom I writ, who by writing welcomed me, and licensed me to goe to him,

Vaine superstition.

Raw flesh.

Wet, heat, cold, and ill way.

Their houses.

Siccum sacrificium.

which I purpose at the end of September, which is the end of Winter: for of him depend all the Priests, and all will be Catholikes if he command, as well Clergie as Laitie. The Emperours name is * Malac Sequed, aged fifteene yeares. On the last of June, Sylvius returned from a worse journey then that of ours, more craggie and rough, of twentie dayes, which hee goeth twise in the yeare to Nanina, to the Catholikes there. I send your Worships the head of the holy Patriarch, although not whole, having bene often digged up: I add three pieces of the skull, and the jaw with eight teeth. On the other side, send you me, I pray, some Image of the blessed Virgines Conception, of five or sixe spannes, for the service of this Temple wanting an Image. I have placed the head of Father Francis Lopes in my Bolster, being yet hairy, for my more vive memorie of his life, which what it was you shall receive by our informations, as also of Father Abraham, of whom you have heard no fame, &c.

The King Supreme Governor in causes Civill and Ecclesiasticall.

**This seemeth falsly written: for James Malac Seguends, both Predecessour and Successor.*

Relikes.

While Paez remained at Fremona, hee translated the Catechisme into the Amaran tongue (which is there counted the most elegant) and made the Children learne it by heart. In this yeere 1603. great misery happened by Grasse-hoppers, from which Paez freed the Catholikes, by Letanies and sprinkling the Fields with Holy-water; when as the Fields of Heretikes, severed onely by a Ditch, were spoyled by them. Yea, a Heretike using this sacred sprinkling, preserved his Corne, which to a Catholike neglecting in one Field, was lost, and preserved in another by that conjured aspersion (so neere of kinne are these Locusts to the Devill, which is said * to hate Holy-water, or else make a quære for other Locusts, worse then the Ægyptian mentioned Apoc. 9.) About the end of September, when hee had thought to have gone to the Court, newes came, that the Emperours Sisters Husband conspired against him, and imprisoned him, alleadging that he was no Christian, because one of his Guard was an Ethnick,

Grasse-hoppers scarred with Holy-water.

**Mat. Paris tels of Tudfled (I thinke hee meanneth Thaxted) in Essex, where the Devill comming into the Church at the Priests aspersion, shreeked and leaped into a Medow two furlongs off. Sure I am, such a Medow is there still, called Lopers, in that Parish of my nativity.*

and that his Father was not the King, but one Batius a vulgar person. He being produced and thus accused, stood mute; because (said hee) his Subjects presumed to judge their Soveraigne: Hee was sent into close keeping to Damiieta.

The Viceroy of Tigrai passing by, Paez went to salute him: who willed him to sit downe on his Carpet, when all the rest stood: and asked why the Portugals did not now as in time past, frequent the Red Sea; whether they were afraide of the Turkes. Hee answered, that Turkes rather feared the Portugals, and fled into the Countrey when they aproached the Coast: but this was the true reason that all the ships of India came thither out of Portugall Ports, and most of their goods appertained to the Portugals. *Portugall goods in Indian ships.*

He went to the Monasterie Conegorum, where he saw their Church, the Altar invironed with a threefold Curtaine, reaching to the wall on both sides, sometime covered with stone, now with straw, the Saracens having spoyled the former, and therefore darke: they shewed him a Crucifixe painted on a Linnen cloth, as a precious thing, yet artlesly wrought. They set him on a Carpet, themselves and the Portugals sitting on the ground. Over against the doore, were ten faire stones, in the midst whereof, they say, the Emperour is inaugurated. A little further are thirteene stones in Pyramide fashion, the greatest whereof is twelve spannes broade, and about sixtie high, with much workemanship, the matter admirable whence it could bee brought hither. The Viceroy forbade his Judges to meddle with the Towne of Catholikes, and appointed Paez their Judge. The Gallæ did much mischiefe at this time, and slew the King of Narea, tributary to the Abassine, whom also they assaulted, but were overthrowne. After this, the King sent for Paez, who was brought to the King, sitting on a high Throne, and kissed his hand, being bidden also to be covered, and to sit on the Carpet. After this, followed another day a dispute about abolishing the legall Rites, two wills in Christ, and Purgatorie, all which they denie. The King was desirous

Obeliskes.

King of Naria slaine.

[II. vii. 1187.]

Want of Wine of the Vine: that of Hony more common. Jesuites honor.

to see their Masse, but for want of Wine, he could performe onely a dry Office; for which, the King caused a great Tent to bee erected, and in it, another lesse for his Throne: the Jesuite preached with great aplause; whom the Empresse also desiring to heare, when the Emperour saw him standing, hee arose from his Throne, and invited him to make his sermon out of it, himselfe sitting on the Foot-stoole. Another time, when in conference, Paez called himselfe the Emperours Subject; no, said hee, my Father and King: and gave great hopes of the conversion of that Nation, which were dashed by his death, which Paez signified in his Letter, the thirtieth of July, 1605. Namely, that Zezelazeus, whom the Emperour had delivered from exile, and exalted, had conspired together with Eras Athanatheus, (the next to the Emperour) who yet made faire shew, and bound himselfe after the Abassine manner, in the bond of excommunication, to fidelitie and loyaltie, which yet he kept not. Zezelazeus gathered great forces, alleadging against the Emperour, that he forsooke his Religion, and imbraced the Portugall and Romane; and therefore all that were zealous, ought to take armes against him. This made some sweare to kill all the Portugals, and the Jesuite especially. Before the battell, he wished him present to confesse himselfe to him. In the battell, Anahel which before had forsaken him, returned to his Part with his Sonne: but hee suspecting him; False Traitor thou wentest, said he, and so thou returnest, withall, killing him, which his sonne seeing ranne the Emperour thorow the necke, and thrust him off his Horse, whom Zezelazeus and the Saracens dispatched. Three daies hee lay dead in the field, naked and subject to contumelies, and after that, meanely buried.

The Emperour Malac Segued, called also Savenquil, and Athanas Saqued.

Paez was all this while in Goyame, whence he was sent for by the Empresse, and kindly entertained. Sazinosius by election succeeded in the Empire foure Moneths, then forsaken, and James restored out of his Narean imprisonment and exile, passing thorow the Galle's Countrey with great hazard. In the yeere 1607. Sazinosius overcame

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ASIA

him in battell, neither was James any more seene. This Sazinosius was a man of singular arts and parts for warre and peace, munificent and faithfull, aged five and thirty yeeres, affected to the Romane faith. A yeere and halfe he had to doe with Rebels, same affecting Soveraignty, which hee brought to Subjection. Much adoe he had also with the Gallæ (which came to subdue the Agai, which are white Christians, to sell them to the Saracens) whom in foure battels he overthrew. After this, followed another rebellion, with successe like to the former. Hee sent Zezelazeus prisoner into the Kingdome of Goroma, whence he escaped and was slaine of the Pesants. He sought to unite the Abassine Church with the Romane, and writ to the Pope and the King of Spaine. His Letters to the Pope are these.

James slaine or lost.

Agai.

THe Letters of Malasegued the Abassine Emperour, let come to the holy Father Bishop of Rome, with the peace of Jesus Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sinnes in his bloud, and made us a Kingdome and Priests to God and the Father. This peace bee with your Holinesse, and the whole Church of Christ, &c. Such is the spoile and ruine of our Empire by warres past, that although we have subdued some Rebels, yet are there others more puissant abroad, the Ethnick Galæ, which have subjected no small part of the Kingdome, and daily molest us with new incursions, miserably vexing old and young: which their rage cannot in seeming be repressed without the ayd of the King of Portugall. Wherefore we intreat him to send us ayde as his Ancestors did to our Progenitors. And that my Petition may have more weight, I thought good to write to your Holinesse, the Pastor and Father of all the faithfull, to signifie so much to our Brother, &c. October 14. 1607. The like he writ to the King of Spaine, Decemb. 10. as also did Eras Athanatheus.

The reason of this name, I thinke to be their custome of changing Name when they come to the Empire.

The Jesuites there give their Agnus Dei's, Graines, &c. The Abassines weare Amulets of words of the Gospell,

hanging about their necks. Amongst other Rebels which arose in Armes against Sazinosius, was not one farre from Fremona, which had beene an Anchoret, or Hermite in a Wildernesse twentie yeares, not putting off yet his ambition of a Scepter. He had theeves to associate him, of which there are plentie. But I have almost beene robbed of discretion, and seeme to have robbed my Readers patience to wilder, and while him so long in this miserable Abassia.

Religious Rebell.

An Armenian his report of Sussinus, the Emperour of the Abaxins, by us vulgarly called Prester John, who came from the said Emperours Court twelve daies since.

FIrst, from Dealeque to the Kings Court, called Dombia, (a very great Citie) is five and twentie daies journey by Carravan; heere goeth from thence yearely ten Carravans, whereof eight are great. The Commodities they carrie, are all kind of Indian cloathing, and likewise of our English Commodities, (Broad-cloath, Kerseys, Lead, Tinne; likewise, Velvets, Damaskes, Sattens, Taffitaes, and all other sorts of Silke Stuffes.) Their measure is about halfe a yard; Cloath, which is worth in Moha foure Rials of eight, is there worth eight Rials. The price of Kerseyes, is halfe the price of Broad-cloath: The Colours they most desire, are Reds, Greens, Violets, Murreys, and other light Colours: Yellowes in no esteeme, nor Blacks.

[II. vii. 1188.]

Velvets of China of all sorts are worth ten Rials of eight the halfe yard. Velvets of Italy are much more worth: but not so profitable to the Merchants, because they are much deerer. Sattens of Florence are worth ten Rials; Damaskes of the better sort, worth eight or ten Rials. Taffitaes three Rials; all colours well sold, excepting Yellowes and Blackes.

The Commodities of that Country, with their Prizes.

Civet, great quantitie is to be had, the price is three Wakias, (which is neere upon foure ounces English,) for five Rials of eight. Elephants teeth, the Bahar, worth

thirtie Rials. The Bahar is three hundred and sixtie Rottollies of Moha. Waxe one hundred Rottollies, worth one Riall of eight. Gold the Rottolly, worth sixtie Rials, the Rottolly is neere upon sixteene ounces and a halfe. Lead and Tinne in great request. Tinne worth the Rottolly, one Rial, Lead much more worth, because the Turk wil not suffer any to be carried into his Country.

Bezar-stones many are to be had, and little worth: here are many Beasts with one horne in their fore-head like a Unicorne; which horne, they say, is good against poyson. There are of them which weigh eight pound, some seven, foure, and three pound: the greatest and fairest, worth some foure Rials the piece, and those of a lesser sort worth lesse: among the Turkes and Moores in Arabia, every pound is worth one Riall of eight.

From Grancairo there goeth in August a great Carravan, and likewise another in November. The Commodities they carrie from thence, are Broad-cloaths, Kerseyes, Velvets, Sattens, Damaskes, and all sorts of Silkes. From Cayro to Dombia is fiftie daies travell by Carravan.

The Kings State.

First, he sits on a gilt Bed-sted like those of China, and there commeth great troops of men daily to salute him; some daies two thousand, some daies more, some daies lesse; but Friday being their day of Fast, there commeth a farre greater quantitie.

[Peregrinations, and

[II. viii. 1189.]

Peregrinations,

and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and other parts of Asia.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

The Historie of the first Expedition to Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Bullen, Robert of Normandie, and other Christian Princes: written by Robert, whom some call the Englishman, a Monke of Saint Remigius, which was present both at the Councell of Claremont, and in the said Expedition: translated and abbreviated.

Peter the Heremite having visited Jerusalem, by relation of the Patriark and pretended revelation moved, stirred up the Pope to this counsaile and Councell.

N the yeare of our Lord 1095. a great Councell was celebrated at Claremont, in Auverne on the Confines of France, wherein Pope Urban the Second was present and President with the Bishops and Cardinals: where many French and Germane Bishops and Princes were assembled. Ecclesiasticall Affaires being there set in order, the Lord Pope went forth into a broad street (for no House was able to containe the multitude) and spake thus with perswasive pleasant Rhetoricke unto them.

O yee Nation of the French, O Nation, (as appeareth by many of your workes) beloved and chosen of God, separated from all Nations, aswell in situation of your Region, as in Catholike Religion and Honour of holy Church; to you is our Speech directed, and our Exhortation intended, willing to let you know what lamentable cause hath brought us to your Borders. From the Confines of Jerusalem and Constantinople a grievous report hath spread and often come to our eares, that the Persians * a cursed Nation estranged quite and alienate from God, hath invaded the Countries of those Christians, and with sword, spoile and fire hath partly captived, partly slaine them; either subverting, or else perverting to their wicked Rites the Churches of God, polluting his Altars, circumcising Christians and shedding their bloud of Circumcision on the Altars, or in the Christning Fonts. Whom they please to kill with shamefull death, they open at the navill, and taking out the entrailes tye them to a stake and whip them about the same, till being exenterated they fall on the ground: others they bind to a stake and shoot at; of others they make tryall whether with one blow they can strike off the head. What shall I say of that which may not, cannot, by saying be expressed, the ravishment of women? The Greeke Empire for the space of two monethes journey, they have over-runne and subdued. To whom then doth the revenge and deliverance belong but to you, whom God hath preferred above other Nations in honour of Armes, courage of hearts, agilitie of bodies, and abilitie to abase every Enemy. Let the Exploits of your Predecessors incite your manly spirits, the goodnesse and greatnesse of Carolus Magnus, and Lewis his Sonne, with other your Kings, which have destroyed the Kingdomes of Turkes, and in them enlarged the borders of the Church. And above all, let the holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour moove you, which is possessed of impure Nations; and those holy places which are shamefully abused and unreverently defiled by their filthinesse. O most valiant Souldiers, and the Progeny of invincible

**Turkes which had come out of Persia, and began to shake the Easterne parts of the Greeke Empire in Cilicia, and the adjoyning Regions of Natolia, Syria, &c. See Knols Turkish History.*

[II. viii. 1190.]

Progenitors, doe not you degenerate, but call to mind the vertues of your Ancestors. And if the deare affection of Wives and Children stay you, remember what our Lord sayth in the Gospell, Hee that loveth Father or Mother more then Mee, is not worthy of Mee. Every one which shall forsake House, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my Name, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall possesse eternall life. Take no care for your Lands and Goods, for this your Land is enclosed with Mountaines and Seas, is to strait for your multitude, and scarsly yeelds sustenance to her Inhabitants. Hence it is that you bite and devoure one another, make warres and slay each other. Let hatred cease, braules be silenced, Warres be husht, and Dissentions be lulled asleepe. Enter the way of the holy Sepulchre, take away the Land from that wicked people and subdue it unto you. That Land was given to the children of Israel, flowing, as sayth the Scripture, with Milke and Honey. Jerusalem is the Navill of the Earth, a Land fertile above others, as it were another Paradise. This hath the Redeemer of Mankind made glorious with his comming, adorned with his conversation, consecrated with his Passion, redeemed with his Bloud, sealed with his Sepulchre. This Royall Citie placed in the midst of the World, is now held captive of her Enemies, and is by them which know not God, enthralled to the custome of the Gentiles. She seekes then and desireth to bee freed, not ceasing to pray for your succour: and that of you chiefly whom God hath best fitted for Armes, undertake yee this way then for remission of your sinnes, being assured of the immarcessible glory of the Heavenly Kingdome.

Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, Securi de immarc. gl. reg. Cæl.

These and many like words with much Urbanitie did Pope Urban pronounce, and so moved the hearts of all present, that with one voice they cryed, Deus vult, Deus vult; which the Pope hearing, with eies lifted to Heaven, he gave thankes to God, and acknowledged it the worke of God which put it into their minds.

Let therefore this voice (saith he) be your word in your

Warres, and when you shall give the on-set on the Enemie, on Gods behalfe this shall be your universall out-crie, Deus [a] vult, Deus vult. Wee neither bid nor counsaile that men aged and feeble, unfit for Warre should undertake this journey, nor women without their Husbands, and Brethren, or lawfull testimonies: for these are more hinderance then helpe. Let the rich helpe the poore, and carrie with them at their charge men fit for Warre. Priests, or Clerkes of any order may not goe without their Bishops leave, without which this way would bee unprofitable for them. For neither is it expedient for Lay-men to travell, but with the blessing of their [b] Priest. Whosoever therefore shall have a purpose of this holy Pilgrimage, and shall make a Vow thereof to God, that he will offer a living Sacrifice holy, acceptable to God, let him weare the signe of our Lords Crosse on his fore-head or on his brest. And hee which having performed his Vow shall goe thence, let him put it behind betwixt his shoulders. Both wayes shall such accomplish our Lords Commandement in the Gospell, Hee which doth not beare his Crosse and come after mee, is not worthy of mee.

[a] *God wils, or it is Gods will.*

[b] *This was the devotion of that time. Our Kings if they went to Normandie, had the Bishops blessing at the shoare, &c.*

After this, one of the Cardinals named Gregorie, in the name of all that were prostrate on the ground, said his Confession, and so all knocking their breasts obtayned Absolution of those things which they had done amisse, and after their Absolution a Blessing, and after the Blessing licence to returne home. And that it may appeare that this worke was of God and not of Man (as after wee learned) on that very day in which these things were said and done, Fame preached it thorow the World; insomuch that in the Ilands of the Sea it was reported, that the Jerusalem Voyage was concluded in the Councell. All the Laitie returned home; and Pope Urbane caused the Bishops to assemble the next day, and consulted with them what course might bee taken for such a multitude of Pilgrimes, seeing there was not yet amongst them any Prince of Name. And they all chose the Bishop Podiensis,

saying, that hee was a man fit for Affaires Divine and Humane, well skilled both wayes and provident in his actions. He therefore like another Moses, received the charge and conduct of the Lords people, with the Popes blessing and of the whole Councel. O how many of divers age and condition received Crosses in that Councel, and vowed the way of the holy Sepulchre? Thence was it divulged abroad, and to the eares of Kings and Princes came this honourable Constitution of the Councell. It pleased all and more then three hundred thousand conceive it in their purpose, and are now eager to fight with the Turkes.

Peter the Heremite, and Godfrey of Bullen.

There was in those dayes one Peter, which had beene an Heremite, much esteemed among them which are skilled in the World, and preferred before Bishops and Abbots in Religious account, because he neither did eate bread nor flesh: yet did hee use Wine and all other food, and sought the chiefest abstinence in Delicacies. He at that time gathered no small multitude of horse and foot, and made his way thorow Hungaria, being associated to a Dutch Commander, called Godfrey the Sonne of Eustace Earle of Bullen, but in Office of dignitie hee was a Dutch Leader. He was a man of goodly countenance, tall stature, pleasant speech, worthy behaviour, and so milde of disposition, that he seemed more like a Monke [c] then a Souldier; but when the Enemie was at hand hee was a dreadlesse Lion. Hee with his Brethren Eustace and Baldwin, and a great Armie passed the way of Hungarie, the way which Charles the Great appointed to his Armie to Constantinople. First therefore, Peter the Heremite with his, and a great multitude of Almanes came to Constantinople, and found there a copious band of Lumbards, and many others assembled from places farre distant. To whom the Emperour denyed entrance into the Citie, suspecting much the Christian valour, especially of the French. He granted them yet to buy and sell, but forbade them to passe over the Sea, called Saint Georges Arme, till the dreadfull Armie of the French was comne. For there was an

[c] *These drones I wis, had no stings, except you angred them.*

[II. viii. 1191.]

infinite number of Turkes which brutishly thirsted for their approach, by whom they must needs be destroyed, if they passed sooner, as afterward it hapned. But every company wanting a good Governour, guided by an ill head, groweth feeble and is farre from safetie. Thus they wanting a prudent Prince to rule them, destroyed the Churches and Palaces of the Citie, spoyling them of their goods and leaden roofes, selling the same to the Greekes. Whereupon the Emperour Alexius beeing angry, commanded them to passe Saint Georges Arme, which going further, chose one Rainald for their Leader, not ceasing to commit the like out-rages, burning Houses, and robbing Churches. Thus came they to Nicomedia, and thence entred the Land of Romania: and having walked three dayes went beyond Nice, and found a Castle called Exerogorgo emptie of men, but plentifully stored with Corne, Wine, Flesh and all kind of Provisions. The Turkes for feare of the French had gone farre off, but sent their Spies, by whom they were informed, that these new Ghests were Wasters and Spoilers rather then Users and Possessors, whom therefore they begirt with a strait Siege, the besieged having exchanged their former Riots with such want of drinke, that they were faine to supply that want with letting their beasts bloud, to satisfie the Owners thirst, or else with their owne Urine. This was about Michaelmas, when Rainald their Leader to save his life made close composition with the Turkes and fled to them, leaving such as would not turne Turkes as he did, for love of the World, to be by them turned out of the World by ludibrious and reprochfull deathes, or to hold a title of life with reall captivitie and basest servitude.

Peter the Heremite was in the Castle Civito above Nice, against whom they remooved, and by the way encountred with Walter his Generall, whom valiantly fighting they oppressed with multitudes and slue: and after that, all the Christians they could meet with, they killed or captived. Peter himselfe being gone to Constantinople, they forced his Castle. The Emperour and the Greekes playd the

Greekes, and rejoyced hereat, buying their Armes of the needie Souldiers, so to disarme them.

The second Booke. In that time W. Conquerour and his Sonne Robert were usually stiled Earles, and seldome Dukes: and still the Earldome of Flanders and of the Palatine in Germany are superiour to Dukedomes. Earles also are often in this and other Authors of this Age, called Consules, patroni, more regarding substance then title.

IN the meane-while, God stirred up two Earles alike in Dignitie, Armes, Courage, Name, Bloud and Power, Robert and Robert, the Earles of Normandie and Flanders, and with them Hugo Magnus Brother to Philip the King of France, Stephen Earle Carnotensis and other inferiour Earles, many both of France, and of the Greater and Lesse Britaine from the North, and from the South the Bishop Podiensis and Raimund Earle of Saint Giles (or Tholouse) which being very rich sold all that he had and undertooke the Enterprize. And now the West prepareth to enlighten the East, and with new raised starres to expell that darknesse, the brightnesse of their minds excelling that of their Armes, all resolving to die, or conquer. They passed the Alpes at divers times and came to Rome (the Citie not being able to lodge them all) where having visited the holy places, and commended themselves to the Merits and Prayers of the Apostles and other Saints, and received the Popes blessing, they passed thorow Apulia; a Prince whereof named Boamund was then in the siege of Malphi, on the Sea-shoare, who hearing of their Leaders, Orders, honestie, their word Deus vult, their Weapons, Courage, Crosses on the fore-head or right shoulder, sent for two precious Garments and cut them into Crosses, and said, If any be our Lords, let him now bee joyned to me, and yee that now are my Souldiers, become Gods, and enter the way of the holy Sepulchre with me, and take my things as yours. Are not we also of French bloud, and did not our Parent come out of France, and subdue this Land by Armes? Shall our Kinsmen and Brethren goe to Martyrdome and Paradise without us? In all Ages to come a back-sliding cowardise will bee imputed to us, if this divine Warfare bee performed without us. Presently all of them cryed, Wee will goe out with thee and vow the way of the Sepulchre; the Crosses not beeing sufficient. The Nobles of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia, did also the

like, insomuch that the Duke of Apulia, Brother to the said Boamund (both Sonnes of Robert Wischard) was afraid to abide in his Dukedome, being left alone with children and women.

Whiles Boamund provided necessaries, Hugo tooke Sea at Bari, to Dyrrachium, others to Brundusium, or Otranto. The Emperour had commanded his Officers to take all these Pilgrimes and bring them to Constantinople to doe him fealtie, that what they tooke should be his. But when Hugo met there Duke Godfrey, he rejoyced of his taking, both renewing their old friendship, and discovering the Emperours fraud: who before had laid ambushes to kill closely Duke Godfreyes men as they went to provide necessaries, which being perceived by his Brother Baldwine, was with counter-ambush turned on the Imperials, and after another like assault on Godfreyes Tents. The Emperour frustrated, sought to make peace, and permitted buying of provision. The rest not long after arrived, and after them Boamund with Tancred his Nephew, and Richard the Son of Marchis, who passed by Bulgaria, and Andrinople, and beeing encountred by the Emperours Forces, in the way overthrew them, and after received faire semblance from him, but with no lesse [II. viii. 1192.] malice. Homage was in conclusion required by the Emperour, that is, securitie of peace, that he should conduct and provide for them, accompanying them with his presence, and the assistance of his people, swearing to supply their necessitie in Armes and Clothes, and not to hurt or consent to the hurt of any Pilgrime. This they sware unto, so long to continue as the Emperour kept his Oath. But the Earle of Saint Giles refused, and would have him and his Citie destroyed. But being perswaded by the rest, he took this Oath, I sweare to Alexius the Emperour that never by me nor mine he shall loose life or honour or whatsoever hee now possesseth justly or unjustly. And the Emperour sware, I Alexius Emperour sweare to Hugo Magnus, Duke Godfrey, and other the Princes of the French here present, never to hurt or suffer

to bee hurt any Pilgrime of the Holy Sepulchre, and that I will proceed with them in Warlike Affaires, and according to my power will provide them sufficient Market. This they did, forced by necessitie, but hee chose rather to incurre Perjurie then not to remoove the French from his Frontiers.

The third Booke.

AFter this Confederacie the Emperour commanded ships to be brought for transportation of the Armie. Godfrey and Tancred were first transported, went to Nicomedia, and staid three dayes: and seeing no passage the Duke sent before foure thousand men with Axes and Ploughes and other Iron Instruments to make way, the way being waylesse, thorow Hils, Dales and Præcipices. These made way with much labour to Nice, and set woodden Crosses at every turning. They came to Nice the sixth of May, and before any provision was brought a Loafe of bread was sold for twentie or thirtie pence. But Boamund brought plentie, and on Holy Thursday, they besieged the Citie and addressed thereto their Engines, Slings, Rammes and the like. The Turkes made valiant resistance, shooting poysoned Arrowes, which killed whom they but lightly wounded.

[II. viii. 1193.] Ours erect high Engines about the Walls, by which they might over-see the men on the Wall, and opposed Turrets of Wood to those of Stone. The fight was hote, and the besieged ready to yeeld when they saw threescore thousand comming in their Troupes from the Mountaines, two for fight, whiles the third might enter the Citie. No Hunger-bitten stomacke is readier to flye to a Feast then the Christians to the fight, where having slaine them and returned to the Citie, they with Slings cast their heads into the Citie, and the next day having ships prepared, entred the Lake on the South-side of the Citie, which so afrighted the Turkes, that by the Turcopolæ they sent to the Emperour, that they would yeeld the Citie to him on composition to depart with their goods. This was done, and the Turkes carryed to Constantinople, (with purpose

to have them in better readinesse against the Frankes) after seven weekes and three dayes siege, no Citie being so defensible in all Romania.

They departed thence & two daies after came to a bridge, and refreshing themselves there two dayes, they parted themselves being to travell in a barren Countrey, the greater band being committed to Hugo Magnus; and with him the Bishop, the Earles of Flanders and Saint Giles, and Duke Godfrey: the other to Boamund. After three dayes march, this later Armie is encountred with three hundred thousand Turkes, whereat some shrinking and thinking to flie, Boamund a man popular, and Robert of Normandie a stout Warriour, commanded to pitch their Tents; but before this was done, one hundred and fiftie Turkes with poysoned Arrowes, began a skirmish turning their backes (according to their custome in their flight to wound the pursuers) and were taken and slaine. There was now no place for flight, the Enemie having possessed the Hils, and the Frankes having broken their Launces in those wicked bodies, it came to handie strokes, with the Sword.

Some got to the Christians Tents, and slay the Mother and Childe, whose cry comming to Boamunds eares, he commits the battell to the Norman Earle, and speedily repaires thither, chased the Turkes, and leaving some to guard them, returnes to the battell. Here hee finds the Christians so tired with labour, thirst and heat, that had not the women brought them water out of the adjoyning River many had dyed. Now had ours once turned their backes, but presently the Norman Earle displaying his Golden Banner, turned his Horse, and redoubled the Military word, Deus vult, Deus vult, otherwise that had proved a dismall day. But seeing Boamund and the Norman, they recovered their spirits, chusing to dye rather then to flye. The Turkes had so beset ours with their multitude, that no way was open but to their Tents: many perished by Turkish Arrowes; none was idle, the Souldiers fighting, the Priests crying and praying, the

women conveying the slaine to the Tents, the Aire overshadowed with a thicke Cloud of shot; when Hugo and Duke Godfrey came flying like provoked Eagles, to their distressed Airies with fortie thousand freshmen. And now the cries of some fighting, and others dying, the ratling of Armors and cracking of Launces, filled the Hils and Valleyes with confused noyses of insulting voyces, and resulting ecchoes; and manifold deaths are represented to the life in miserable spectacles.

Forty thousand fresh Souldiers.

The Turkes now looking backe to the Hils, see the Bishoppe Podiensis and Earle Raimund, with the rest of the Armie, descending to the on-set as a terrible storme, showring Souldiers, and powring Weapons, and not able further to hold up head or heart, betooke them to their heeles: which put life into our wounded, to pursue and revenge their hurts; insomuch, that the Hill is coloured red, the thirstie earth is drunken, & increaseth the Neighbour River with new streames of Persian, Median, Syrian, Saracen, and Turkish bloud, leaving their carkasses like Grasse-hoppers without number on the ground; the Night at last delivering the remnant of these children of darknesse, from the Christian Zeale which now converted it selfe into Hymnes and Prayses of the Great Lord of Hosts.

Veneration of Martyrs to their slaine friends, by zeale or superstition.

The next day they buried their dead, distinguished by Crosses, the wiser sort giving them the veneration of Martyrs, and the most Honourable Sepulture. The spoyle of the Turkes clothed with Silke and halfe naked Christians, furnished them with Armes, and of beggers suddenly made them rich. The day after, which was the third of July, they pursued the Turkes which fled as Birds before the Hawke.

Soliman their Leader (Sonne of that Soliman which had taken all Romania from the Emperour) had after his flight from Nice, procured tenne thousand Arabians to come to his aide: which being comne, hee told them that the vertue of the Frankes was either Divine or Diabolicall, whom wee, saith hee, had so conquered (in conceit) that

wee had provided Withes and Halters to put about their neckes, when suddenly a people which feares not death came downe the Mountaines, and entred our Troupes. Alas, wee were three hundred and threescore thousand, and are all slaine or fled. This is the fourth day since, and still we tremble. And therefore if you will be advised, get yee out of Romania. Thus they fled with him, in all Christian Townes as they passed, making a cheerefull countenance and semblance of Victorie; and spoyling all that opened to them, so to impoverish the pursuing Frankes by preventing them of provisions, leaving a Desert Countrey unto them.

Compare this with eightie eight provision Three hundred and sixtie thousand Turkes.

Thus were they forced to kill most of their Horses, and many to goe on foote; others, to ride on Oxen, Kine, and the great and strong Rams and Dogs of that Countrey. They passed thence therefore as fast as they could, and entred Lycaonia, a plentifull Countrey, and came to Iconium a rich Citie. When they went thence, they by counsell of the Citizens carried vessels of water with them, which served till the second day after, that they came to a River: where having stayed two daies, they went forward to Heraclea. Heere were a great multitude of Turkes, which seeing the Frankes approach, fled amaine, and left the Citie to ours, which stayed there foure daies. Then did Baldwin Brother of Godfrey, and Tancred, separate themselves with their troups, and went to Tarsus. Many Turkes were there which went to meete them, but were dispersed, and the next day the Citizens received them into the Citie. Heere arose a contention betwixt Baldwin and Tancred, whether should have rule of the Citie, which Tancred at last yeelded to Baldwin, whose Armie was the greater. In short time two Cities, Athena and Manustra, were yeelded to them, and many Castles. The Turkes were now hidden in their strongest holds.

[II. viii. 1194.]

Great Rams and Dogges.

Iconium.

Tarsus.

The greatest part of the French, entred into the Land of the Armenians, eagerly thirsting to make the Land drunken with bloud of Turkes; the whole Land was quiet before them, and the Armenians received them into their

Armenia.

Cities. They came to a Castle which feared neither armes nor engines. A Souldier in the Campe, an Armenian, desired to hold that Land of the Princes, in the fealtie of God and the holy Sepulchre; whereto they yeelded, because they knew him to be a valiant man. After this, they came to Cæsarea of Cappadocia, which voluntarily yeelded it selfe. Thence they went to a faire Citie which the Turkes had assieged a little before, three weekes, the Citizens whereof came forth to meete them. Another Knight in the Campe, named Peter de Alpibus, desired this, and obtayned it of the Princes. After this, they came to Cosor, a commodious and plentifull City; where they were gently received of the Christian Inhabitants, and stayed three dayes, furnishing themselves with necessaries, and receiving abundant refreshing.

Cæsarea.

Cosor.

Meane while, Raimundus had intelligence that the Turkes were fled from Antiochia, and had left it weakely manned; who devised thereupon, to convey thither five hundred Knights,* to take the Towre before the rest knew of it. But when they were comne into the Valley neere Antiochia, they then perceived that the Turkes were not gone, but fortified the City all they could. They went therefore to the Castle of the Publicans, subdued it, and turned thence to the Valley of Rugia, where they slew many Turkes and Saracens: whereupon, the Armenians rejoycing, yeelded themselves. They possessed themselves of Rusa and many Castles. The rest of the Armie with miserable disaster passed mountainous wayes, passable onely for Beasts and creeping things, yeelding a Foot-path indeed, a way of no wider space, Rocks, Shrubs, Thornes, proud Hills aspiring to the Stars, and Hells of deepe Valleys affrighting the very eyes, where the Knights * and Esquires carried their Armes hanging on their necks, some throwing them away, to avoide the carriage, all enforced to goe on foote; yea, often bearing the burthens of their Beasts, which could not passe laden:

Antiochia.

**Milites, a common name to Souldiers or Knights: here in this Author given commonly to Horse-men.*

Castellum Publicanorum.

Rugia.

**Knights then differed from the present, were created by Abbots, &c. and therefore were many in number, as these, Jerosolymitan and other Stories of that time mention: Militibus, may also be interpreted men at Armes, and is in this story alway understood of Horse men.*

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ASIA MINOR

neither might any stand or sit, by reason of the followers, or turne himselfe in those straits, to helpe him which followed. By this unpassable passage (the embleme of the true and heavenly Pilgrimage) they came at last to Marafis, where they were received cheerefully with plentifull refection. Having staid one day, they came the next day into the Valley in which Antiochia is seated, chiefe City of Syria; whilome famous by Saint Peter Prince of the Apostles: in it, he placed his Episcopall Chaire, and * ordered Barnabas and Paul Apostles. But as first our Lord would conquer it with humilitie and preaching, so now with sublimitie of Armes. Ours came to the Iron Bridge, where they encountered many Turkes, which prohibited their passage, and made their way by force, and there found rich spoyles. They pitched their Tents on the Rivers banke, not farre from the City; and the next day prepare to goe to the City, and lay siege to it in three places. For on one side the Mountaines prohibit accesse and all militarie Art. On Wedensday, the twelfth Kal. of December, was this siege begunne, and because the City was not onely the minion of Nature, but Paragon of Art, the Princes consulted to use more their Arts then Armes.

*Leave not the Historie for the Misterie. 1. *Thes.* 5. 21. The Monke hath forgotten that an Apostle is not of man, nor by man, nor hath a City but the World for his Diocese. Saint Paul speaketh otherwise, *Gal.* 1. & 2. & *Luke. Acts* 9. 11. & 13. *Mat.* 28. *Job.* 21. The fourth Booke.

FIrst therefore, they made a Bridge for commodious passage over the River, for they found a copious Vintage, Caves full of Corne and provisions, Trees laden with varietie of fruits, which the Armenians within the City made knowne to them. Engines were erected, Turrets of wood, Slings, Hookes, Rammes, Moles, and other devices. There were within so many defenders, as might have tryed it in the field with ours. They builded a Castle, if haply the Turkes prevailed, for better securitie. The garrison of Arech having cut off divers of our Victualers, an ambush was laide, and many Turkes slaine, their heads cast (by Engines) into the City: and thenceforwards, our men had freer passage to the Armenians for provisions, which readily brought also to sell. Christmas

Festivitie was celebrated with joyfull solemnity: after which, the Winter with Elementary forces, helped the Enemie to assault us, and made provision difficult: famine within; without, Haile, Snow, Ice, Windes, Armies without Armes, but not without harmes, to them which were without shelter, exposed to their fury, every way pinched, but in resolution, and therefore quickned by these spurres: they agreed that Boamund and the Earle of Flanders, with thirtie thousand choice Horse and Foot, should enter into the Saracens Land. From Jerusalem, Damasco and Aleppo, and other Countries, Persians, Arabians and Medes, had assembled to come to Antiochia, to raise that siege; but hearing that some of the Christians were entered their Countrey, they rejoyced, securing themselves of victory, and divided their Armie into two, to keepe ours from fleeing any way. The Armies met, these trusting in their multitudes, those in Gods Omnipotence, which gave them a shamefull overthrow, and put them to flight; wherein our Foot mounted their Horses to pursue them. Once; they had beene good Purveyors, to bring thus from farre unto them so many Asses, Camels, and other Beasts, laden with Wine, Corne and other provision, and the hungry he filled with good things: his Name be blessed for ever.

[II.viii. 1195.]

Famine and Plentie, and Famine.

The meane while the enemie had assaulted ours out of the City in their Tents, and slew many, and but for the River had done more hurt; which disasters together with famine, made some of ours bethinke themselves of flying. An Asse-loade of Corne was now sold for seven pound, an Egge for twelve pence, a Nut for a peny, and many died of hunger. Yea, the Pillars were shaken; Peter the Hermite and William Carpenter, fled away by night. This William was of royall descent, Vicount of a Castle, called Milidune: no shield, breast-plate or helmet, could endure the strong pushes of his Lance. Tancred hearing of their flight, pursued them, tooke them, and caused them to returne with shame. For Hugo Magnus his sake, (whose Kinsman he was) and his former exploits, William

was pardoned, swearing to doe so no more, which yet he soone transgressed, and closely fled. In the whole Armie were not found one thousand Horses fit for service. To adde to their sorrowes, one Tetigius, a Romanian, undertooke to bring plentie of provision from the Emperour by shipping, and left his Oath and Tents in pawne, which he never redeemed. The greatest part of the Armie compelled by famine, sued for leave to depart, which the Princes with teares granted.

In this miserie, a Messenger brought them word of a great Armie of Turkes, which that night would bee at Arech the Castle aforesaid, purposing to set upon their Tents unprepared. This made them dance, which before could not goe, as if they had already conquered, chusing rather to dye by the Sword then hunger. They sent Spies the next day, which returned word, that they never before had seen so many thousands of them together. Their huge multitude made ours beginne to flee, which Boamund seeing, he brake forth with such furie, that the enemy fled towards the Iron bridge; the Franks lay frankly about them, and now the earth is covered with carkasses, the Ayre is filled with clamors, the River is swollen with precipitated bodies, and more were slaine then escaped, which also returned to their Castle, rifled it, and then forsooke it, leaving it to Ours, which there placed a Garrison, returning to the Tents with great joy and great spoiles. Their fellowes which that day had fought, and got the better of the Citizens, were now filled with double joy. The Armenians and Syrians also now brought provision to the Campe, and rejoyced with us. The Turkes after having ours at advantage, put the horse-men to flight, and slue about one thousand foote-men: which they scarsly had done, when the rest of the Armie out of the Campe, revenged the same with exceeding Usurie. Duke Godfrey gloriously behaved himselfe with the death of many, whom a Golias of theirs, a big and mightie man, had wel-nigh slaine, had not God and his valour protected him, whom he repaid with such furie, that lifting up his

A mightie stroke. sword, he clave his breast in the midst, dividing his backe-bone and entrails passing thorow to his right thigh, his whole head with the right side of his body falling into the River, the left halfe he sent backe to the Citie. This sight bred in them horror and amazement, for he was one of their Admirals (Amira's.) Even the Rivers selfe with another Armie of carkasses, stood still to wonder at such a spectacle, nor could the upper Waters enforce the lower (stayed with a new world of Inhabitants) to give them leave to see it, till their swelling indignation by force obtained it. In that conflict was slaine the Sonne of Cassianus, the great King of Antiochia, and twelve Admirals of the King of Babylon, whom he had sent with their bands to ayde the King of Antioche. For that Province hath one Metropolitane, twelve Consuls, and one King; and they were gathered out of so many Provinces as there were Admirals. There were also seven thousand taken Prisoners: the baggage was without number. And now the Turkes not onely ceased their clamors and scornes, but many fled closely out of the Citie. The next day the Turkes buried their dead beyond the bridge, which the Christians digged up againe with disgrace, (for their fashion is to burie with Pals, Bowes, and Arrowes, Golden Byzantines,* and other things good for bootie) leaving another bootie to the Fowles.

Amira's, that is, Lords or Commanders.

**A Coine.*

The fift Booke.

IN these vicissitudes and entercourse of divertsified Fortunes, came Messengers from the King of Babylon, upon safe conduct granted by the Princes. Against their comming the Campe was set forth, in goodliest shew of bravery, Shields hung up upon poles for the youth to runne at Quintane, (an exercise on horse-backe) Dice, Chesse, Militarie skirmishes of horse and foote, to expresse their carelesse and fearlesse resolutions, whiles the elder and graver sort assembled with mature advise and grave counsailes, to secure that securitie. The Babylonians approaching, marvelled at this sight, having heard before that they were both famished and heartlesse, and being

Running at Quintan.

[II. viii. 1196.]

brought before the Princes, thus spake; The Admiravissus of Babylon our Lords sends greeting and friendship to you the Princes of the Frankes, if you will obey his will. In the Court of the King of Persia our Lord, is a great assembly for your sake, and seven daies the Counsell hath beene prolonged. They marvell why you come armed to your Lords Sepulchre, dispossessing their people of their ancient possessions, and (which is unlawfull for Pilgrims) slaying with the Sword. And if you will come hereafter with Scrip and Staffe, they will cause you to passe with honour and plentie, they will make the foot horsemen, and the poore to want nothing going or comming. And if you shall please to stay a moneth at the Sepulchre, you shall want nothing, and walke thorow Jerusalem, and have leave to performe what veneration you will to the Temple and Sepulchre. But if you contemne this indulgence, and trust in your courage and weapons, we are confident that no humane power is able to force the Babylonians and King of Persia. Speake now your minds what you like or dislike herein. The Princes with common advice answered. It is no marvell if wee come armed to our Lords Sepulchre, and exterminate your people from those Confines, seeing that they which have before comne with Staffe and Scrip, have bene shamefully both scoffed at and slaine. The Land is not theirs, though they have long possessed it, because it was anciently ours, who for their malice and in-justice by ours were dispossessed. But now it is decreed in Heaven, that it shall be rendred to the children which was taken from their Fathers. And let not your Nation glorie that they have conquered the effeminate Greekes, which by Divine dispensation, the sword of the Frankes shall repay you. It is not of man to overthrow Kingdomes, but of him by whom Kings reigne. They say they will shew kindnesse, if we come with Scrip and Staffe: let their mercy returne upon themselves; will they, nill they, our povertie shall bee inriched by their store. Nor can any humane power affright us: for when wee dye, we are borne, and loosing a Temporall life, wee

recover an Eternall. Therefore tell those which sent you, that the Armes which we have taken in our Countrey, we will not lay by when we have conquered Jerusalem. For we trust in him which teacheth our hands to fight, and maketh our armes as a bow of steele, that all offences shall be removed and Jerusalem taken.

The Embassadours herewith displeased, by leave entred the Citie. Ours beganne to build a Castle at Machumar, before the gate of the Citie in their buriall place, destroyed their Sepulchres of Stone, which they used to their structure; being finished, it was committed to Earle Raimund: This straitned their issues, and strengthned ours, which hereby had libertie to forage, and brought in great booties, from a place where was an old ruined Castle, which also they fortified and commended to Tancred, who intercepted provisions that were brought to the Citie. The Citie therefore desired truce, to treat in that time of conditions

Truce broken. of yeelding. The last day of which, a famous Wallon Knight, was by them taken and cruelly murthered, whose Wife, by her teares, cries and complaints, exceeded teares, cryes and complaints, having spent that store in prodigalitie to her sorrowes, and now by her miserie varnished with bright lustre of her exceeding beautie, and the deepe impression of Noble bloud, which her impotent nailes scratched from that goodly countenance, and her impacience other whiles so severely recalled to the attendance on her great heart, that she abode as a Marble statue, spake more to commiseration and indignation with not speaking, then the best speaking Oratorie could have pronounced.

Pyrrhus. Revenge slept not long. For one Pyrrhus which had three Turrets in his command, sent secretly to Boamund, (with whom he had treated in the truce) to deliver them all into his hands, and his Sonne for pledge of his fidelitie. Whereupon by night Boamund and the Princes (as had beene agreed with Pyrrhus) closely conveyed the Armie thither, which by day (to deceive the Turkes) they had sent forth to forage. Thus scaled they the wals,

Fulcherius. (Fulcherius Carnotensis being the first which entred) and

after set open the gates to the whole Armie: a Comet that night appearing, the heavenly Messenger of earthly mutations. The Citie was promised to Boamund, if he could make meanes to obtaine it, upon occasion of Pyrrhus first sending to him.

The sixt Booke. Antiochia taken.

ON the fift of June, the Christians entred Antioche, Fulcherius and his fellow Scalers invaded the Towers, and killed the sleeping Watches, awaking them to a never waking sleep. They which were awaked out of sleepe by this noyse in their houses, ran forth of their doores to see the cause, and presently forth of themselves and seeing together. Death now filleth every street and corner, confoundeth all ages, sexes, conditions. Some running out of the gates, were encountred by others comming from the Campe, and Cassian the King escaping into Tancreds jurisdiction in poore disguise, was there discovered by the Armenians, and his head brought to the Princes, together with his Girdle, which was valued at one hundred and sixtie Byzantines. Many fled to the Castle, which seemed impregnable, the Mountaine and the Building conspiring to deride affronts. Heereto from a neere Tower Boamund gave assault, and (wounded) was forced to retire to another Turret, and the rest followed him. Onely one abode in the top, and seeing himselfe alone, mustered out of himselfe an Armie of resolute thoughts, out of the wals an Armorie of stones and mortar against his underminers, and laden with one thousand Arrowes, seeing Death importunate, he went forth to meete him, leaping in the midst of his adverse squadrons with his Sword and Shield, to take up company to attend him into the other world. The night followed [II. viii. 1197.] that bloudy day, but forbad sleepe to both sides, feare and wearinesse executing that summons.

The next day, being Friday, whiles some were carrying out the dead, others assaulting the Castle, there was espied from the Turrets and Wals a Cloud of dust, which some suspected to be the Constantinopolitan Emperor, but

Corbanan. proved Corbanan the General of the King of Persia, with a long and farre gathered Armie of Persians, Medes, Arabs, Turkes, Azimites, Saracens, Courds, Publicans and divers other Nations. There were three thousand Agulans, which use none other Armes but Swords, armed to point with Iron. Ours being wearied, gave them leave to provoke, insult, & run up and downe casting up their Lances and Swords, and againe catching them. Sensadol, Sonne to King Cassian, had gone to Corbanan, promising (before in his Fathers name, now in his owne) to reigne under him, to deliver him the Castle of Antochia, and to doe him homage. The Castle was now delivered. Soone after a rustie Sword and worse Lance, taken from a poore Franke, were presented to him, with insultation on all hands over that beggerly Nation which thought by such Armes to spoile Asia and subdue Persia. And presently sent for his Secretarie to write to the Chalife and to the Soldan, that he now held the French Armie inclosed in the walls of Antiochia, the Castle in his owne possession; and that the cry was more terrible then the Wolfe. And whereas you writ to me utterly to destroy them, be not offended if I send some of the chiefe bound to you. Their service will be usefull, and the French Kings Brother an honourable Captive to Persia. Ply you your pleasures and get children to resist other Frankes, if need be. As for me, I will not see your face till I have subjected all Romania, Syria, and Bulgaria to your service. Thus did he sell the skinne of the Beare yet living. His Mother sought to disswade him by Prophecies, Starre-gazings, and other Wisardly Divinations, which all (shee said) portended prosperitie and victorie to the Christians. But hee remayned deafe, and resolved to try it out from the Castle, the Turkes still annoyed Ours, and with successions of supplyes had great advantage; the streets were still covered, and Houses as it were roofed anew with Arrowes. But a worse Enemie, Famine did more harme; the legge of an Asse was sold for sixtie shillings, and the buyer esteemed frugall, the Hides of beasts were

dressed for food, the children starved at the brests of their Mothers. Many fled away and raised reports that the Citie was lost, or could not long hold out, Earle Stephanus Carnotensis by this newes caused the Emperour comming to their assistance to turne backe.

BUt a certaine Priest comforted them with Relation of a Vision of Christ, the Virgine and Peter appearing to him and promising reliefe after five dayes, which one Peter seconded with a second Vision of Saint Andrew, shewing him in Saint Peters Church in the Citie, the Launce which pierced the side of our Saviour, with promise of victory to the Bearers; which they went, digged and found it with great joy, singing a Te Deum, & Gloria in Excelsis. All presently sware not to flie, nor desist from the Journey of the holy Sepulchre. By night fire from the West fell from Heaven upon the Turkes Campe, which cheered Ours and terrified them, as an Ensigne of Divine vengeance by the Frankes. Soone after the Turkes having assailed and slaine three of ours in a Towre, whiles none of our starved number could be brought out of their Houses to assist them; Boamund disdayning, caused fire to be set on those Houses to bring them out by force, and such a wind arose with the fire that it burned two thousand Houses and Churches.

The seventh Booke. The Stories of these times are full of Visions: hence neglecting the Scriptures, they were fed with Legends. And would God the prodigall Sonne would yet leave his Huskes, and returne to his Fathers house, where the poorest servant hath better food. Of this Lance, see Fulcherius. The finder was found a deceiver.

Peter the Heremite and Helvinus were sent to Corbanan, in Ambassage, which they performed stoutly in confidence of the former presages. The Bishop Podiensis (the Popes Legate) enjoyned three dayes fast, and they all confessed themselves, observed Processions, and on the third day received the Sacrament. After which by common counsell the Armie was divided in sixe parts, the first Band committed to Hugo and the Earle of Flanders, the second to Duke Godfrey, the third to Robert the Norman, the fourth to the Podian Bishop, which carryed with him the Launce aforesaid, and a great part of Earle Raimunds forces, the fifth to Tancred, the sixth to Boamund. The Bishops, Priests, Clerkes and Monkes in their holy Vest-

ments went out with the Souldiers without the gate, carrying Crosses in their hands, signing the people, and crying, Lord save thy people, and blesse thine Inheritance: Bee thou to them a Tower of strength from the face of their Enemie, with other Psalmes. The like was performed by those which were on the Walls and Towers. Corbanan saw them comming forth, and said, let them all come out that we may the better take them. By him stood an Aquitaine Renegado, which for his belly had denied his Redeemer, and had told disgracefull reports of the Christian forcelesse famished Forces; by whom he now learned to whom every Band pertayned. And seeing their Armes and Order, hee cut off the head that had brought him those Tales. Hee gave also a signe to the Amira of his Treasures, that if hee saw a fire kindled in the head of his Armie, hee should flye with all speed.

When Ours were comne into a certaine Valley, the Bishop of Podium armed, and holding the Launce of our Saviour erected in his hand, made a Sermon or Speech unto them, exhorting to courage and charitie, promising Victorie to the Surviver, Heaven to the Dier, and blessed them. Then marched they on moderately, the length of [II. viii. 1198.] their Armie from the River to the Hill extending two miles. The Turkes divided themselves in two Bands thinking to inclose Ours: but a seventh Band was appointed to encounter that divided Armie out of the Souldiers of Godfrey, and the Norman under one Rainald. *Fight and victorie.* These met and fought, many beeing slaine on both sides. When the other sixe Bands were come within Arrow shot, the Turkes shot and the wind retorted their Arrowes on themselves, so that Ours could not find an Enemie, the *If I follow my Author into Thickets (piæ fraudes) yet your discretion may chuse your way.* Turkes flying from the first Band, which presently went to helpe Boamund, which bare the burthen of the fight, and Godfrey followed him. Whiles Ours are in the heat of fight a white Armie appeared from the Mountaines, whose Captaines are said to be George, Mauritius, Demetrius, and the Bishop presently cryed, that their promised

helpe was comne. Fire was set to the Grasse when the Turkes fled, for a token of flight to the Campe, which yet were set upon by the Surians and Armenians. There dyed that day one hundred thousand Horsemen, for they would not take paines to number the Footmen which were slaine. The next day fifteene thousand Camels were found, Horses, Asses, Mules, Oxen, Sheepe, innumerable, with Gold, Silver, Vestments and other things of price: with which they returned to the Citie, where they were received by the Priests in Procession. The Amira of the Castle seeing his fellowes runne away, asked for one of our Colours, and the Earle of Saint Giles (left to guard the Citie) gave him his, which hee set up, but hearing that the Citie was granted to Boamund, he sent for his Ancient, and covenanted with him to suffer the Castellans to depart with freedome, so as they which would might become Christians, the rest should have a Convoy to the Saracens. Himselfe became a Convert: and after three dayes fast, the Gentiles were baptized. The battell was fought on the eight and twentieth of June, on Saint Peter and Saint Pauls Even. Hugo Magnus was sent in Ambassage to the Emperour to come to take his Citie, which having done, * he died. The other guiltie of breaking his Oath would not come.

The Castle yeelded.

**Fulch. saith he went to France, and after returned.*

They now consulted of going to the Sepulchre, but were forced to wait till October, by the drought and heate. One Pilet a Knight of Earle Raimunds, procured many to joyne with him, and went into the Saracens Land. The Saracens received him at Talaman: not farre thence hee wonne a Castle of the Saracens. They went to Marra, where many were gathered from Aleph (Aleppo) and other places: they discomfited the Turkes, but were not able to lay siege till October. The Bishop Podiensis dyed on the first of August, to the Armies great griefe, and was buried in Saint Peters Church. The Earle of Saint Giles went to Albaria, and forced the Citie, commanding to kill all such as would not turne Christians, which cost many their lives, because they had taken it

from the Christians, and used the same condition. A Bishop was also elected to governe it.

The eighth Booke. The Christian Army increased.

SUmmer being past, the Christian Souldiers returned from their severall abodes to Antioch, and there met together on All-Saints day, beeing now farre more then when they had gone from thence. For from all parts of the World many worthy Knights and Footmen had followed the steps of the former, the Christian Armie daily increasing. And when they consulted of the way of the Sepulchre. Boamund demanded their covenant touching the Citie. Earle Raimund said it could not be done by reason of their Oath to Alexius. Hence grew many meetings and ill greetings. At last the Bishops, Abbots, and more moderate Princes consulted how both might be kept: and it was agreed that both Boamund and Raimund should goe the way of the Sepulchre with the rest, the former fortifying the Castle, the other the Palace of Cassian, and the Tower of Saint Simeons gate.

Description of Antiochia.

And because Antioch hath long detayned us in the narration, and in the siege, we will speake somewhat of it for their sakes which have not seene it. Threescore and five Kings are said to have ruled there. It is environed with two Walls, the former of great square stones artificially wrought, and therein are distinguished in order foure hundred and sixtie Towers. It is goodly and spacious contayning foure Hils great and high, on the highest a Castle, neither fearing forcible batterie, or suttle engining. There are three hundred and sixtie Churches in her Territorie, and the Patriarch hath under his Jurisdiction, one hundred and fiftie three Bishops. Foure Hils fortifie it on the East. Farfar runneth on the West. Ours besieged it eight monethes and one day, and were in it besieged three weekes of the Parthians, after which they rested there in quiet foure monethes and eight dayes, which ended, Raimund went to Rugia, and the next day to Albaria, which two Cities he had subdued: the fourth day to Marra.

Marra besieged.

The Citizens scorning the paucitie of his Souldiers, came forth to encounter him, but were soone repelled. The next day Boamund adjoyned himselfe to his helpe. Iron Rammes were made, which being hanged with Ropes, and by the Souldiers hands drawn back might be forced on the Walls, with often pushes to shake downe the Wall. A Tower of wood was erected higher then theirs of stone, with three lofts furnished with Militarie Engines, having in the two higher armed men with Pikes, Arrowes, Stone, Balls, and Fires: in the lowest were those which forced the wheeles on which the Tower was built. Others filled the Ditch, having applyed a Tortoise * to the Wall so to bring thither their Machination. The Citizens had provided wild-fire, and another Instrument to throw great stones, but in vaine. For William of Mount Pessul, with his Company in the highest storie, threw downe Mill-stones which brake the roofes of houses, whiles the others digged thorow the Wall. Others set a Ladder to the Wall, which Gulferius dela Turre first ascended, and many other followed him: whom the Citizens no lesse furiously assaulted, and forced some of them downe with deadly præcipice: whom others yet followed: the Priests also stood by the wooden Tower, calling on the Lord Jesus, to powre his wrath on the Gentiles which knew him not, and the Kingdomes which invoked not his Name: and to bee our helpe in the needfull time of trouble. The narrownesse of the Wall did not admit assistants to Gulferie, who laid about like a Lion, and was most laid at, his shield beeing onerated with Arrowes, Darts and Weapons, that a man could not lift it, and hee was now spent and wearie when the other had digged thorow, and soone chased away the Enemies: which so terrified those on the Wall, that Gulferie now without a shield full of heart and resumed life, made way with his Sword and killed more yet with feare (throwing downe themselves) then with his Weapon. Boamund signified to the richer Citizens to flye to a Tower, and there they might redeeme their lives, which upon his word they did.

[II. viii. 1199.]

**Testudo, was an Engine made of boords covered with Hides to prevent fire, within which the Assailants might approch to the walls: & in which also they might hang with ropes, that Iron Engine, which if it had one hooked beake, was called falx, if two it was called Aries or a Ram wherewith the walls were shaken, & stones loosed and pulled out.*

Much crueltie was shewed by ours, ransacking not only their houses but their very entrails for Treasure: neither yet was there any of so great a multitude which would confesse the name of Christ. Every man had what hee could get. And Boamund of those in the Tower slue the old unserviceable, the rest he sent to Antiochia to be sold: but when hee could not perswade Raimund to deliver Antochia to him, hee left him and returned thither.

Famines horror at Antiochia.

The Armie which stayed all this while there was so pinched with Famine, that (horrible to speake) they cut and eate up the bodies of the Gentiles. The discord yet continued betwixt the Earle and Boamund, to the great displeasure of the Armie, Raimund pretending the Oath to the Emperour, and having pure Justice on his part. This being discoursed at Rugia and Capharda in divers meetings, every one wishing, but not shewing how to effect, concord, they returned to Antioch. But the Norman Earle with all his abode with Raimund, knowing that hee was in the right. These two Earles order their Bands for Cesaria, the King whereof had sent to become Raimunds Vassall. But when he saw the Armie approaching, hee was troubled and forbade to sell them any thing. The next day he sent to shew them a Foord, whereby they might passe thorow Farfar a Valley, in which were twentie thousand head of beasts which they tooke: and going to besiege a Castle therein, it presently yeelded to them, which Example another Castle followed. Thence they

Caphalia.

came to Caphalia a plentifull Citie in a specious and spacious Valley, whose Citizens were all fled, leaving their Garners and Gardens, and Houses plentifully prepared for those which at first were filled with wonder and doubt, and after with Jubilee. The like also was done by a Castle adjoyning to that Valley, where they kept their

Camel.

Candlemas. The King of Camel sent thither to desire conditions of Peace, or rather to buy the same with goodly

Tripoli.

Presents. The King of Tripoli imitated his Example. Both their Gifts were received, but no peace given, except they would become Christians.

A fortnight after they went to an old Castle called Archas, comparable to famous Cities, in Scite, Walls, Towers. Whiles they continued heere a doubtfull siege, fourteene Souldiers of Ours, desiring Exploits went towards Tripoli, where they encountred threescore Turkes with a great bootie of Captives and Cattell, and returned with the spoile to the Campe. Raimund Pilet, and Raimund Viscount of Tentoria, with their companies hereby instigated went to Tortosa, and making great fires by night, as if the whole Armie were there, so terrified the Inhabitants that they left their Citie in haste, stored as it was, to seeke a new Habitation, this beeing indeed a good Haven for ours. Maraclea a Neighbor Citie also received them. Duke Godfrey hearing of this glorious successe, set forth from Antiochia with Boamund and the Earle of Flanders, and came to the Citie Licia, where Boamund parted from them. The Duke and the Earle came to Gibellum, and besieged it: but hearing from Earle Raimund of his difficulties, and of a battell approching, they agreed on conditions before required with the Prince of that Citie, and hasted thither to the besieged Castle. Where the Duke seeing their small proficience, went to Tripoli, where followed so bloudie a battell that the water which runneth into their Citie stained their Cisternes; and then turning aside to the Valley of Desen (where ours had staid before a fortnight) there got three thousand Camels and innumerable Sheepe, Kine and Asses, to their great wonder whence they should come in that space. Thus richly laden they returned to the siege, and there kept their Easter (then the second day of Aprill.) This siege continued three monethes and one day, and then (prevailing nothing) they arose and went to Tripoli, and there established the peace which the King and Citizens had desired. The King delivered three hundred Pilgrims of ours, and gave fifteene thousand Bizantines and open Market to buy provision. *Archas.*

He covenanted also to become Christian if they could winne Jerusalem, and overcome the Babylonian Warre,

and be subject to the King of Jerusalem. Here they staid three dayes, and seeing that Harvest was neere they agreed to take the next way to Jerusalem. On the fourth of May they set out, and passing certaine steepe Hils, they came to the Castle Betelon: the next day to the Citie *Zabaris.* Zabaris, where they could find no water for themselves and their Horses. The next day they came to the River Braim where they refreshed themselves that night. The [II. viii. 1200.] next night was of our Lords Ascension, and they ascended a hill by a narrow way, where they feared, but found no enemy. Then came they to Baruth, a Citie seated on the *Tyrus.* Sea; thence to Sagitta, and after that to Sur, from that to Aora, thence to the Castle called Caiphas, and so to Cæsarea. In Cæsarea is Philips house still shewed, and the Chamber of his Daughters which were Prophetesses. Here they kept their Whitsontide, pitching their Tents neere the Citie. Thence they passed to Ramola, which the Saracens for feare had forsaken, neere which is the *S. Georges Tithe.* Church of Saint George, where hee lieth buried, for veneration of whom they elected a Bishop, and gave him Tithe of all their Riches. It was meete that invincible George, the Standard-bearer of their war should receive that honour. Thence they turned to Jerusalem.

The ninth Booke.

AS soone as they saw Jerusalem, they wept for joy, fell downe and worshipped the Sepulchre. On the North side, the Earles of Normandie and Flanders encamped, neere Saint Stephens Church, in the place where he was stoned. On the West Duke Godfrey and Tancred. On the South (on Mount Sion) the Earle of Saint Giles. Whiles they rested in their Tents being wearie, some went *Jerusalem besieged.* to scoure and secure the Countrey. On Munday the fourth of June, they beganne the assault, and had that day ended the siege if they had not wanted Ladders. Another want of Bread succeeded for ten daies space, and then their ships of provision arrived at Joppe. The Water of Siloe could scarcely suffice the men. The Beasts were driven sixe miles to water, with a great convoy

of sixe thousand Souldiers. Pilet and one hundred others, were sent to Japhia or Joppe, and some that went before to search the way, were set upon by seven hundred Turkes and Arabs, where Achardus a good Souldier sold his life deerely; but when the rest came in, the enemies fled. They were now provided of victuall from the ships, but their thirst was so extreame, that they digged holes in the earth, and put the moist Turffes to their mouthes to moisten them; they licked the dewie Marbles, and sewed beasts skins new killed to fetch Water in: and some rather fasted, so to moderate thirst, then to drinke of that greasie Water. To the siege they addressed woodden Towers and Engines.

Great thirst.

Duke Godfrey caused his to be applied on the East side, and the Earle of Saint Giles another, on the South. On Thursday they fasted, and gave Almes to the poore; and on Friday the twelfth of July, they ascended those Towers, and applyed scales to the Walls. Duke Godfrey with his Brethren Eustace and Baldwine played the Lions. Procession was made about the wals with Crosses and Relikes, and Altars, whiles they fought on the wals. When the houre approached, in which the Saviour of men dyed for men, then did one Letoldus first from the Dukes Castle leap forth, and after him Guicherius, (which had slaine a Lion by his strength.) The Duke followed his Souldiers, and his other Souldiers him, who chased the enemy from the wals, and pursue them into the Citie with a great shout. Which when Earle Raimund heard, which was labouring to bring his Tower to the Wall, hee called to his men to follow him to the gate neere the Tower of David, and spake to them in the Tower to open; which presently the Admiravis which kept the Tower, hearing who hee was, did, and committed himselfe and all his unto him, together with the Tower.

Letoldus and Guicherius enter the Citie.

But Duke Godfrey sought neither Tower nor Gold, nor spoile, but revenge for the bloud and wrongs of Pilgrims, whereto he never had more opportunitie, not then when at Antioche hee clave in sunder that Gigantean Gentile.

A.D. 1095.

Cruell execution. Dodechinus in his Appendixe to Mar. Scotus, reciteth out of a letter to Pope Paschal, written by D. Godfrey, that the bloud reached usque ad equorum genua.

And now he and Guicherius (which cut a Lion in sunder) clave humane bodies from the head to the raines, and on the right and left hand thorow both sides: the throng hindred every mans flight. They which remained, fled to the Temple of Salomon, where they defended themselves the most part of the day; but ours before night breaking in, shed so much bloud, that slaine carkasses were tumbled on the Pavement to and fro in a streame of bloud; armes and hands dismembred floted in bloud, and were joyned to others bodies, none being able to discerne; and the slayers themselves were scarcely able to endure those hot mists of bloudie vapours. After this unspeakable slaughter, they grew more indulgent, and many captives of both Sexes were spared. Every corner was searched for spoile, every man possessing what he tooke; Jerusalem at that time being rich. After this they did goe joyfully to the holy Sepulchre, and gave thankes to him which had beene there buried: going did I say? Creeping on their knees and elbowes, watering the Pavement with their teares. This done, they went to their houses, and refreshed themselves with food and sleepe. The next day they went armed to the Temple of Salomon, to make an end of them which had ascended the roofes, where onely Wings were wanting to flye from that which they could no way flee, present destruction. Some threw themselves downe headlong; others, offered themselves to servitude. The living Saracens were enjoyned to carry out the dead and burie them, and to cleanse the Citie.

Godfrey chosen King.

The enemies destroyed, the Citie secured, victorie and glory atchieved, question was of a King, and Duke Godfrey was chosen by generall consent, the eighth day after the taking, who more adorned that Royall Dignitie, then it him, and was an Honor to his Honor, by Knightly bountie, bodily elegance, and excellent manners. The next care was of a Prelate, and Arnulphus was chosen on Lammas-day. This ended, Messengers were sent by the Neapolitans to King Godfrey, offering themselves to his subjection. (This Neapolis is a Citie of Caria, an Asian

Arnulphus chosen Patriarch.

[II. viii. 1201.]

Province) to whom the King sent Eustace his Brother, and Tancred, to whom they delivered their Citie. The Devill bestir'd him, and envying this rising Sunne of Christianitie after so long a night, raised up Clement the Admiravis of Babylon, and all the East with him against them. He came with pompous preparation to Ascalon. Eustace and Tancred were sent for, and all goe towards Ascalon, a Citie of Palestina, five and twentie miles from Jerusalem. Heere they had all first fortified their Spirits by the Eucharist, and proceeded from the Church towards Ascalon. The Patriarch left Peter the Hermite in his place, to ordaine Masses, Prayers, Processions. Neere Ascalon they tooke a great bootie of beasts. The next day, the Patriarch cursed all that should goe about to meddle with spoile before the victorie. This was on Friday, on which our Lord had dyed.

The King passed the River, and pitched his Tents neere the Sea. Himselfe had the first Band or Vantguard, Robert of Normandie the second, Earle Raimund the third, the Earle of Flanders the fourth; Eustace, Tancred, and Guaston de Bebert, the fift. The Foot-men had set themselves with Arrowes and Darts before the Knights, Men at Armes,* and thus ordered, they marched towards the Babylonians. The King was in the left Wing, where was most danger, the Earle of Saint Giles in the right, the rest betwixt them. The Babylonian (whom none durst tell of the former bootie) being told that the Frankes were comne forth to fight, much disdained their paucitie, as a disgrace to have so meane so confident enemies. The battell was begun by the Earle of Normandie and his Band, in that quarter where he espyed the Admiravis his Standard, and making way with his Sword thorow the midst of his enemies, by a bloudie passage arrived at him that held it, whom hee laid dead at the Admiravis his foote, and tooke the Standard, the Admiravis hardly escaping to Ascalon with his life, whence he might behold the slaughter of his people, which by noone were all put to rout and slaine in all places, even to the gates of the Citie in

**Militibus.*

Heroike Act of Robert of Normandie. Dodechinus saith, 100000. *were slaine, besides* 2000. *in the gate, innumerable then perishing at sea: the whole Armie being* 100000. *horse, and* 400000. *Foot-men.*

incredible numbers. The spoile was exceeding rich. The Standard, which in the top of a Silver Staffe had a golden Apple, was offered by Earle Robert of Normandie at the holy Sepulchre, the whole Armie having returned and entred into the Citie in triumph. This battell was fought the eighth of August. And thus Jerusalem, which is said to have beene built by Melchisedech, (whom the Jewes say, was the Sonne of Noe) is now open to the Pilgrimes with praises, which before were received with contumelies. Of these Pilgrimes and Gates, it is said by Esay; And thy Gates shall be open continually, day and night they shall not be shut. And againe, of the French Nation, which he brought from the ends of the earth to deliver it, I will bring thy Children from farre, their Silver and their Gold with them, in the name of the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel which hath glorified thee. The Sonnes of thy Pilgrims shall build thy wals, and their Kings shall minister to them. These and many things else, we find in the Propheticall Books, which agree to this deliverance made in our Age.

Chap. II.

The Acts of the Pilgrimes in their Expedition to Jerusalem, before and after the taking thereof, extracted out of Fulcherius Carnotensis, which went thither with Robert, Earle of Normandie.

IN the yeare 1095. when manifold evils in all parts of Europe were encreased, the Faith languishing, Urban the second was Pope of Rome, a man excellent in life and manners,* which alway to the utmost of his wit and strength, endevoured above all things to Exalt higher the State of holy Church. And seeing that the Faith of Christendome was decayed in all, both Clergie and Laitie, and the Secular Princes in continuall warres with each other, spoiling the goods, captiving the persons, (whom miserable

**This the sanctitie of those times to advance the Church, not to freedome from sin, but to fulnesse of power in*

A.D. 1095.

prisons enforced to unreasonable redemptions) violating holy places, burning of Townes and Monasteries, making a mockerie of things Divine and humane, sparing no man: and hearing that the Provinces of Romania * were possessed by the Turkes; he called a Councell at Claremont, Herein he decreed the Churches freedome from all Secular Power, that Tithes of all which commeth by husbandrie, should bee proper to God, and neither sold nor detained; that he which should take a Bishop should be an Out-law, and the takers or spoilers of Clerkes, Monkes and Nuns, Pilgrimes or Merchants, should bee Anathema, as likewise Robbers and incendiaries. These and other like being ratified by the Councell, he exhorted them, (Not I, but the Lord) to exterminate the Turkes out of the Christian Confines. I speake to the present, I send to the absent, and Christ commands it. And all that goe thither, if they shall dye in the going by Land, passage over water, or in fight against the Pagans, shall have present remission of their sinnes: which I grant to those which undertake the Voyage, having so great a gift from God. Those that have formerly abused warres against Christians, let them goe against Infidels, and let them now bee Souldiers which before were Robbers, and let them fight justly against the Barbarians, which they did before against their Brethren, and for an eternall reward, which were before mercenarie for a few shillings, and for a double honour, which wearied themselves for double detriment of body and soule. Here they are poore, there they shall be wealthy; here the Lords enemies, there his friends. Let them not delay, but make Money of that which they have, and the next spring set forward.

exemption from Kings and Soveraigntie over them, (wherein Urbanus was cald Turbanus.) This the state of the Church, that is, the Clergie, and more specially the Papacy. This the great article of Popish Faith.

[II. viii. 1202.]

Many present promised to goe, of which was Ademarus, Bishop of Podium, afterward the Popes Legat, which ruled the whole Armie. These things ordered in the Councell, and the blessing of Absolution being given, they departed home, and divulged what had passed. Truce was every where confirmed by Oath, and many of every profession vowed to goe, the remission of sinnes being

purchased. O what a goodly sight, and worthy it was to us all, to see the Crosses of Silke, or wrought in Gold, or of Cloath which they ware on their Jackets, Coates, and Garments on their shoulders. Such a worke did Pope Urban meditate, by which the world after flourished, and restored the Churches Rights. But the Devill raised up Guibertus, Bishop of Ravenna, an Adversarie to him, whom the perversenesse of the Emperour, whiles Gregorie (Hildebrand) held the Seate, supported in his usurpation of the Apostleship. But the better sort acknowledged Gregorie, and after him Urban, whom by the Emperours ayde, Guibertus forced from Rome, till that yeare when the Frankes went to Jerusalem by Rome, Guibertus being in Almaine, Urban by help of Matildis, obtained the whole Apostolike power, she being then verie potent in the Romane Countrey.

This Authour speaks like one of Urbans faction against Guibertus and the Emperour, ignorant of Papall sleights.

Anno 1096. some in March, others in Aprill, May, June, July, August, September, and October, set forth, as they could make their provisions on this holy Voyage. Peter the Hermite went by the way of Hungarie. Raymond Earle of Province, with his Gothes and Gascoines, and the Bishop of Podium by Sclavonia, Hugo Magnus and Buamund by Bulgaria. In September, Robert Earle of Normandie, Sonne of William King of the English, with a great Armie of Normans, and English-men and Britans set forwards, and with him Stephen Earle of Bloise, and Robert Earle of Flanders. The Armies still increased as they passed, and were never united till they came to Nice. We Westerne Frankes passed thorow Italy, and found Pope Urban neere to Luca, with whom Robert the Norman had conference, and Earle Stephen, and wee also as many as would; and having his blessing, we went joyfully to Rome. And when we had entred Saint Peters, we found before the Altar Guiberts men, which with their Swords in their hands tooke away the offerings: others ranne along the beames, and threw stones at those which were prostrate at their Prayers, seeking to slay those which were faithfull to Urban. Urbans men held one Tower

This Stephen, Father of King Stephen, is called Comes Carnotensis, and is said to have as many Castles as were daies in the yeare.

of the Monasterie, which kept it for him, and withstood the Adversaries. Many which went thither with us, returned home, but we passed thorow Campania and Apulia, and came to Barrum, a good Citie on the Sea. We had thought to have taken ship, but the weather being unseasonable, Robert Earle of Normandie was forced to turne aside into Calabria, and winter there. But Robert Earle of Flanders with his troups passed over. Then verie many of the poorer fearing want, sold their Bowes, and taking their Pilgrimes Staves returned home, to their disgrace before God and Men.

In March, 1097. Robert Earle of Normandie, and Stephen of Bloise returned to the Sea, and on the fifth of Aprill, then Easter-day, set sayle at the Haven Brundusium. There wee saw one ship, (without any cause appearing) sinke almost foure hundred persons of both Sexes drowned: on the dead bodies of which were seene Crosses branded on their flesh, a miraculous token that they departed in Gods mercy. The Horses and Mules, and much Money was lost. This so appalled many, that they forsooke their Pilgrimage and returned. But we foure daies after arrived at Duratum, and passed the difficult passages of the Bulgarians by Hils and Deserts, till we came to the River Dæmon, where the Diabolicall Torrent drowned many, and many more had done, but for the helpe of the Horse-men. Wee ascended next day the Hill Bagulat, and came to the River Baldarius, thorow which wee waded, and came the next day to Thessalonica: and travelling thorow Macedonia, we came at last to Constantinople: where after much adoe, our men did homage to the Emperour. Then passing Saint Georges Arme, we came to Nice, which the Turkes (who had come out of Persia, about fiftie yeares before) did now possesse, and all Romania as farre as Nicomedia. The Princes Buamund, Duke Godfrey, and Earle Raimond then in the siege, came to meete the Earles, Robert and Stephen. Then were many Armies combined in one Armie, wherein were a hundreth thousand armed men, with Corslets and

Seeing such sacriledge and smelling, perhaps the Popes plot.

Head-peeces: which they that had skill of the number, esteemed to have sixe hundred thousand men apt for warre, besides those that were unarmed; to wit, Clergiemen, Monkes, Women and Children. What shall I say more? If all they which had comne out of their Houses and begun this vowed journey, had beene here together, without doubt there would have beene sixtie hundred thousand Warriors. But some had returned from Rome, others from Apulia, others from Hungaria, or Sclavonia, many thousands were slaine by the way, and many died, the waies, fields, woods, presenting many buriall places of Pilgrimes.

Nice taken. [II. viii. 1203.] Nice being rendred, on the nine and twentieth of June, wee departed into the inner Countries of Romania. On the first of July, we had newes of Turkes approaching, and set downe our baggage by a Fenne or Reedy place, and beheld Soliman which had held Romania with his Amira's of the Countries, above thirtie daies journey, being three hundred and sixtie thousand Archers, on horseback. Duke Godfrey, Earle Raimond and Hugo Magnus were absent, to our irrecoverable losse, both of ours slaine, and of Turkes escaped. For it was late before our Messengers could bring them the newes, and therefore it was late ere they could come in to our succour. The Turkes gave such an on-set with shouts and shots, that our hearts failed, and we fled, being ignorant of such *Bloudy battell.* kind of fight. Others had on the other side the Reeds, assailed our Tents, and slaine many. But the fore-runners of Duke Godfrey, and Hugo, and Raimond on one side; and we which fled on the other (whom they thought to returne in respect of them) made them retire. But we were thronged as sheepe closed in a fold, trembling, encompassed of the enemy, and could go no way. The Conscience of Lecherie, Covetousnesse and Pride, did now trouble many, this seeming to have hapned for our sinnes. The cry of Men, Women, Infants, and of the Pagans rushing on us, filled the Ayre. We confessed our sinnes, and the Podian Bishop with many other Priests

in white, besought God, crying, singing, praying. Then Robert of Normandie, Earle Stephen, Buamund, and the Earle of Flanders, made resistance what they could. God was appeased, and wee seeing our fellowes which came last, resumed courage, and put the Turkes to flight. The battell and our straits, lasted from the first houre till the sixth. We marched to Antiochia in Pisidia, thence to Iconium, and could not tell whither to laugh or weepe, to see many of ours wanting Horses, lading Rams, Goats, Swine, Dogs, with their carriages, the weight whereof galled their backes. A strange confusion was of so many tongues in one Armie, Frankes, Flemmings, Frislanders, Galls, Britons, Savoyards, Loraines, Almaines, Baioarians, Normans, Scots, English-men, Aquitans, Italians, Apulians, Spaniards, Danes, Greekes, Armenians. Baldwin Brother of Godfrey possessed himselfe of Tarsus, and after of Edessa, the Governour whereof had sent to compound with him. In the way neere Samosate we were in danger, but gat safe to Edessa, and were received of the Governour, whom his Citizens after fifteene daies slue, but Baldwin kept the Citie, and thence made many roads upon the Turkes. I Fulcherius Carnotensis, was the Chaplaine of the said Baldwin.

Strange march to Iconium.

Fulcherius Chaplaine to Baldwin after Duke Godfrey King of Jerusalem.

In the moneth of October, the Frankes passed over the River Fernus, or Orontes, to Antiochia. Gratian the Amira, of Antiochia sent his Sonne Sansadoles to the Soldan of Persia for aide. The Turkes within the Towne killed many Christian Inhabitants (for feare of conspiring with the Frankes) Greekes, Syrians, Armenians. The Christians wearied with so long a siege, ascribed it to their Lecherie, Pride and Rapine, and by common consent put out all the Women, married and others, out of the Tents, which lodged in Tents neere. The Famine was great, and many were slaine daily: all were desolate, and many fled. The rest were pinched with cold, parched with heate, washed with raines, (their Tents being old and worne) lying in open Ayre without any covert but heaven. Earle Stephen returned home. The next day after, was Antiochia taken,

Robert calls him Cassian & King.

Visions in those daies common, and yet for want of vision the people perished.

delivered by a Turke, to whom Christ had thrice appeared, and bidden him deliver the Towne. Gratian the Amira was slaine by an Armenian Peasant. It happened, that after the Citie was taken, a Lance was found by a certaine man, which being found in the ground in Saint Peters Church, he affirmed to bee that wherewith Longinus pierced the side of our Saviour. He said, this was revealed to him by Saint Andrew the Apostle, thrice appearing to him, and shewing the place where he digged and found it. The Podian Bishop would not beleeve him, but Earle Raimond (to these two, he declared his Vision) was credulous: and when it was found, all the people rejoyced, and one hundred daies after it was holden in great veneration, and gloriously handled by Earle Raimond, which also kept the Lance. But it hapned that the Bishop of Bare and many others doubted, that it was a counterfeit. Whereupon after three daies supplication and fasting, a great fire of wood was made in the field neere the Castle Archas, then by them besieged, eight moneths after that Antiochia had beene taken, a judiciall benediction being made on the fire by the Bishops. The finder of the Lance passed voluntarily and speedily thorow the fire, but was so burned, that in twelve daies after he died, and left the people sorrie for the worship they had done it. But Earle Raimond kept it, till by some accident it was lost.

Triall by fire touching the Lance before mentioned, by Monke Robert.

The Armie in white, of which Robert fabled.

The Soldan of Persia sent Corbagath with a great Armie, which besieged Edessa three daies, and not prevailing against Baldwin, they hasted to Antiochia: and sixtie thousand of them entring the Citie by the Castle, much annoyed ours. The Frankes were sad: and a Clergie man flying, our Lord appeared to him, and told him, that At his Mothers request he would help them. To another appeared a Brother of his before dead, and told him, that their fellowes which had died in that expedition would take their parts, and fight against the Turkes. The Christians went out of the Citie against Corbagath, which would not leave his Chesse at first, but

**Malmsburie saith that Corbagath or Corbanach was slaine by Robert of Normandie.*

after was forced to leave the field, notwithstanding his huge troups esteemed to be sixe hundred & sixtie thousand Horse and Foot, and ours famished and few, which were enriched with their spoiles. Many of them were slaine, and their Women in the Tents. After Antioch was taken, the Podian Bishop died, and the Princes wrote to Pope Urban: To the holy Lord and venerable Pope Urban, Buamund, and Raimund Earle of Saint Giles, Godfrey Duke Lothariensis, Robert Earle of Normandie, Robert Earle of Flanders, and Eustace Earle of Bullon, Greeting and faithfull Services; and as Children to their spirituall Father, true subjection in Christ, &c. They relate the occurrents of the Warre, and desire him to come in person, and sit in Peters Chaire, whose Vicar hee is, where the name of Christians beganne, and to open to them the Gates of both Jerusalems, &c. [II. viii. 1204.]

Bara and Mara being taken, Buamund returned to Antioch, and chased thence Earle Raimunds men, and possessed the Citie and all the Province. But Earle Raimund and Robert of Normandie proceeded towards Jerusalem: and in the yeare 1099. besieged Archas at the foote of Libanus. Duke Godfrey and the Earle of Flanders followed. In June, (to omit the rest) they came before Jerusalem, which on the fifteenth of July, they tooke, and slue about ten thousand men in the Temple, called Salomons: shot also many which were upon the roofe. Our feete in the Temple (Usque ad bases, fortè brachas) were steeped in bloud. Our men opened their entrails to search for Byzantines, and after some daies, made a great heape of carkasses, which they burned to search the Ashes. Five hundred Turkes which had betaken themselves to the Tower of David, agreed with Earle Raimund, and were sent to Ascalon. And now one piece of the Crosse was found, by revelation made to a Syrian, which was carried to the Temple of the Sepulchre with Procession. Duke Godfrey was made King: and the King of Babylon, and Levendalius his Generall, made hast with great Forces to besiege or fight with the

Robert the Norman was offered the Kingdome of Jerusalem, & never thrived for refusing it, saith Malmsbury, and Math. Paris: Earle Raimund also had the offer.

Christians, and came to Ascalon, where the Christians obtained a glorious victorie. Robert of Normandie, and Robert of Flanders returned to Constantinople by shipping; Earle Raimund to Laodicea, where hee left his Wife, going thence to Constantinople, with purpose to returne: Duke Godfrey retained Tancred, and many others with him at Jerusalem.

[II. viii. 1205.] Buamund was meane while at Antioch, and Baldwine at Edessa, where hee had often fights with the Turkes, in the Confines of Mesopotamia. These by mutuall treatie agreed to goe together to Jerusalem; which also they did, and met at Valenum, together with three Bishops, being five and twentie thousand Horse and Foote. But passing thorow the Saracens Countrey, where no provision could be had, our owne being spent, the Horses and Men were miserably pinched, both with famine, and also with cold, and raines continuing foure or five daies together, by reason whereof, many which wanted Tents perished. I Fulcherius there present, saw many of both Sexes, and very many beasts die with cold. Often also many were slaine by the Saracens, assaulting us in strait passages, as likewise in foraging: Yea Knights of Noble descent having lost their Horses, were forced to goe on foote. So difficult is every great designe: and a great matter it was that ever we got to Jerusalem, which was on the day of the Winter Solstice. We went after to Bethleem, there to celebrate the Nativitie where it was accomplished.

Milites, men at Armes.

O how great a stinke was still about the walls of Jerusalem, arising from the fallen, scattered, putrifying carkasses of the Saracens, which made us to stop our noses. Daybert the Archbishop of Pisa, (which had comne with us) being made Patriarch, wee went thence to Jordan, (the former Armie had washed themselves there, and gathered Palmes at Jerico, according to the custome, in the Garden of Abraham, before the departure of the Earles of Normandie and Flanders) some of our Armie staying at Jerusalem, and some of the former going againe with us. In the yeare 1100. on the first

Washing in Jordan.

day of the yeare, we cut Palmes at Jerico, and the next day departed. Our Princes passed by Tyberias, neere the Sea of Galilee, which is there eighteene miles long, and five broad, of fresh water: and thence by Cæsarea Philippi, called Paneas, where arise two Fountaines whence Jordan springeth, and passeth by the Sea of Galilee to the Red Sea. We came to the Castle Balbat, where three hundred men at Armes of the Turkes set upon us, and had slaine many, whose Arrowes being spoiled with the raine, they were unarmed, if Baldwins care had not protected them. So passing by Tortosa and Laodicea, Boamund departed to Antiochia, where he was joyfully received, and held his Kingdome sixe moneths. Then in July following, one Gabriel, an Armenian, offering to render to him the Citie of Militinia, he went thither with small company, and in the way of Danisman, an Amira, with a multitude of Turkes, slue many, put the rest to flight, and tooke Buamund. Baldwin made after them, but in vaine, saving that Gabriel rendred Militinia to him. In the midst of this his prosperitie, newes was brought him of his Brothers death in July, the second yeare after Jerusalem was taken, and that all Jerusalem expected him to succeede. Grieving somewhat at his Brothers death, and more rejoycing for the Inheritance, hee let out to one Baldwin his Kinsman the Countrey which hee held, and with seven hundred men at Armes, and seven hundred Foot-men, on the seventh of October he set forth towards Jerusalem, passing by Antiochia, Laodicea, Gibellum, Maraclea, Tortosa, Archas, and Tripoli. The King of Tripoli gave him kind entertainment, and intelligence of Duchar King of Damasco, and Ginahaldole King of Caliptus, waiting and waylaying his comming.

Tiberias.

Paneas.

Buamund taken.

King Godfrey dyeth, and Baldwin succeedeth.

Neere to Berito, about five miles distance, is a strait passage neere the Sea, which a few hundreds may make good against one hundred thousand. Heere they waited for us, and heere wee were in ill taking, not knowing which way for to escape or get backward or forwards:

howsoever we made a shew of courage, I wished my selfe at Carnote or Orleans. Wee resolved after an ill nights rest, to goe backe the next morning, which we did, they pursuing us in such sort, that we had no place left for flight or hope of safetie. But God mercifully saved us with a great miracle, they being suddenly terrified, and their ships flying for feare of us, and we made great slaughter, and got great spoile. The next day we returned againe, and found the streight aforesaid cleere, and passed the same with praises to God. The Amiras of Beruto, Sidon, also Tyrus, & Achon, made shew of friendship to us. But Tancred which held the Castle Caiphas was malevolent to Baldwin, wherefore we entred it not. We came at last to Joppe, where the Frankes acknowledged Baldwin for their King, and hasted thence to Jerusalem, where hee was welcomed with Procession of Clergie and Laitie, with Crosses and Candles. Daybert was not present as one accused, distasted of the people, and held in suspicion.

Sixe daies after, Baldwin set forth to Ascalon, whiles we wasted the Countries, divers Saracens had hidden their goods and themselves in holes of the Earth, which being revealed by the Syrians, they were forced out by fire, made in the entries of their dens and slaine, being usuall Robbers and Murtherers of Christians, we passed that way. When our provisions were spent, we made an in-road into Arabia, and passing by Abrahams Sepulchre foureteene miles from Jerusalem, came into the Valley where Sodom and Gomorrha were destroyed, where is now the great Lake Asfalti, which they call the dead Sea.

Dead Sea described.

The length whereof from Zoaras of Arabia, is five hundred and eightie furlongs to the places next to Sodom, the breadth one hundred and fiftie, so salt, that neither Beast nor Bird can drinke thereof, which I Fulcherius descending from my Mule, tasted, and found more bitter then Ellebore. And because nothing lives therein, it is called the Dead Sea. Jordan enters on the North; on the South is no passage out, neither River nor Lake. Neere

which Lake or Dead Sea, is a high Mountaine salt also, by places, hard as a stone, and like Ice; which I conjecture, both by the waves washing it, and the showers falling downe, it make the Lake salt; or else the bottome thereof reacheth unto the great salt Sea, by some invisible passage under ground. A man can hardly sinke to the bottom if he would. Having compassed the South side of the Lake, wee found a Village, which they say, is Segor, of goodly situation, and abounding with Dates, whereof we fed pleasantly. Of other things we seldome found any, (for the Arabs hearing of us, were fled) except some poore ones, blacke as Soote, which we contemned. There I saw Fruits on the Trees, which when I had broken the skin, I found to be dustie within and blacke. [II. viii. 1206.] *Sodoms fruits.*

Thence we passed the Mountaines of Arabia, where the Inhabitants were fled from their Villages, and had hidden themselves in Caves. We came to a fertile Valley, watered out of the Rocke which Moses stroke with the Rodde, still continuing with such abundance, that Water-Mills are driven therewith, where I Fulcherius watered my Horses. Wee found a Monasterie in the top of the Mountaine, called Saint Aarons, where Moses and Aaron were wont to speak with the Lord: and we rejoyced to see places so holy and strange. And because from thence, till neere to Babylon, the Countrey is desert, we proceeded no further, but returned the same way we came to Jerusalem. *Rock of Moses.*

In the yeare 1101. on Christmas day, in the Church of Saint Marie at Bethleem, by the Patriarch (then reconciled) was Baldwin anointed and crowned King, which Godfrey in reverence to our Lord, there crowned with Thorne, had refused. Baldwin was feared as a good Souldier, but his people were few. Wee had yet no Port but Joppe, neither was the way safe from thence for Pilgrims; but when we heard of any ships there, we went forth to meete them, which having visited Jerusalem, some stayed, others returned. Whereby the holy Land of Jerusalem remained emptie of people: nor were there *Weaknesse of the Frankes at Jerusalem.*

to defend it from the Saracens, if they had dared to assault us. For we had not then of men at Armes, above three thousand, and so many Foot-men as kept Jerusalem, Joppe, Ramula and Cayphas. Neither durst we scarsely at any time assemble our forces, for feare of loosing our Fortresses: that it was not without miracle that wee continued among so many thousand thousands so strong. Wee durst adventure no expedition, but neere to Ascalon or Arsuth. They which came by Sea brought no Horses, and by Land none came at us; neither could the Antiochians helpe us, or wee them. In March, Tancred left Cayphas to Baldwin, being sent for to Antioch to governe that Kingdome, till Buamund were free.

Militibus.

Arsuth, which the Ancients cal Antipatrida.

A Fleet of Italians and Genuois, that had wintered at Laodicea, sailed thence to Joppe, and came to Jerusalem, where on Easter Eeven was great adoe, because the light which that day useth to bee kindled from Heaven at the Lords Sepulchre, was not seene as in former times. But after much Ceremonies and Prayers, on Easter day happened to a Lampe in the Sepulchre, of which the Patriarch had the Key. The Genuois after Easter, forced Arsuth to yeeld themselves to King Baldwin, who also with their helpe besieged and tooke Cæsarea Palæstinæ. I saw there many Saracens burned for the Bizantines, which they had swallowed, or hidden in their mouthes, that with a blow on the mouth many pieces flew out of their mouthes: women also had hidden them in places not to be named. Wee went to Ramula, and waited if the Enemie would fight with us. Seventie dayes after our departure, wee heard that they set forth to seeke battell, and Baldwin assembled his people from Jerusalem, Tiberias, Cæsarea and Caypha. And because we had but few Knights (or men at Armes) the King warned all that could to make their Esquires Knights: so that all together were two hundred and threescore, and of footmen nine hundred. Against us were eleven thousand men at Armes,* and twentie one thousand footmen. We carried the wood of the Lords Crosse which comforted us, & was

Easter light.

Baldwin taketh Caesarea.

Milites, Knights, men at Armes, Horsemen.

**Milites.*

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE HOLY LAND

carried openly by a venerable Abbot. Baldwin comforted them also, telling them of Heaven open to the dying, glory among Christians to the surviving: but France is farre off, if we runne away. The Leader with five thousand of the Enemies were slaine: this battell was fought the seventh of September. The next day we returned to Joppe laden with spoile: encountring five hundred Saracens, which having fought and beaten a part of our forces in the battell, with their Armes hasted to Joppe, thinking to get the Towne; but not received, they thought us to be their owne fellowes, supposing the Christians all slaine, in that errour comming to us, till they learned the truth to their cost. Two Newes-tellers had also signified to the Joppites, the death of King Baldwin, and defeating of his Armie, whereupon they had sent by Sea to Tancred, yea, the Queene did write a Letter of that import to hasten him to their succour, who was also setting forth when the true report by a Messenger purposely sent, stayd him. Wee went safe to Jerusalem, and rested eight monethes.

In the yeare 1102. the Babylonians were gathered together at Ascalon, to destroy us utterly, being twentie thousand Horsemen and ten thousand Foot, besides victuals. These in May laid siege to Ramula. At that time many Frankes were at Joppe, waiting a fit wind for their returne to France. These had comne the yeare before by Romania, and had lost their Horses and all they had. For William, Earle of Poictou,* and Stephen Earle of Blois, (which sought now to recover the credit he had lost in flying from Antiochia) and [a] Hugo Magnus which had returned from Antiochia to France, and Earle Raimond returned from Constantinople, where he had made stay, and Stephen Earle of Burgundie, and many other Noblemen had adjoyned to themselves an innumerable number of Horse and Foot, the Armie divided in two. In the Romanian Confines, Soliman the Turke with great forces of Turkes had dispersed them, and almost destroyed them, slaying above one hundred thousand of their Horsemen

Ramula.

**He was also Duke of Aquitane.* [II. viii. 1207.]

[a] *Rob. Mon. was deceived if this deceive not. Above one hundred thousand men slaine, besides women, &c.*

Tyrius accuseth the Emperour of Const. for the overthrow, l. 10. by his treachery, also the Christians were arena sine calce, and undisciplined.

and Footmen, also some of their women, and some he carryed away. Their Mules, Horses and Beasts of burthen and goods the Turkes had gotten. The Earle of Poictou saved only himselfe, getting on foot to Antiochia in lamentable case, whom Tancred entertained. They which escaped (for they were divided in many Troupes) came to Jerusalem, except Hugo Magnus which dyed at Tarsus. Some went by Sea and they which had Horses by Land, which also in the way assaulted and tooke Tortosa, where Earle Raimond to their great disgust, remayned. Baldwin wayted for them at the Streights neere Beruto, eighteene dayes: they came to Jerusalem, kept there their Easter, visited the holy places, dined with King Baldwin in the Temple of Salomon, and now waited passage at Joppe, when this newes came that King Baldwin had taken horse to goe against the Babylonians. Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundie, Gefferie of Vendon and Hugh Liziniac (brother to Earle Raimond) got Horses and followed. But Baldwin improvidently hasting, was in sight of the Enemies before his forces could have sight of him, not attending the foot, and having but few Horses. So that, with two hundred men at Armes, he was encompassed of twentie thousand, where he expected but a thousand, against whom they were enforced to fight, committed great slaughter, but lost the field, the King and some others escaping to Ramula. Where not daring to stay, with five followers he departed, and three dayes after, with one only, hungrie and thirstie escaped to Arsuth. The two Stephens of Blois and Burgundie, were slaine. The King durst not adventure by Land, and therefore sailed to Joppe. Thence hee intreated an old poore Syrian, to carrie by bywayes, newes to Jerusalem, whither on the third day hee came, and ninetie men at Armes with some others of the Citie which could get Horses, set out for Joppe, whither not without skirmishes and losse the most came. Also Hugh of Tiberias had before comne with eightie men at Armes. With such forces as he had, he set forth to meete the Enemie then approaching within

three miles. Their huge numbers encompassing ours, were yet chased out of the field, leaving their Tents to the Frankes, with Camels, Asses, Money. For the King had then the wood of our Lords Crosse, which if hee had in the former battell carryed, it is not to bee doubted, but God would have shewed mercie to his people, if the King would have gone wisely with his people to the battell. All Winter after they were quiet. Anno 1103. the King besieged Achon, but not able to take it, he wasted the Countrey and returned to Joppe. Buamund was now restored to libertie and his Antiochian Principalitie, adding also Laodicea which Tancred had taken from the Constantinopolitans, giving him recompense for it in his owne Land. King Baldwin in a skirmish was very dangerously wounded neere the heart.

Anno 1104. the King againe besieged Achon (or Ptolemaida,) assisted by a Fleet of Genuois, of seventie ships beaked,[b] and after twentie dayes siege tooke it: of great import for the Port, which within the walls harboureth many ships safely. Buamund and Daibert by Sea went to Italy, he to get people, the other to complaine of Baldwin to the Pope, who favoured him, but in his returne he dyed.

[b] *Rostratæ, that is, the beaks, or stems covered with Iron or Brasse.*

Anno 1105. Earle Raimond dyed in his owne Towne before Tripolis, whom succeeded his Nephew William Jordan. The King of Caliptus received a great overthrow by Tancred, which then ruled in Antiochia, and lost numbers numberlesse. The King of Babylon[c] raised a great Armie which he sent to Ascalon, against which Baldwin moved from Joppe, and sent to Jerusalem that they should fast, pray, and make Procession barefoot, which was done, my selfe beeing one. The Patriarke went and carryed the Crosse. Our men at Armes were five hundred, besides other Horsemen which had not that Militarie place, and two thousand foot. The Enemie was fifteene thousand, foure thousand were slaine, of which was the Amira of Ascalon; the Amira of Achon was taken. Their Navie before Joppe returning to Babylon, (Cairo)

[c] *That is, as in other places of the storie, the Egyptian Chalifa: Cairo being by some called Babylon.*

was assailed by Tempest, and miserably disperst, whereof five and twentie ships were taken by us, beeing full of Saracens. On Christmas Eeven at Jerusalem, we felt a great Earthquake.

Anno 1106. a Comet appeared fiftie dayes decreasing, beginning in February: also three Sunnes, a smaller on each hand of the true, both in quantitie and light; a great white Circle environing, and in it a Rain-bow of foure colours, the Bow toward the Sunne, and reaching to the other two Sunnes. In the next moneth, the Starres of Heaven seemed to raine. Hugh of Tiberias against the Damascens, had a notable Victorie, with sixescore chasing foure thousand, and soone after dyed of an Arrow shot.

Such a triple Sun and Rain-bow was seene 1621. in Devonshire.

Anno 1107. seventie of ours chased five hundred of theirs, besides one thousand footmen. Buamund returned out of France with five thousand men at Armes, and threescore thousand footmen, without women; provided a Fleet at Brundusium, sailed into Bulgaria, tooke Avalon, besieged Duratium a yeare, and forced the Emperour to sweare to protect the Pilgrimes thorow all his Empire, and he also sware fealtie to the Emperour [d] after which, with part of his Armie hee returned into Apulia, the greater part according to their Vow, repayring to Jerusalem by Sea.

[d] *Malmsb. saith, that Alexius had partly poisoned, partly corrupted his chiefe followers, whereby dejected, he returned to Apulia, and soone after dyed.*

[II. viii. 1208.]

Anno 1109. Bertran sonne of Earle Raimund came out of Province, and with ninetie ships of the Genuois besieged Tripolis, but (by dissention betwixt him and Jordan his emulous Kinsman) to little effect. Baldwin came to the siege to intreate the Genuois to his assistance against Ascalon, Beruth and Sidon and began to agree the two Earles; but Jordan was slaine as hee rode in the night with an Arrow, no man knew how nor whence. Bertran sware fealtie to King Baldwin for his Fathers Inheritance (the cause of their quarrell) and when the Saracens had compounded to surrender the Towne, their lives saved, (which the King had confirmed by Oath) they permitted our chiefe men to enter part of the Towne. Meane-while, I know not how, a sudden tumult happened

amongst the meaner Genuois, who scaled and entred the Towne without the Princes knowledge, and put all to the sword, no equitie being able to make restitution of their heads. But in the Kings circuit they escaped. *Tripolis taken.*

Anno 1110. King Baldwin with Bertran tooke Berith after seventie five dayes siege: and after with Tancred passed over Euphrates, where they found the Turkish forces, which yet refused fight, and with wearisome delayes, caused that they furnished Edessa with victuall (the Turkes having wasted the Countrey and taken the Castles and Husbandmen which served them with food) and departed againe over the River, where the Turkes tooke and carryed into Persia many of our footmen. In the meane-while, a Fleet arrived at Joppe out of Norway, and the Westerne Sea conducted by that Kings Brother, which with their Sea-service ayded the King in the siege of Sidon, which yeelded upon composition in December. *Berith taken.*

Anno 1111. Tancred sent to Baldwin, who with Bertran assembled all their forces against the Turkes, which in great multitudes had passed Euphrates out of Persia. They passed by Apamia, which Tancred had taken the yeare before: but the Turkes refusing to fight, they departed, Tancred to Antiochia, the King to Jerusalem. Preparation made, hee besieged Tyrus or Soor above foure monethes in vaine, his two Towers of wood which he had raised higher then the walls, beeing disappointed by two which the Citizens had erected on their walls by night, whence they being higher, cast fire into the other and consumed them. And ours which in conceit had divided the prey, returned home with shame. Anno 1112. Tancred dyed. *Apamia.* *Tyrus.*

Anno 1113. the Turkes passed Euphrates, and commited great spoile over the whole Countrey, and in a battell King Baldwin lost his Colours, Tents and goods, twelve hundred footmen, and thirtie of the best men at Armes. The Saracens before subject, tooke Armes against us. Sichem, which we call Naples, was taken. The Ascalonites came to the Suburbs of Jerusalem, and spoiled *Great losse.* *Sichem.*

their Harvest: nor could a Messenger passe betwixt the King and them; nor durst the Husbandmen reape their Harvest in the Countrey, or exercise other businesses. But our Armie being renewed by Christian Pilgrimes from beyond the Seas, the Turkes departed towards Damasco, and King Baldwin to Achon, where he found the Countesse of Sicilia, (Wife of Roger the Brother of Robert Guiscard) comne to become his Wife.

Grasse-hoppers & Earthquakes. Gauterius saith, that the people were at their wits end, every day new Earthquakes, the houses were forsaken; Letanies, Fasts, and other holies used, tents erected in the fields, &c.

Anno 1114. an infinite multitude of Grasse-hoppers, from the parts of Arabia, came into the Countrey of Jerusalem, which in Aprill and May much wasted our Corne. Two Earthquakes had happened the yeare before: two also this yeare, one so great in the Region of Antiochia, that many Townes were halfe or wholly ruined, throwing downe their walls, and the Houses, and killing the people: overturning the Castle Trialeth neere to Euphrates, Mariseum with the walls, Houses and people was extinct: a great part of Mamistria fell.

Anno 1115. in June the Turkes passed the River into Syria, and Doldequin King of Damasco, knowing that they hated him for the Murther of their former Generall Manduef, entred league with King Baldwin and Roger Prince of Antiochia, knowing that a three-fold Cord is not easily broken. When Baldwin was comne into those parts, the Turkes hid themselves, whom thinking to have beene gone out of the Countrey, he returned. Meane-while, the Ascalonites had besieged Joppe by Sea and Land, but returned frustrate: againe they sought to take it unprovided, and made a second assault ten dayes after with like successe. The Turkes spoyling the Countrey of Syria, the Antiochians overthrew them in battell, slue three thousand and tooke many with rich spoyle, and three hundred thousand Byzantines. This yeare Mamistria was the second time subverted by an Earthquake, wherewith also the like happened else-where in the Countrey of Antiochia. This yeare the King built the Castle Mount Royall within three dayes journey of the Red Sea.

Anno 1116. the King went to the Red Sea, and found the Citie Heli, where the Israelites rested after they had passed the Red Sea: the Inhabitants being Fishermen were fled into their Boats. In the end of the yeare the King being sickly and fearing death, put from him Atlaida the Countesse of Sicilia, whom he had unjustly marryed, his former Wife still living at Edessa. *Red Sea.*

Anno 1117. the said Countesse returned into Sicilia. Grasse-hoppers devoured the Vineyards, Corne, Trees of all kind, eating all greene things and the barkes; going forth in Bands like an accurate Armie, some on foot, some flying. In the following moneth June, the Moone on the thirteenth day of her age was all red and after blacke, and two houres together lost the light, which happening not in the full we tooke for a signe. In July happened an Earthquake in December, the whole Heaven was firie like bloud, in some places shining white. Pope Paschal died in Januarie after, and King Baldwin in Aprill, and his Wife in Sicil; Alexius the Emperour, and the Patriarke Arnulphus. [II. viii. 1209.]

In the end of March 1118. Baldwin had spoyled the Citie Pharamia, walking on a day by Nilus, his old griefe renewed, whereof he dyed in the way, being returned as farre as Laria. He was buried neere to his Brother Godfrey in Golgotha, having reigned eighteene yeares, three monethes. Baldwin Earle of Edessa his Kinsman was elected in his stead, and was consecrated on Easter day, having comne accidentally to Jerusalem to speake with the King. That yeare the Babylonians came with an Armie of fifteene thousand Horsemen, and twentie thousand foot, to Ascalon, and a great Fleet of ships attended on them by Sea. King Baldwin assembled his owne with the Tripolitan and Antiochian forces, and sate three monethes neere to them, neither side adventuring the hazard of battell. *Pharamia.* *Laria.* *King Baldwin dyeth, and Baldwin succeedeth.*

Anno 1119. Roger Prince of Antiochia, made an Expedition against the Turkes, and neere to the Towne Arthasium, was slaine with seven thousand of his people, *Prince Roger slaine with seven thousand Antiochians.*

and of the Turkes not twentie. And no marvell? for they abounding in wealth exceedingly, neither feared God, nor reverenced man: the Prince used manifold adulteries, dis-herited the Sonne of Boamund, remayning in Apulia with his Mother, hee and his lived luxuriously and proudly. King Baldwin sped better in a battell neere Sardanium, twentie foure miles from Antioch. Our men at Armes were seven hundred, the Turkes twentie thousand. Gazi was their Generall. A certaine Turke spake to a Franke which understood the Persian, saying, Your God hath forsaken you, seeing yee neither hold his Law as yee were wont, nor faith and truth amongst your selves; This wee know and have observed, and to morrow shall overcome you. Hereof wee might well indeed bee ashamed when a faithlesse Turke objected our want of faith. The battel followed, long doubtfull; at last the Turkes fled, some to Aleppo, some into Persia, God delivering the King by vertue of the Crosse carryed by the Bishop of Cæsarea: who after two dayes keeping the field went to Antiochia, the Patriarke therof came forth to meet the holy Crosse, the King and Bishop; & on the day of the Exaltation of the Crosse they entred with the Crosse into Jerusalem rejoycing, the King staying at Antiochia to set things in order, having that Kingdome added to his other of Jerusalem. On Christmas day he and his Wife were crowned at Bethleem.

Superstition of the Crosse unlike Ezekiahs Nehushtan, although made by divine appointment, & by Christ interpreted to signifie Christ crucified, Job. 3. Yet broken in pieces when abused.

Anno 1120. the King remitted Tolls and Imposts, and hearing that the Turkes were comne into Syria, hee very humbly desired of the Patriarke and the Clergie, the Crosse to bee delivered him, saying, that his men should be thereby fortified, and not trusting in his owne or his peoples force, he should obtaine it in stead of many thousands. Heere grew some reasoning betwixt those which went and those which staied, whether the Crosse ought for such a necessitie of Christianitie to be carryed to Antioch, or the Church of Jerusalem be deprived of such a treasure. We said, Alas wretches, what shall we doe, if God permit the Crosse to bee lost in Warre, as

A.D. 1123.

once the Israelites lost the Arke of the Covenant? Nilling and willing we did it, with many teares shed for it, and Songs in prayse of it, conveying it out of the Towne bare-foote, the King, Patriarch and people, with which the King departed weeping. The Turkes were neere Antiochia, but now retyred to Caliptus: some skirmishes happened in which many on both sides were slaine or wounded, but without battell ours returned to Antiochia, and most of them into Persia: and in October we entertained the most glorious Crosse of our Lord into Jerusalem with great joy.

Anno 1121. the King set forth against Tuldequine, King of Damasco, who with the Arabians his Confederates spoyled the Countrey neere to Tiberias, tooke the Castle Jarras and razed it together with the Towne.

Anno 1122. the King went to Tripolis against Earle Pontius, which refused to bee subject to him, as his Father Bertran had beene, and the matter betwixt them was peaceably ended. Hee went also against the Turkes which besiged Sardanium, and repelled them. Blessed therefore bee the Banner of the most holy Crosse of our Lord, a present helpe to true beleevers, under whose protection and consolation, the faithfull without any losse returned home: they being ten thousand, ours but one thousand and two hundred. Meanewhile, Goseline Earle of Edessa, was taken, and his Cousin Galeran, by Amira Balac, and soone after King Baldwin also.

King Baldwin taken Prisoner.

Anno 1123. Henry King of Almaine, was pacified with Pope Calixtus. A great Fleete of Venetians which wintered at Corfu, being one hundred and twentie Saile, besides smaller Vessels, in which were fifteene thousand armed men, Venetians and other Pilgrims, and three hundred Horses. The Kingdome in Baldwins Captivitie was committed to the governement of Eustace, which then held Cæsarea and Sidon. The Babylonians with a Navie of ninetie Ships, came and besieged Joppe: another land Armie was gone to Ascalon. The Joppites men and women resisted valiantly: yet, had the siege continued,

Venetian Fleet 120. saile.

so few could not have holden out. But the rumor of the Christian Fleete had scarred away the Enemies, when they had now made a breach in the Wall. Our men were united from all places at the Castle Chaco, and marched with the Crosse to Ramath neere Diospolis. Wee at Jerusalem made Prayers bare-foot, and Processions thorow all the Churches of the Citie, and gave almes. Ours having received Benediction and Absolution of the Patriarke; fought neere Azot or Eldot, now called Ibenum, being brought to a small Village. Their Horse-men fled, their Foot were slaine, and their Tents were left to our men. And of thirtie thousand Babylonians, twelve thousand were slaine by Land and Sea, of ours in this fight but ten: after which, the Patriarke returned to Jerusalem with the Crosse; which was received without Davids Gate, and with honorable Procession convayed to the Temple of the Sepulchre. The Generall of the Venetian Fleet came to Achon, which hearing of the defeat, divided his Navie, with one part going towards Joppe, sending the other into the Mayne to make the Saracens beleeve that they were Pilgrimes comming from Cyprus. Meeting with the Fleet of Saracens, they made such a slaughter that the Sea for foure miles space was died red: for they slue the men and tooke the ships. After which they fell upon ten other ships laden with victuall and timbers for Engines, Pepper, Cinamon, and divers Spices, Munition and Money. Some ships they burned on the shoare, the most they brought to Achon. Eustace dyed, and William de Buris succeded in the Protectorship. Baldwin escaped out of his hard Imprisonment, where he and Earle Joseline were bound by a strange strategeme. Fiftie Edessens, making shew as if they were Pedlars or poore Merchants: and waiting an occasion got into the inner gate, where the Captaine or chiefe of the Warders was at Chesse, to whom they made shew of complaint for some wrong offered: and seeing opportunitie, suddenly drew their Swords, and slue him, layd hold on the Launces (or Halberds) there standing, and laid lustily

Chaco.
Ramath.
[II. viii. 1210.]

about them. The clamour brings many to see the businesse which they were suddenly sent to tell in another World; about one hundred Turkes being slaine, they shut the Castle, take out the Captives, erect the Christian Colours. Balac had dreamed that Joseline had pulled out his eyes, whereupon hee sent to put him to death, and before the Messengers were arrived, this had happened. Balacs best beloved Wife was in the Castle. Earle Joseline by night, with three of his Servants, gat out of the Castle in a Moone-light night, thorow the midst of the besiegers, and by night travell got to Euphrates, and with two blowne Bladders and helpe of his companions, beeing ignorant of swimming, gate over: where under a Tree resting himselfe almost tattered and starved, hee was knowne by a Countriman, which having a Wife, and a little Daughter, and a silly Asse was willing to attend him with his Family. The Earle rode on the Asse, and carryed the poore mans childe crying and unquiet, till they came through the Enemies Countrey to his owne Castle Terbexell. Thence (having repaid the poore Armenian) he hasted to Jerusalem where hee offered his Fetters in Mount Calvarie, and with the Crosse & an Armie had returned to Cartapeta, but in the way newes came that the King was againe captive, whereupon after much spoile in the Saracens Countries, they parted the prey and departed home. Balac had undermined the Castle, erecting timbers in the Mines, and filling the holes with wood, which he fired, and the Earth by that meanes falling, part of the Castle fell therewith, so that they within were forced to yeeld to mercie. The King Galdran he spared: the rest were hanged, or flayed, or cut asunder in the middle. The King was sent Prisoner to Carræ.

This Castle was Cartapeta.

Terbexel.

Anno 1124. the Patriarke agreed with the Venetians to besiege Tyrus. Balac laid siege to Jerapolis, called Mumbeth, which Joseline hearing (beeing then at Antiochia, hee came with his forces and gave him battell, in which Balac and three thousand of his men were slaine. Balacs head was sent to Antioch: and his Esquire bringing

Balac slaine.

Knighthood. the newes to the Campe at Tyrus, was knighted by the
Tyrus taken. Earle of Tripolis. Tyrus was yeelded on the seventh of July, and the thirds given to the Venetians in the Citie and Port by composition.

Chap. III.

A supplement of the Holy Land Storie, gleaned out of the large Historie of William Archbishop of Tyrus.

W. Tyr. l. 13. The Kings libertie.

He same yeare in the end of August, King Baldwin agreed for his libertie, and returned to Antioch. His ransome was one hundred thousand Michaelites (a principall Coine in those parts) which not knowing how to pay, hee was perswaded to besiege Halapia, then being in some distresse. The Halapians were assisted by the Saracens beyond Euphrates, whereupon the King returned and went to Jerusalem. But hearing of Bursequines spoiling the Confines of Antioch, assisted by Doldequine of Damascus, who had taken Caphardan, and besieged Sardan, and thence removed to Hasard: he with the Earles of Tripolis and Edessa, came and gave them battell, and winning the field, got enough to redeeme his Daughter, which remayned pledge for his ransome. Hee invaded the Territorie of Damascus: but being told of the Babylonians comming to Ascalon, (for it was their custome foure times in the yeare to direct forces thither) hee set forth thither and curbed their insolence.

Anno 1126. he made an expedition by Tyberias and
[II. viii. Decapolis, and to the Plaines of Medan, where the River
1211.] Dan, betwixt Tyberias and Scythopolis runneth into
Jor, Dan, Jordan. Jordan, making up that name; before which, that which descends into the Sea of Galilee, is called Jor, as some say, though Beda and others be otherwise minded. He encountered with the Damascenes, in a dreadfull and long doubtfull battell, which inclined at last to the Kings part.

Hee restored Antiochia to Boamund the yonger, in marriage with his Daughter; against whom, Earle Josceline conceived such hatred, that he called in Turkes to his aide, and entred the Territories of Antioch with Fire and Sword, in the absence of the Prince. At that time Roger Earle of Sicilia, frustrated of his hopes in Africa, with his Fleete wanne Syracuse, slaying all, of all Ages and Sexes. *Boamund Junior.* *Civill Warre.*

An. 1127. William an English man, was made Archbishop of Tyrus, being before Prior of the Sepulchre; who being consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, would needes against his will, seeke his Pall at Rome, where Pope Honorius much honored him, and sent Giles his Legat with him, to make the Patriarke of Antioch to deliver his Suffragan Bishops to him, under paine of Suspension. The yeere following, Hugo de Paganis, first Master of the Temple, and some other Religious men, which had beene sent by the King into the West, to excite aides of those Princes, returned with many Noble-men. Whereupon all the Easterne Christians agreed to besiege Damascus. Anno 1130. But having lost many in forraging and skirmishing, the Elements with thunders and raines compelled them to retire home. Boamund was one, which in his returne to his Province, found Rodoan the Turke, committing spoiles, and in seeking revenge lost himselfe and his life. The King made haste to set things there in order, where his Daughter the Princes Wife, sent to Sanguin the Turke for aide, to hold Antiochia to her selfe. The Messenger by the way was intercepted, and brought to the King. She prepared to withstand her Father, but in vaine. He returning to Jerusalem, fell sicke, and because the Patriarkes house was neerer the place of the Resurrection, lay there; and taking the habit of Religion, having commended the Kingdome to Fulke his Sonne-in-law, with his little Sonne Baldwin, he died in August 1131. *W. English man Archbishop of Tyre.* *First Templers.* *Damascus besieged in vaine.* *King Fulce. Lib.* 14.

This Fulke had married the Kings eldest Daughter, Milisend, being Earle of Anjou, Turon, &c. and had beene at Jerusalem in Pilgrimage, and maintained one

hundred Horse-men a whole yeere at his charge, winning such love of the King and people, that the King bestowed his Daughter and succession on him. Honorius dying, a contention grew for the Papacie, twixt Innocent and Peter, called Anacletus, the matter was tried on both sides with bloud and slaughter. Innocent obtayning, ordained the Church of Tyre to be subject to Jerusalem, and to have the same place with that Patriarke which before it held with the Antiochian. Great stirre arose about the Earle of Joppa; who, being accused by Galterus Cæsariensis of treason, was sentenced to acquit himselfe by combat; but he appeared not, and was therefore condemned: whereupon hee went to Ascalon, desiring aide of the Enemie, which added fewell to the fire, and invaded the Christians on that confidence. Peace was concluded, and the Earle after that in Jerusalem, as he was at play, was murthered, and the King suspected as procurer thereof, whereof hee cleered himselfe by execution of the Malefactor.

The Author speakes against the Romane Church, and the two Patriarkes, which cut large, thongs of others hide, &c.

Civill broiles, Earle of Tripolis slaine. Tarsus taken by the Emperour of Constant.

Pontius Earle of Tripolis, with all his power, fighting against the Damascens, was taken and slaine, his Armie dispersed, the Bishop taken, and a great multitude killed. The Antiochians had delivered their Citie to Raimund, with Boamunds daughter to Wife, which the Constantinopolitan misliked, and by great power sought to subdue all that Principalitie, with Horses, Chariots, Treasures beyond number, and Forces infinite, passing Saint Georges arme, and violently forced Tarsus, and placed his owne, expelling thence the Antiochian Forces. He besieged Antiochia. Sanguin the Turke takes the advantage to invade the Countrey of Tripolis, and besieged Mount Ferrand. Both parts sue to the King for aide, who going first against Sanguin, received an overthrow; the Earle of Tripolis was taken, and almost all the Footmen taken or slaine with all their carriages. The King fled for succour to a Castle unprovided, out of which whiles his subjects seeke to deliver him, Neapolis was taken by other Saracens with cruell execution of all sorts. Sanguin put

Earle of Trip. taken, and the King distressed.

the King to such straits before succours could come (which on all hands were provided) that he was contented to agree on conditions to resigne the Fortresse after much Famine and Death. Antiochia was also grievously assaulted, but peace was by mediation concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Prince, which did him homage.

Cæsarea besieged.

The Emperour having wintered in Cilicia, the next Spring layeth siege to Cæsarea, assisted with the Prince of Antioch, and Earle of Edessa to satisfie them, which yet by their negligent labours and diligent play, gave him so little satisfaction, that being offered money, he accepted it, and returned to Antioch, where arose a tumult about his demand of a Garrison, which grew to blowes, wounds, deaths, which caused the Emperour to remit his demand, and to returne home. Meane-while, Theodericke Earle of Flanders, the Kings Sonne-in-law came to Jerusalem, with a strong Armie. These with the Jerosolymitans besieged a Den of Theeves neere Mount Galaad, being an inaccessible Cave, where a Nest of Adders resided, wayting all opportunities of mischiefe: which while they were doing, the Turkes tooke Tecua. The Master of the Temple came upon them with his forces, and chased them, but minding the spoyles, the conquered returned and regained the victorie with great slaughter and spoile.

Tecua taken.

Sanguin sought now to get the Kingdome of Damascus, whereupon they desired the King, and promised the Citie Paneas, and twentie thousand pieces of Gold to King Fulke, to assist them against a common Enemie. But Sanguin feared the encounter and returned. Paneas after a strong siege was taken. The Popes Legate commeth into those parts, and after much stirre deposeth Ralfe, the Patriarke of Antiochia, compels him to deliver his Ring and Crosse, and commits him to the Prince to Bonds and Imprisonment in a high Mountaine, whence escaping to Rome, and obtayning some glance of Papall light, in his returne hee was poysoned. The Legate returneth to Jerusalem, and dedicates the Temple in great solemnitie, and celebrates a Councell with the Patriarke, the Armenian,

[II. viii. 1212.]

Papall Legate deposeth the Patriarke of Antioch, and holdeth a Councell at Jerusalem.

Median, Persian, Cappadocian Bishops, and reformation was promised in the things wherein they dissent from us. Aimerike an unlearned man was chosen the Antiochian Patriarke.

The Emperour makes another Expedition within foure yeares after the former into Cilicia, and to Edessa, with innumerable Treasures and People, where after much labour to little effect, the next Spring in hunting a wild Boare, with a Poysoned Arrow hee hurt his hand as hee was shooting, whereof he dyed, Anno 1137. and King Fulke, by like disadventure followed, in the following of a Hare falling from his Horse, his braines with the violence thereof, forced out of his nose and eares. This happened in November 1142.

Death of the Emperour and King Falco.

Baldwin the third.

Edessa taken.

Baldwin the third succeeded. Sanguin the Turke Lord of Ninive (now called Musul) came and besieged Edessa, the Metropolis of Media called Rages, a Citie better stored with Merchants then Souldiers, and by undermining tooke it, neither sparing age or sex; amongst the rest, Hugh the Archbishop was slaine, who having horded infinite Treasure, to spare it hee was prodigall of his life, and fame and it also, to a cruell ungratefull Heire. He proceeded to besiege Calogenbar on the other side of Euphrates, where one night in his drunkennesse hee was slaine of his servants; living and dying, Sanguine, one of his Sonnes succeeded at Musul, Noradine, another at Halapia. The Captaine of Bostrum upon discontent with the Damascens came to Jerusalem, and offered to yeeld the Citie to the King, who went with an Armie, but too late, the Enemie having possession before, wherefore after many dangers and losses he returned. Not long after the Edessans (Noradine being else-where busied) send to Earle Josceline, who commeth and suddenly becommeth Master of the Citie, which he was not able to hold, Noradine returning with a strong power, and recovering it with exceeding slaughter of the Citizens and of the Earles Armie.

Edesse wonne and lost.

After this, Pope Eugenius sent Preachers to excite men

to take the Crosse (amongst them Bernard Abbot of Clarovale) which went thorow Kingdomes and Regions, whereby Conrade the Emperour and Lewis King of France with many Princes embraced the word and signe of the Crosse, which yet did in all that Expedition nothing acceptable to God, our sinnes deserving it. As they which were present, constantly affirme there were in the Emperours Campe seventie thousand * harnessed Horse-men, besides Foot-men, Children, Women, and Horse-men of lighter Armour. And in the Armie of the French as many armed Horse-men, and a Navie; able if God had blessed them to have conquered all the Easterne Provinces. The Greekes either by command, or corrupted by the Enemie, led ours by unpassable passages, so that their Enemies made such slaughter, that of all those thousands of Horse-men, and innumerable Footmen, scarsly the tenth part escaped. The French followed the Imperials in like fates, the glory of the Frankes and vertue sometimes dreadfull, being made a mockerie to their Enemies, Famine and Disorder pursuing the residue which escaped the Battell which was in January 1146.

*Loricatorium.

Incredible numbers slaine and lost. See more of these in M. Par. following.

Anno 1148. Noradine invades the Territories of Antiochia, and in Battell Raimund the Prince with the strength of those parts was slaine. Raimunds head and right hand were sent to the Calipha of Baldac: all the Countrey was over-runne by martiall furie. The Soldan of Iconium invades the Countrey of the Earle of Edessa, takes many Cities and Castles, and besiegeth the Earle in Turbessel, and upon conditions departeth. This Earle a voluptuous and dissolute man rejoycing at the fall of Antiochia, fell soone after into his Enemies hands, which carryed him to Halapia, where tyred with miserie he dyed.

Raimund slaine.

Earle of Edessa taken.

The power of the Frankes consisted in the Kingdome of Jerusalem, the Principalitie of Antioch, the Earledome of Edessa, & the Earledom of Tripolis. After the former miseries in other parts happened a dissention twixt the

The foure parts of the Easterne Frankes power.

Civill Warres.

King and his Mother, which divided the Kingdome betweene them in civill combustions. The Queene betakes her to Jerusalem, whither the King followes with an Armie, and (notwithstanding the Patriarkes admonition) besiegeth it, and after that the Citizens had let him in, laid siege to the Tower where she was, till at last agreement was made on both sides, internal grudges and relikes of faction stil remayning, whiles without as two Milstones, Noradine and the Soldan of Iconium, ground the State betwixt them to powder. The Soldan of Iconium having invaded againe the Countrey of Edessa, lest miserie should want, the Constantinopolitan sends a great Armie and challengeth the Countrey which the King yeelds to, taking with him the people (which hereupon with their wealth departed) whereof Noradine understanding with great power assailed them, their carriages being sticked with Arrowes like Hedge-hogs, yet they shifted away, the Turkes wanting victuals to follow them. In one yeare did Noradine dispossesse the Greekes of their new possessions, a rich Countrey beeing quite lost, and three Archbishoprickes cut off from the Church of Antioch, the Edessan, the Hierapolitan, and Coricen. The Earle of Tripolis was murthered by the Assisines.

Emperour of Const. his invasion.

Maym of the Easterne Kingdome.

[II. viii. 1213.]

Hiaroquin Turkes.

A huge Armie of Turkes called Hiaroquin, whose Progenitors had held Jerusalem, made an expedition thither for recoverie of their pristine possession; where, tyred by the difficultie of the way, they were made an easier conquest to the Sword of the Christians, so that five thousand being slaine, the rest were glad to retire. This was Anno 1152. The King besieged Ascalon two Moneths; after which, according to the custome, at Easter was a passage of Pilgrims in great frequencie, which came thither with huge bands of Horse and Foote, the Campe daily increasing, the Pilgrims which would have returned being forbidden, and their Ships being imployed in this service. Ours with Masts of Ships, made a wooden Tower, and of the other materials of the Ships, engines and Pent-house-provisions for securitie of the approachers. After five

Passage yeerly of Frankes at Easter to Jerusalem.

A.D. 1155.

Moneths siege, and daily killing and wounding on both sides, the Babylonian Fleet came to their succour. Gyrard of Sydon the Admirall of our Fleet, thought to encounter with them, but seeing their multitudes fled; they being seventie Gallies and other Ships of huge greatnesse and great provisions, which the Egyptian Prince had sent. A peece of the Wall being razed, they which would have entred, were forbidden by the Templers (that being the custome for all men to hold whatsoever spoile they got) in hope of gaine, so that their covetousnesse exposed them to the slaughter. And our men fainting were incouraged, and the Citie was yeelded, on composition to depart with bag and baggage. Absolon was made Bishop by the Patriarke, against the will of the Bishop of Bethleem, which appealed to the Pope, and by his sentence excluded the former. Nocquin a Turke seeing the Ascalonites destitute of sufficient guard, hee (which had undertooke to guard them into Egypt himselfe) fell upon them, rifled them, and left them wandring in the Desart. This hapned, Anno 1154.

Ascalon taken.

Mischiefes never alone.

Anno 1155. was a grievous famine, and but for the store of Corne which they found in Ascalon, the people had all perished. And the yeere following, the soile about Ascalon, which hostilitie had not permitted to be tilled in fiftie yeeres, rendred sixtie-fold increase. Great contention grew betwixt the Patriarke and Hospitalars, about Tithes of their goods, and other their insolencies. The Roman Church not considering what it granted, gave cause hereof, freeing the place from jurisdiction of the Patriarke. This place of the Hospitall was given first by the Egyptian Calyphas to the Amalfitan Merchants of Italie, to build them a house, where they erected a Monasterie of Saint Mary, of Latin Monkes; and another Nunnerie of Saint Mary Magdalen: and after that an Hospitall, and an Altar in honor of Saint John Eleymon, or the Almoner. The maintenance of these was yeerly almes: which continued till Jerusalem was won by the Christians, Gerald being then Master of the Hospitall, to

Lib. 18. *Famine and plentie.*

RomanChurch blamed by all her Children. Hospitalars beginning.

whom Raymund succeeded, which now by Roman priviledge did thus domineere. The Patriarke went a *Pope Adrian.* dangerous journey with others to Rome, where he received bad entertainment, the Cardinals (all but two) following Balaam sonne of Bosor, and going after gifts. The Emperour of Constantinople at that time by the Popes consent invaded Apulia.

Egyptian broiles. About this time the Soldan of Egypt slew the Calypha, to make his sonne Noseredine, Calypha; but the fact being knowne, the Countrey was too hot for him, who flying the Egyptian Frying-pan, fell into the fire of the Frankes, which slew him and tooke Noseredine, whom *Cruell basenesse.* desiring to become a Christian, the Templers sold to the Egyptians for sixtie thousand Egyptian pieces of gold, which carried him in an Iron Grate into Egypt, and there cut him in small pieces. The yeere after, Ranialdus de *Cyprus invaded.* Castellione Prince of Antiochia invaded Cyprus with hostile Legions, a Christian neighbour Countrey, alway friendly to us. He overthrew their Armie, wasted Cities, Townes, Monasteries, ravished Nunnes, obtayned infinite spoiles, *League broken unjustly.* which he soone spent as prodigally. The King also brake his league with the Turkes at Paneas, for greedinesse of spoile to pay his debts: which was soone revenged. Noradine besieged the Towne, which the King caused him with an Armie to leave, but so, as waiting better opportunitie, which hee soone found, to doe more hurt to the Kings Armie; taking the most of the great Men therein, the King hardly escaping, and consequently (in that time) the Kingdome. He againe besiegeth Paneas, and againe by the King is repelled. After this, the King besieged *Cæsarea taken.* Cæsarea, and with the helpe of Theodorick Earle of Flanders, then with his forces present, wanne it: and *Baldwins death.* after that Harenc. He dyed, Anno 1162. and his brother *Amalricus succeedeth.* Amalricus succeeded.

Lib. 19. He in his first yeere descended into Egypt, and fought with Dargan the Soldan, and obtained victorie; who, lest he should proceed further, brake the bankes of Nilus then swolne, to overflow the Countrey. Dargan was soone

after slaine. Noradine invaded the Countrey of Tripolis, but by helpe of Westerne Pilgrims then comne thither, his Armie was dissipated, himselfe hardly escaping, with one Legge bare, leaving his Sword behinde. Of these Pilgrims Gilbert de Laci, and Robert Mansel were Commanders. To recover his credit, he besieged Harenc, where Boamund the third Prince of Antiochia, Raimund the Earle of Tripolis, and Caliman President of Cilicia and Toros, an Armenian Prince opposing, were discomfited, and the three former, with divers other Nobles taken, Anno 1165.

Three Princes taken.

Syracon tooke an inexpugnable Fort by corruption of the Keepers, called Cavea de Tyrum. He prepared great forces against Savar the Soldan of Egypt, by authoritie of the Calypha of Baldac, carying Water in Bottles thorow the Desart. Amalricus followed him, his whole Armie meeting at Belbeis or Pelusium. Savar gave him royall entertainment, shewed him his Treasures; and Cahere (Cayro) having on the left hand Babylon, which the Arabs call Macer, (infinite ruines remaine ten miles beyond Nilus, still called Memphis, and therefore this is not the old Memphis) Johar built Cahere, in the yeare after Mahomet 358. The King and Soldan agreed to goe meete Syracon, which was passed over the River before they came. Some remainders they tooke, which told them, that in the Wildernesse such a tempest of Sand in manner of Clouds, and a thicke Mist hapned, that they durst not open their mouthes or eyes, and were forced to alight and lye downe, lest the Whirle-wind should lift them up in the ayre, to receive greater fals on the earth. The Sands there, are moveable with the winds like waves of the Sea, and no lesse dangerous. Many were lost, together with their Camels and provisions, and many scattered in the Deserts. Savar, to hold the King with him in that danger, encreased the tribute, and gave larger pay to his followers: to which the Calipha also bound himselfe, Hugo Cæsariensis being therefore sent to him. He and Galfridus came to Cahere, and entred the

An Asse laden with gold, best Fort-taker.

[II. viii. 1214.]

Tempest of sand.

Tribute paid by the Egyptians to the King of Jerusalem.

The Palace Cascere.

Palace Cascere, passing by darke passages needing lights, (in every of which was a guard) unto more spacious places open to the Sunne, where they saw Galleries borne up with Marble Pillars, the Roofes gilded, with carved workes, the pavements diversified, presenting a Royall splendor. There were marble fish-ponds, many strange Birds unknowne in our World, with their provisions. Then they passed to places as farre exceeding these, as these the vulgar. Heere was admirable varietie of admirable beasts. By many turnings they came to the Palace of this Palace, where were greater Gards, more glorious Courtiers, and supereminent riches. The Soldan which conducted them, twice prostrated himselfe with a kind of adoration, and the third time being prostrate, he laid aside his sword from his necke. Presently the Curtaines embroydered with Gold and Pearle were drawne from about the Throne, where the Calipha sate in more then Royall habite, attended with a few Domestickes and Eunuches. The Soldan approached with reverence, and kissed his feet, and then acquainted him with the affaires of the present state, to which hee gave a gentle Answere. And when Ours desired him to confirme it with his hand, his attendants made strange, as a thing unheard off: but at last the Soldan urging, he stretched forth his hand, but veiled: to whom Hugo, Sir, Faith seekes not corners, and in faith betwixt Princes all things ought to bee bare with open sinceritie: whereat hee unwilling, yet smiling, gave him his bare hand, (which the Egyptians much grudged at) putting it into the hand of Hugo, using the words of the compact. Hee was as the Lord Hugo hath told us, a young man, browne, tall, comely, liberall, had innumerable Wives: his name was Elhadech, the Sonne of Elfeis.

The Calipha's glorie.

His person.

Mehemetan Sects.
Sunni and Ssia.
See before in Leo. l. 6. c. 1.

The division betwixt the Calipha of Baldac, and this hapned by the Schisme of Hali, which made himselfe a greater Prophet then Mehemet: those that acknowledge Mehemet the greatest being called Sunni, and the followers of Hali, Ssia. In the yeare 286. of Mehemet, arose one

A.D. 1167.

Abdalla, of Halis Posteritie, which from Seleucia a Citie in the East passed into Africa, and called himselfe Mehedi (that is, making plaine) which built Mehedia, tooke Sicilia, made spoiles in Italie, and called himselfe Calipha, first of all the followers of Hali: His great Grand-childes Sonne Ebuthemin, by Johar his Captaine subduing Egypt, built Cahere, which signifieth conquering: whereupon leaving Caroea in Africa, where foure of his Progenitors had dwelt, he made that the Imperiall Seat, opposing himselfe to the Easterne Calipha, as I have more largely shewed in mine Historie of the Eastern Princes & their Acts from Mehemet to this day (1182.) with great diligence, King Amalricus procuring me the Arabian Bookes. But leaving these digressions, a battell was fought betwixt the King and Syracon, very various both getting the better and the worse, neither partie conquering nor conquered in the whole, but in divers parts of their Armies. Saladine Nephew of Syracon tooke Hugo Cæsariensis. The Bishop of Bethleem, the Kings Chancellor (in which office I succeeded) was wounded and lost his baggage. Syracon passed thence to Alexandria, and the Citizens received him. The King followed: but Syracon leaving the Citie to Salahadine, escaped by night. The King besieged the Citie and put them to great straites. Hugo (then captive) was used as an Instrument of Treatie, and the Citie yeelded to Amalricus, Anno 1167. But Amalricus by Gerbert Master of the Hospitall his meanes (Pelusium beeing promised to the Hospitalers) brake his league and entred Egypt in hostile manner, the Templers refusing to follow, either of envie to the Hospitalers, or of conscience, which the King violated.

Cairaoan. The Authors story of Mahumetans.

The battell of Beben, in the Confines of the Deserts.

Alexandria taken.

Pelusium was taken, no Age or Sexe spared, and Mahazam Sonne of the Soldan was taken. Savar sends to Noradine for aide which sent Syracon thither with an Armie. The King proceeded towards Cahere, but went slowly upon promise of great summes from the Soldan, which deceived him. His Navie passing up the River by the arme thereof Carabes, forced Tapnis. The King

Pelusium taken.

A.D. 1167. *Cairo besieged.* laid his siege to Cahere, but upon promise of money removed a mile further. Milo de Planci disturbeth the businesse, but Syracon more, who entring Egypt, the King went to meete him, but missing returned home. Syracon taking the oportunitie entred Cahere in peace, treacherously slue Savar, and was by the Calipha made Soldan, soone after dying, and Salahadine succeeding. [II. viii. 1215.] The Easterne Emperour sent in succour of the Holy Land, a strong Fleet of one hundred and fiftie Gallies of Warre, besides other Vessels of service, whereupon, Anno 1169. Amalricus againe entred Egypt, and came to Damiata, which hee besieged in vaine, if it bee not more then vaine, that themselves forced with fire, famine, raines, returned (so many as were left) home frustrate. *Lib.* 20. *Const. fleet.*

Terrible Earthquake. The yeare following followed a most terrible Earthquake, utterly overthrowing strong Cities, involving the Inhabitants in the ruines, filling every place in the Land with laments. Thus fared it with the Cities of Syria, and Phanicia throwne to the ground, and Antiochia in Cœlesyria was quite overthrowne; the Walls, Towers, Churches, Houses so ruined, that to this day they cannot be reduced to a meane restauration. Gabul, Laodicea, Nerea called otherwise Halapia, Cæfara, Hanuim, Emissa, and many other Cities in that Province, Townes without number; fared likewise. Tripolis was made a heape of stones, and publike Sepulchre: scarsly any escaping. Tyrus lost her Towers. These terrors continued three or foure moneths, thrice or foure times a day. Palestina remayned free.

After this Salahadine invadeth the Countrey, taketh Gaza, makes cruell executions and returneth into Egypt. Milo the Armenian adjoyneth himselfe to Noradine, vexeth the Antiochian Territories. Salahadine spoyleth all the Countrey beyond Jordan. Anno 1173. Amalricus dyeth, and his Sonne Baldwin succeeded, whom his Father at nine yeares of age had committed to our Erudition (then Arch-deacon of Tyre) his right arme was stupified and senselesse, the beginning of an incurable Disease, *Baldwin the fourth his Leprosie.*

A.D. 1178.

when he was a stripling prooving a Leprosie. Hee had a Sister named Sybilla. In the first yeare of his Reigne, William King of Sicilia, sent a Navie of two hundred ships against Alexandria, which returned with great losse and shame. Salahadine the Sonne of Negmend, Brother of Syracon, was called by the Damascens, and made Lord of Damascus, the Sonne of Noradine being disherited. Cotobedi Lord of Musul, came in his Nephewes behalfe against him, but in vaine, Salahadine winning the rest of the Countrey. After this with a huge Armie, he entreth the Kingdome, layeth all waste, is encountred and overthrowne by the King; Salahadine flying with scarse one hundred Horse, an innumerable company beeing taken or slaine. The King 1178. invaded the Enemies Countrey, and hardly escaped the Lord Constable and others being slaine. In a battell also against Salahadine, ours having gotten the field laden with prey, are spoiled and made a prey to the conquered. The Earle Trecensis and the Brother of King Lewis of France, Peter, and other Nobles with a great power came into Syria but could not withstand the current of Salahadines victories, which now possessed himselfe of a Castle which the King had lately built neere Jordan, and raced it. Hee makes league with the King and breakes it, and takes divers holds by Sea and Land, annoying the Kingdome. But wearie of bloud I follow this Author no further, whose storie is left unperfect, as the King then was in state of bodie, committing the Government of the Kingdome to Guido of Liziniac, on whom before he had bestowed his Sister in Marriage. I will likewise commit you to an English Author and Acts in these businesses.

Saladine.

Lib. 22.

If any bee offended, that the date and yeare of each Exploit is not mentioned, it is because the Author had not done it.

[Chap. IIII.

Chap. IIII.

The Continuation of the Jerusalem Expedition and other Additions, gathered out of Matthew Paris, chiefly relating the Acts of English Pilgrimes in that Employment.

§. I.

Templers beginning and degeneration. Huge slaughters of Christians. Saladines taking Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Beginning of the Templers.

ABout the yeare 1118. the Hospitulers were begunne by Hugo de Paganis, and Godfrey of Saint Omar. These were Knights religious in manner of Canons Regulars, devoting themselves to the service of Christ in Chastitie and Obedience; to whom King Baldwin gave a residence in part of his Palace, the Canons of the Temple of our Lord gave the street adjoyning to build Offices; the King, Patriarke and Prelates gave Benefices for their maintenance. Their first profession was, for remission of their sinnes, to secure the wayes for Pilgrimes against Theeves. Nine yeares after, at the Councell of Trecæ, a rule and white habit was designed them by Pope Honorius: and nine yeares after that their number (being but nine) beganne to increase together with their Possessions; after which in the time of Pope Eugenius, they sewed Crosses of red Cloth to their Mantles. In a small time they were so many, that in their Covent they have three hundred Knights, besides other Brethren, whose number is almost infinite: and their Possessions on this and the otherside of the Sea are said to bee so immense, that there is no part of Christendome, which hath not bestowed on them part of their goods, and they are now richer then Kings. And because their abode is neere the Temple,

[II. viii. 1216.]

Their possessions.

they are called Brethren of the Souldierie of the Temple: and having continued some time in good order, the humilitie of their profession now being neglected, they have withdrawne themselves from the Patriarke their founder, withholding Obedience, and the Churches Tithes, and are become very troublesome to all.

Two huge Armies.

Anno 1146. was a Councell held at Rhemes, and Preachers appointed for the Holy Land, which the Saracens did over-runne without resistance. Conrade the Emperour at the preaching of Bernard tooke the Crosse, and with him an innumerable multitude. In May following, hee beganne his Pilgrimage, leading with him seventie thousand Horse-men[a] armed, besides light Horse-men,* Footmen, Women and Children. Lewis King of France followed him with no lesse an Armie of armed Horse-men. They went asunder for better provision for themselves and their Horses. Passing Bavaria, the Danow, Austria, Hungarie, and both Pannonias, also the Bulgarian Provinces, Mesia and Dacia; Conrade came into Thrace and to Constantinople; thence (after speech with Manuell the Emperour) passed into and thorow Asia to Lycaonia. The Soldan of Iconium had hired great forces out of the East. The Guides which the Constantinopolitan had given him, with Greekish sleight, as is said, through envie of their Master, brought them into difficult passages, and so betrayed them, before famished, to the Turkes expected opportunitie and furie; that of the seventie thousand armed Horsemen, and Footmen, in manner innumerable, scarsly the tenth part escaped, the rest shared betwixt Famine, the Sword and Captivitie. Conradus escaped to Nice, and so to Constantinople, where he wintered. The next Spring he passed by Sea to Achon, and was received by the King joyfully at Jerusalem.

[a] *Equit, levioris armaturæ.*
* *Loricatorum Equitum. This is here repeated for the hugenesse of these Expeditions.*

Defeat of the Dutch.

French Armie.

This yeare 1147. King Lewis came to Meander with seventie thousand armed Horsemen, besides a great Navie of ships which followed him. The Enemie attended to hinder their passage over the water, which cost many mens lives. Comming to Laodicea, they ascended a high

Mountaine, where they were miserably discomfited by the Turkes. Yet did the King with Elianor the Queene hold on their Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where their case is much condoled. The Emperour and both the Kings agreed to besiege Damascus, which they did: where the Emperour forcing his way at the watering place, strooke off a Turkes head (which fought lustily) together with the Head-piece, the necke and shoulder armed, with his Sword, dividing the left arme and side under it from the rest of the bodie. The Citizens terrified, corrupted some Princes with Bribes, who indevoured to dissolve the siege, which Treason of the Easterne Christians, was odious to those of the West, and caused the Emperour and the French to returne home, abhominating the fellowship of these Easterne Princes, and cooling others Devotions to this Pilgrimage.

Conrades strength.

Easterne treacherie. Prince Raimund slaine.

After their departure, Anno 1148. Noradine entred the Confines of Antiochia, besieged Nepa, slue Prince Raimund with other Nobles in battell, tooke the Castle Hareng, and spoyled all the Countrey. Anno 1150. Raimund Earle of Tripolis was slaine by the Assisines; a man deplored as dreadfull to the Saracens: These Assisines inhabit the Mountaines neere to Antaradus, in the Province of Phœnicia, have ten Castles and fortie thousand men or more. These elect their chiefe whom they call, The old man of the Mountaine, at whose word they will attempt any thing. These have beene preciser Saracens then others foure hundred yeares. Their old man at this time began to embrace Christian Religion, and sent for that purpose a Legate to the King of Jerusalem, which by one of the Templers was slaine, to the hinderance of the businesse till this day. Anno 1154. Adrian an Englishman was made Pope, borne in the Territorie of Saint Albans. The same yeare Ascalon was wonne by King Baldwin after a long siege.

Earle Raimund slaine by Assasines.

Templers treacherie. Pope Adrian.

Ascalon.

Papall schisme.

Pope Adrian dying, 1159. there grew a division touching the Papacie, betwixt the English and French, following Alexander, and the Imperials, Octavian: insomuch, that the Archbishop of Collen comming into England, to

A.D. 1174.

receive the Kings Daughter for the Duke of Saxonie to wife, the Altars whereon he said Masse were subverted, 1165.

T. Becket murthered for maintayning the Clergies Liberties, against the Secular power in murthers, &c.

Anno 1171. Thomas Becket was slaine in his Church at Canterburie, on the fifth day of the Nativitie, by William Tracie, Hugh Marvell, Reginald Fitz Ursi, and Richard Briton, Courtiers, which had heard some stomackfull speeches of the King, touching the said Archbishop, whereupon King Henry sent to Rome to excuse himselfe. But his Ambassadors could not bee admitted to the Popes presence. Hee sent others, which on Maundie Thursday, hearing that the Pope meant to sentence the King of England by name, and to interdict all his Lands, the Ambassadors to decline the same, sware that the King should wholly obey the Pope and his Cardinals. The Authors and Fautors were excommunicated. The Church of Canterburie continued after his Funerall, a yeares Funerall of her Holies, the Pavement plucked up, the Walls bared, the Bels silent.

[II. viii. 1217.]

The King swore in the presence of Albert and Theodine the Popes Cardinals, that hee was not conscious of Thomas his death: but because he had spoken rashly, and had brought up such bad Souldiers (which so avenged him) hee desired and obtayned absolution, promising as he was injoyned, To give so much money as should maintayne two hundred Knights, to the defence of the Holy Land for one yeere, and that he should permit appeales thenceforth to be made freely, and that the customes which in his times were brought in contrarie to the liberties of the Church, should bee revoked, and that the possessions taken from the Church of Canterburie should bee restored. To this the two Kings, both Father and Sonne, sware in remissionem omnium peccatorum. Soone after he came to Canterburie, 1174. and bare-foot, in manner of a penitent went to the chiefe Church, and with abundance of teares, to the Martyrs Sepulchre, where he continued long prostrate in prayer. He there protested his innocency, but because his words gave occasion of the

Beckets murther as the seed of her Martyr, the seed and advantage of Rome by appeales, liberties, &c.

Bishops death, hee desired of the Bishops present absolution, and submitting his bare flesh to the discipline of Rods, he received three or foure blowes of every religious man, of which a great multitude had assembled. After which he put on his clothes, gave precious gifts to the Martyr, assigning further fortie pounds a yeere for lights about the Sepulchre, and continued the rest of that day and the night following in bitternesse of minde, continuing his prayers, vigils and fasts till the third day.

Monster of regall penance.

In the yeere 1176. hee granted the Popes Legat, that no Clergie man should bee brought before a secular Magistrate for any crime, but for Forest and lay fee: that Bishoprickes and Abbies should not be holden above a yeere in the Kings hand: that the killer of a Clergie man should be arraigned before the secular Judge, in presence of the Bishop: that Clergie men should not be compelled to trialls by combat.

Clergie-liberties.

Anno 1177. the Kings of England and France did sweare to goe together in the service of Christ crucified to Jerusalem, and to take the Crosse, and to hold firme league. An. 1179. a Councell was holden at Rome against Albigenses, that Ecclesiasticall persons should not bee compelled to stand to the judgement of Lay-men, that Archbishops visiting Churches should bee content with fortie or fiftie horses, against pluralities, &c. About the same time Pope Alexander writ to Priest John, King of the Indians, shewing that Philip a Physician had told him of his desire to be instructed in the Catholike and Apostolike discipline, and that they dissented in nothing from the Doctrine of the Apostolike Sea: and that, as Philip had learned of his subjects, he desired to have a Church and some Altar in Jerusalem, where religious men of his Kingdome might reside, and be more fully instructed in the Apostolike discipline: He therefore desiring, to revoke him from those articles in which they erred from the Christian faith, sent the said Philip to his Majestie, to bee further instructed, &c. Baldwin, then King of Jerusalem, being leaprous, ordayned Guido de

Councell.

This Priest John was not that in Abasia, nor that in Tartaria, but one in India.

Lisiniaco Over-seer of the Kingdome, whose government being not prosperous, it was committed to Raimund Earle of Tripolis.

Saladines exploits.

In these times, Saladine Soldan of Damasco, having subdued the Saracens in the East, passed over Jordan, spoiled Crach Castle, burned Neapolis, destroyed Arabia, wasted Gerinum. And Baldwin being dead, Baldwin a child of five yeers old succeeded, his nephew by his sister Sybilla: Raimund was Protector. The Clergie and People seeing the state of the Kingdome unlikely to continue, sent Embassadors to Henrie King of England, solemnly offering the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and keyes of the holy Citie and Sepulchre. Heraclius the Patriarke under-tooke the Embassage with the Master of the Hospital, and others, bringing by the way the Letters of Pope Lucius. He found the King at Reading, Anno 1185. whom with his Courtiers they provoked to teares. They brought unto him the Keyes of the Nativitie, of the Passion, of the Resurrection, of the Tower of David, and of the holy Sepulchre, and the Banner of the Kingdome: which all he much honored. The Popes Letter was this. Lucius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, &c. Whereas all thy Predecessors, above other Princes of the Earth, have long since flourished in glorie of Armes, and Nobilitie of minde, and the Christian people hath learned to have them Patrons in their adversitie, worthily is there recourse to thee, the Heire, not of the Kingdome alone, but of thy Progenitors vertues, with a certayne presumed securitie, when danger, yea destruction is feared to hang over the Christian people, that by the arme of Royall Greatnesse aide may be yeelded to his members, who by his pitie hath granted thee to attayne the height of so great glorie, and hath ordayned thee a Wall inexpugnable against the wicked enemies of his Name. Your Majestie may further take notice, that Saladine the cruellest persecutor of the holy Name of the Crucified, hath so prevailed in the spirit of furie against the Christians of the Holy Land, that except the courses

Henry the second elected King of Jerusalem.

The Popes Letter.

of his crueltie bee by some obstacles stayed, hee hath confidence that Jordan will flow into his mouth, &c.

Hereupon, a Parliament was assembled at London at Clerken-Well, in which the King adjured all his Subjects, in the audience of the Legats, to shew what might bee most expedient for his soule, promising to performe whatsoever they should advise. His Parliament advised that hee should moderately governe his Kingdome, and preserve it from barbarous incursions, rather then in his owne person to provide for the safetie of the East. As concerning the Kings Sonnes (one of which the Patriarke desired, if the King refused) it seemed unfitting to determine any thing in their absence. The King with the Patriarke passed the Sea to Roan, and had three dayes conference with the French King, and in their presence many Nobles received the Crosse. Both the Kings promised the speediest helpe, and the Patriarke returned home.

[II. viii. 1218.]

Baldwin dieth. Sybilla succeeds.

Anno 1186. Baldwin the Child being dead, Sybilla was crowned Queene, as Heire to the former Kings, but was enjoyned to divorce solemnely Guido her Husband, with condition upon Oath, to receive him for King whomsoever she should choose. Guido himselfe also intreated it, that the Kingdome should sustayne no damage for his sake, and returned home. Saladines comming being bruted, shee assembled the Lords Spirituall and Temporall to consult about a King: and when they granted her to name whom shee liked, all beeing in expectation, shee said unto Guido there present, My Lord Guido, I choose you for my Husband, and delivering my selfe with the Kingdome to you, doe publikely protest that you shall be King. Heereat all were amazed that one woman had deluded so many wise men.

A womans wit.

About this time, Saladines Mother in confidence of the Truce passed with great riches from Ægypt, into the parts of Damascus, by the borders of Jordan, and was robbed by Reginald of Castellion. Whereupon Saladine demanded satisfaction and restitution according to

Truce broken.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF SICILY

covenant: but Reginald returned harsh Answere. Saladine glad of the occasion, prepared himselfe for revenge. In the end of January, the Kings of England and France tooke the Crosse.

Saladine his revenge.

Anno 1187. Saladine assembleth Parthians, Bedwines, Turkes, Saracens, Arabians, Medes, and Cordines, with whom and the Ægyptians hee invadeth the Christians. Hee slue the Master of the Templars, with threescore of his Brethren, and besieged Calvaria. The King assembled all the strength of his Kingdome, the Earle of Tripolis being chiefe Commander. They fought and Saladine prevailed. The Earle of Tripolis is said to have throwne away the Kings Standard, and procured the flight. The King was taken with the holy Crosse, and the rest either taken or slaine. The Earle of Tripolis and some Templers escaped. Saladine made use of his victorie, sent the King and Captives to Damascus, tooke Ptolemaida; and after that Jerusalem, each man redeeming his libertie at ten Bizantines, a woman at five, an infant at one, the rest to bee slaves, which had not to pay, of which poorer were fourteene thousand. They entred the Citie and caused in foure corners of the Temple their Superstitions to bee proclamed. Hasting thence he possessed himselfe of all the Cities and Townes, but Ascalon and Tyrus, and Crach or Mount Royall. For the redemption of those fourteene thousand, it is to be noted, that Crosses, Chalices, Guildings, and Church-garments were sold by consent.

The King taken.

Jerusalem taken by Saladine.

§. II.

The Emperour and two Kings take the Crosse. King Richard the First his Expedition, his Noble Exploits in Sicil, Cyprus, and the Holy Land. His imprisonment: and the great miseries which hapned to England, generally by that Expedition.

ANno 1188. at the preaching of the Popes Legate, the Emperour Fredericke tooke the Crosse. The Kings of England and France agreed after much consultation, together with the Earle of Flanders, to take the Crosse, which the King of England did at the hands of William Archbishop of Tyre,* sent by the Pope for that purpose. Whereupon both in the Empire and in both Kingdomes, Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, and the vulgar did the like. It was also ordered, that all of the French Kingdome should weare Red Crosses, of the English White, of Flanders Greene, all things to remayne in the present State thorow all their States, till fortie dayes after their returne. But the French King entring upon the King of Englands Territories, disturbed the Affaires of the Crosse, King Henry righting himselfe by Warre. The Emperour Fredericke sent a Letter of Defiance to Saladine, and challenged to himselfe the old feathers of the Romane Eagle, even unto Æthiopia and Persia, which Saladine answered and out-braved, setting forth the puissance and numbers of the Saracens, demanding also the three remayning Holds to bee surrendred to him. He delivered King Guido, taking his Oath to forsake the Kingdome, and betake himselfe to Sea. But the Clergie of the Kingdome deliberated and determined, that Faith is not to be kept in the perill of Religion, and therfore the King being absolved from bonds, many Pilgrims resorted to him, and with the people of the Countrey

**The Author of the former Storie.*

Both Letters are in Mat. P. at large.

Faith not to be kept in perill of Religion, that is, Faith must dye that Faith may live.

made a great band. The King with the Hospitulers and Templers, Venetians, and Genuois came to Achon, and layd siege to it, which continued to the comming of the Kings, Philip and Richard, and then was taken.

Zeale of those times. Utinan & scientia conscientiæ.

The meaner sort of men are so possessed with devout Zeale, that they stay not the commings of their Kings and Lords, but flow from the uttermost parts of the World to serve the Lord.

Saladine came with a great power to raise the siege, but frustrated of his hopes, he returned with shame, a Navie of twelve thousand Danes and Frislanders, comming to the ayde of the Christians, after three dayes weary fight. Meane-while the French King with Earle Richard, against his father King Henrie continued the warre, with much spoile and bloudshed on both sides. Saladine also agreed with the Emperour of Constantinople, and resigned the Churches of the Holy Land unto him, therein to observe the Greeke holies. The Emperour promised to send Saladine one hundred Galleyes, and Saladine him the whole Holy Land, on condition to hinder the Westerne Pilgrimes. And if any at Constantinople accepted the Crosse, he was presently imprisoned. About the same time some Northerne Pilgrimes sayling thorow the English Seas, agreed with English Pilgrimes, and set forth together from Dortesmouth, which passing by Lisbon, were requested by the King of Portugall to helpe him to subject the Citie Sylvia, swearing to permit the spoile to them. They tooke it, and of sixtie thousand Inhabitants, spared onely thirteene thousand from the sword; dedicating the Mahometan Temple for a Christian Cathedrall of our Lady.

[II. viii. 1219.]

Greekes and Saracens conspiracie.

Sylvia taken by help of English.

King Richard. See what a whirle Poole of treasure and sinke of bloud, the land called Holy, proved.

King Henrie, wearied with the French and his sonnes actions, died, and left his sonne Richard his Heire: of whom the Poet, Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est; and of his Father, Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat Orbis. He left above nine hundred thousand pounds in gold and silver, besides Plate and Jewels, and precious stones. At the same time died Geffrie Bishop

of Ely intestate, of whose goods were confiscate three thousand markes of silver, and two hundred markes* of gold, besides other treasures in Plate, Jewels, and Gold. King Richard deposed almost all the Sheriffes from their Offices and their Dependants, to wring great summes by redeeming them. And for regayning of the Holy Land, hee set almost all things to sale, Donations, Castles, Mannors, Woods, Townes, Sheriffewicks, and the like. Hugo the Pompous Bishop of Durham, bought to him and his Church the Kings Towne, Seggesfield, with the Wapintake and all appurtenances, and the Earledome of Northumberland, giving over and above one thousand markes to be Justice of England, and to redeeme his voyage to the Holy Land. And for further securitie, hee with infinite money obtayned of the Apostolike Sea (which is wanting to none that giveth money frankly) license to remayne, notwithstanding his voluntarie vow.

**A marke was eight ounces.*

Kings sales.

Popes Praise by a Monke.

The Christians and Saladine had a bloudy battell, with great losse on both sides. The French King sent to treat with the King of England, for their meeting in the Holy Expedition, and securitie of their Countries meanwhile. King Richard having fasted and prayed at Thomas Beckets Tombe, vowing to performe to the Church those things, for which he had suffered: passing to Normandie, in the Sea hee vowed to that Saint to erect in his honor a Chappell in the Holy Land, he being his Protector by Sea and Land; which he performed after at Achon. The Bishops of Ely and Durham, had chiefe charge of the Kingdome in his absence: the one being chiefe Justice (and having the Kings Seale) from the great River to the South, the other to the North: but this double-headed beast agreed not. The Archbishop of Canterburie interdicted the Lands of Earle John, whose appeale the Popes Legate received, and released the Interdict. A tenth part of moveable goods, was given for the Holy Land affaires thorow the Kingdome, which in stead of almes, vexed the Clergie and Laytie with spoile in the exacting. Likewise the King fayned that he had lost his Seale, and made a

Superstition. advanced.

Miseries to England by King Richard his holy Land voyage.

Exactions.

A.D. 1190.

new, that all men which would bee secure, were forced to seeke the new Seale, and many to follow him therefore out of the Land, and to fine with him at his pleasure.

Anno 1190. the Kings of England and France, sware to each other the Articles of the league (their Earles and Barons did likewise) as also, that if one died in the Expedition, the Survivor should have the money and people of the deceased. William an English-man, vowed in his way to Jerusalem, that if he arrived safely at Achon, he would build a Chappell to Saint Thomas the Martyrs honor, with a Church-yard, which he did, and was made there the first Prior. Saladine corrupting Commanders with money, burned the Christians Fortifications. King Richard procured his Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, to be the Popes Legat.

Beckets Hospitall at Achon.

The two Kings met at Nizeliao, where in the Church of Saint Denis, King Richard tooke his Scrip and Staffe. They came to Lions, and passing the Bridge, it brake, and many were drowned in the Rhosne. Their people were so many that they could not goe together; and therefore the French King went to Genua, the English to Messana. Here King Richard found many Pilgrims which had spent al their provision with long stay, whom he adjoyned to his own troups. King Richard was requested to visit the Pope, which he refused, objecting to the Cardinall the Roman Simonie, which for consecration of a Bishop, had taken seven hundred markes, and for the Legantine power of the Bishop of Ely, had taken fifteene hundred marks, and infinit summes of the Archbishop of Burdeaux, accused by his Clergie. Queene Elenor followed and over-tooke her sonne. The same yeere, the Emperour Frederick, betwixt Iconium and Antiochia, was drowned in the River Saphet, falling off his Horse. The English fleet, on holy Thursday, were mightily embroyled in the Spanish Seas with a Tempest, and Thomas of Canterburie three times appeared visibly, bidding them not to feare, for He and the Martyr Edmund, and Saint Nicholas, were appointed Patrons of the Fleet, and the Tempest

Beginning of the Kings expedition.

Roman simonie.

The Emperor drowned.

Apparition of Th. Becket. Faith, built not on Scripture, but revelations.

presently ceased. Many ships were dispersed, one of which came to Sylvia, and eightie well armed men of the companie, were entertayned by the King of Portugall against the Emperour of Marocco, with good conditions. Ten other ships came to Lisbon, and divers travelled to Marsiles thence by Land. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin, Hubert of Salisburie, came to Tyrus. John, Bishop of Norwich, went to the Pope, and emptying his purse, was released of his vow.

English-men entertayned against Morocco.

[II. viii. 1220.]

Philip, King of France, arrived at Messana, and was entertayned in the Palace of King Tancred. King Richard comming a few dayes after, was forbidden entrance by the French, fearing that provision would not be procured sufficient for both. The Citizens were willing to receive him, which the French forbad, ascending the walls armed and keeping the passages. Richard called to armes, and by hostile force entred, putting the French to slaughter and flight, which kindled a fire in the French Kings brest, never after till himselfe was extinct, extinguished. King Richard tooke in Calabria the strong Fortresse, called Lemba Maris, and another betwixt Calabria and Messana, called the Monasterie of the Griffons. The Griffons having slaine many men and horses of the King, he brake in by force and tooke their Citie. The Citizens gave him pledges, and he fortified there a Castle called Mategrive. A Councell provinciall was holden at Westminster by the Bishops Legat, little or nothing to the good of the Church. The Church of Normandie then obtayned her freedome, King Richard granting that Clergie men should not be attached by Seculars, and matters of Oathes, Marriages, Usuries, &c. should bee tried in the Spirituall Court. Baldwin the Archbishop dying at Achon, bequeathed all which he had to the succour of the Holy Land, which Hubert his Executor distributed faithfully. William of Ely meane-while made a ditch about the Tower, and exercised his bought Dignities with immoderate excesse to re-fill his emptied bags, proving burthensome to all Churches, both Conventuall and

King Richards acts in the Kingdome of Sicilia.

Freedome carnall.

Cathedrall, riding thorow England with fifteene hundred horse, with troups of Clergie men and Knights, attended at Table by Noblemens sonnes, whom hee married to his Neeces and Kindred: buying any Land which was to be sold, giving and retayning at pleasure Abbies vacant, by feare or price obtayning every Castle and Towne, followed with Minstrels and Songs of all sorts: none durst murmure against him. His stile was in his Letters, W. Dei gratia, Eliensis Episcopus, D. R. Cancellarius, totius Angliæ Justitiarius, & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, &c.

Bishop of Ely's pride, pompe, excesse.

Anno 1191. the French King tooke ship at Messana, in the end of March, and in the beginning of Aprill King Richard followed with thirteene Galleons,* one hundred ships of burthen, and fiftie Gallies: and thirtie dayes after came to Cyprus. Cursac the Lord of the Iland, which called himselfe Emperor, tooke and imprisoned many of King Richards men, whereupon he warred against him, tooke him and his only Daughter and subdued the whole Iland, with all the strong places to his subjection. He bound the King in silver Fetters, and imprisoned him at Marguth Castle neere Tripolis. The Daughter received Honourable custodie with the two Queenes.

[II. vii. 1221.]

**Buccas triplici velorum expansione.*

Cyprus subdued by K. Richard.

Philip Earle of Flanders going to the Holy Land with the French King, dyed without issue. The Armie which besieged Achon, was besieged with Famine, which with a well furnished Navie King Richard relieved, in the way sinking a Dromund, a huge ship of Saladines going to aide the besieged, frighted with Wild-fire, Vessels ful of unknown Serpents, & five hundred Souldiers. The Kings divers, whiles it was becalmed, bored many holes therein, so that the goods hee saved, but drowned three hundred of the men. When the two Kings were now at Achon, they came to capitulation; and Saladine covenanted to render the Crosse (before taken) and fifteene hundred choice Christian Captives, and seven thousand Bizantines to save the lives of the Saracens, the rest remayning to the Victors. But when the conditions were not kept, two thousand & six hundred Saracens lost their heads.

His reliefe of Achon, and taking a Dromund.

Achon taken.

A.D. 1191.

French envie. Cœlum non animum mutant, q. t. m. c.

The French King envying the glorie of all the Christian Exploits ascribed to the English King, pretended for want of money to returne. Hereupon King Richard offered to communicate for the Service of the Holy Land, one halfe of his gold, silver, victuals, armes, ships: who yet had sworne, and against the wils of his owne, and to the disgust of the whole Armie, must needs home. Another quarrell arose, the King of France purposing to deliver Achon, and all whatsoever they should take to Marchisius of Mount Ferrat, and to make him King of the Holy Land, King Richard standing for Guido. But Messana had begunne and an unhappie running at Tilt, had made runne on this dissention. Hee left the Duke of Burgundie with one thousand men at Armes in shew to doe service to King Richard, instructed before in Treacherie. Thus swearing to invade no mans Land there present, he returned; and King Richard repayred the breaches, and ditched and fortified Achon.

[II. viii. 1222.]

The Countrey recovered by King Richard.

The Coast Cities hearing of his approach fled, having no hope of succour from Saladine: thus they did in Caiphas, in Cæsarea, Joppe, Assis, Gaza, Ascalon, so that all the Region on the Sea from Achon to Joppe was taken, yet not without great losse to the Christians, whom Saladines Armie still attended, wayting all opportunities of mischiefe.

King Richard in a Letter to the Archbishop of Roan, tels of a Battell and great overthrow given Saladine neere Assur, wherein more of the chiefe Saracens were lost, then had beene in one day in fortie yeares before: after which Saladine durst not attempt by open force, but by secret ambushes. Hee overturned Ascalon, and made it even with the ground, hearing of our comming thither, and wee have hope shortly to recover all our Lords Inheritance.

King Richard giveth the Kingdomes of Jerusalem and of Cyprus.

King Richard being returned, gave the Kingdome of Jerusalem to his Nephew Henrie, with the Wife of Marchisius de Monte Feratio, beeing heire of the Kingdome, now her Sister the Queene was dead, Guido consenting, to whom King Richard gave Cyprus, lately

gotten by the Sword, for which he did him homage. The said Marchisius, was a little before murthered at Tyrus by the Assasines.

Treasure of relikes. God opened the mouth of an Asse to teach the Prophet.

When Saladine had taken Jerusalem, the Inhabitants had gathered together the Relikes they could find, and put them in foure great Ivorie Chists, which he (learning what they were) commanded to be carried to Baldach, and given to the Calipha, that the Christians should no longer glory of dead mens bones, and beleeve to have them Intercessors in Heaven, whose bones they worshipped on Earth. But the Prince of Antioch and the Patriarke loth to be deprived of such a Treasure, covenanted by Oath to redeeme them at fiftie two thousand Bizantines, or else to returne them. The Prince sealed them up, and all Christians were dejected, the time being at hand for the payment. King Richard paid the money that they might intercede for him in Heaven, whose bones he had redeemed on Earth from the hands of Infidels.

Chancellors excesse.

Combustions hapned, meane-while, in England, by the Chancellors excesses, the issue whereof was his Deposition, he and his having so exhausted the Kingdomes wealth, that they left not a Girdle striped with Silver, nor a Ring, or Jewell, or any thing of worth to any, nor Treasure to a Jew. The Chancellor sware to the Articles, and to deliver up all the Castles before his departure. He came to Canterburie, and there tooke the Crosse of Pilgrimage, and laid downe that of his Legantie Office: and getting closely to Dover, thought to have stolne over Sea in a Womans Habit. Wayting on the shoare for passage, a Mariner was somewhat homely with him, and found him as arrant a man as himselfe, by the testimonie of his Breeches. Hee calls in company, and women would needs buy of him his piece of cloth, which hee had taken to cloke his Sexe and businesse: but he understanding no English, could say nothing, whereupon they removed his Muffler, and found a Shaveling, whom they dragged contumeliously alongst the Strand, with cryes, buffets,

Pride of a Prelate and his fall.

A Bishop and Chancellor of England without English.

spittings, and haling him thorow the streets, imprisoned him in a Cellar; Who yet escaped by leaving his Oath to the Lord, and his Pledges (and his two Brethren) to the Lords, and gate over to Normandie.

K. Rich. winneth Darum.

King Richard besieged the Castle Darum, the next of Christendome towards Babylon, and wanne it. Soone after hee tooke a rich Carovan of Merchants guided by Saladines Souldiers, with seven thousand Camels richly laden. The Duke of Austria came about that time to performe his Vow in the Holy Land service, where a quarrell falling out betwixt his Harbengers, and a Norman of King Richards, the King inconsiderately, taking his mans part, caused the Dukes Colours to be cast into a Jakes, which the Duke seeking to right, was further wronged with scoffes; whereupon the Duke seeing himselfe contemned by the King, turning to the King of Kings invoked him with teares to his revenge, which after fell out accordingly. King Richard with his late gotten spoile would have gone and laid siege to Jerusalem, where the feare of his name and comming had alreadie terrified the Inhabitants. But this was hindred by the Duke of Burgundie, (envying that Triumph to King Richard) counselling the Templers, and French to his part. Saladine also with great gifts corrupted the Duke, sending him by night five Camels laden with Gold, Silver, Silkes, and other Riches. Whereupon the King convincing him by witnesse, called him Traytour, and hee returned from the King in displeasure to Achon.

Cause of King Richard his captivitie.

Duke of Burg. treacherous.

King Richards acts at Joppe.

Newes came that Saladine besieged Joppe, and King Richard desired the Duke to assist him in the Enterprize, which he refused and went the same night toward Tyrus, where he fell madde, and dyed miserably. The King hasted to Joppe by Sea, Saladine having already taken the Towne, the Souldiers were upon delivery of the Castle, when King Richard brake in amongst them like a furious Lion, and chased the Saracens to Ramula. But hearing the next day of the Kings small *numbers they returned, (for only three ships had arrived) Saladine sent sixtie two

**Eightie Knights and foure hundred Crossebowmen.*

thousand to set upon the King, which encompassed his Tents, and awaked him with their noise. He gate upon his Horse attended by eleven others (they had no more till they had borrowed of the Saracens,) and beyond beliefe so laid about him, making way for the rest, that they in the Towne also made out, and quited the field of them. This hapned on Lammas day. Saladine in his rage sent for an old Prisoner, whilome Prince of Antiochia, and asked him, What wouldst thou doe if thou hadst me in thy power as I now have thee? Hee (adjured to tell the truth) said, hee would cut off his head; which was his owne sentence, and Saladine himselfe the Executioner. An Heremite told the King he should not winne Jerusalem, and gave him a piece of the true Crosse, as he said. Whiles the King abode at Joppe, seven weekes, an infectious Disease seised on him, and the most of his, deadly to all in manner which had it, except the King. Seeing therefore the French alienated, and readie to returne, his monies spent, his men diminished by warre and sicknesse, his Enemies increasing daily; he determined to returne home for the reparation of his Purse and force, concluding meane-while a Truce with the Pagans for three yeares. By Sea hee was incountred with a terrible Tempest, some drowned, others wracked, few attayning their desired Port. This hapned in Autumne, whereas Saladine dyed in the Lent following, and had they stayed, had facilitated their Designes; both by his death and the dissentions which followed amongst his sonnes and followers. Hereunto was added the Conspiracie of the Earle of Saint Giles, and all those Princes by whom he was to passe: which made him purpose to returne by Germanie. He came to Gazara in Sclavonia; where some notice of him being taken, he with his small company hasted away at mid-night: but a worse and darker mid-night hapned. For with one man and a Boy which could speake Dutch, he travelled three dayes without eating or drinking: he came to Gynatia in Austria, and being suspected by the Boyes change of Byzantines, and

[II. viii. 1223.]

His Armie diseased.

His returne crossed by a Tempest. His hard passage.

K. Richard taken by the D. of Austria, and sold to the Emperour. Miseries which came to England, by this otherwise victorious and glorious Expedition, from the first to the last thereof.

after by the Kings Gloves which unawares he had carried under his Girdle, hee was beset and yeelded himselfe to the Duke, who committed him to strait custodie, and in the yeare 1193. sold him to the Emperour for threescore thousand pound of Silver, Collen weight. Heere hee was againe imprisoned, and a strong Gard set on him, with whom he made himselfe merrie in sports, making them drunke, trying of Masteries, in all seeming Master of himselfe and his hard fortunes. The Emperour would not admit him his presence or speech, and pretended many calumnies against him. At last, by mediation of friends he obtayned a hearing, eloquently cleered himselfe of Imputations, and wonne much respect both of others and the Emperour Henry, who after used him more familiarly, and demanded one hundred and fortie thousand Markes of Silver for his ransome. This was brought by the Kings Letter, and the Emperours Golden Bull into England by William Bishop of Ely aforesaid: and all Bishoppes, Clergie-men, Earles, Barons, Abbots, Priors were assessed at a fourth part of their Rents, to ransome the King. Also they sold for that purpose their Chalices of Gold and Silver. John Bishop of Norwich, thorow all his Diocesse tooke halfe the price of their Chalices and Goods. The Cistercian Order (free before from all Taxations) gave all their Wooll to his Redemption. No Church, no Order, no Degree, or Sexe, was passed by, which was not hereto compelled; manifold Tempests, Inundations, and Winter Thunders having thorow that yeare fore-signified the same, causing also great scarsitie of Corne and Fruits.

French perfidie.

King Richard being Prisoner, his Brother John made compact with the French King, and sought to be crowned in England, but the vertue of the English was more loyall. Philip the French King invaded Normandie with a very great Armie, not sparing Order, Age, Sexe, using no lesse the Treason of King Richards Subjects corrupted by him. He besieged Roan, but by the Earle of Leisters Prowesse and the Inhabitants valour, was repelled with shame.

Anno 1194. King Richard having paid the greatest part of his Ransome, and given Pledges for the rest, arrived at Sandwich on the Sunday after Saint Georges day. Presently he visited Thomas Beckets Tombe, and was with Festivall Solemnitie, received soone after at London. He hasted to Saint Edmunds to performe his Devotions; and thence to Nottingham, against those which had conspired with his Brother John, some of whom he suffered to redeeme themselves, so to redeeme his Pledges, and to invade the French which continued spoyling his Land with fire and sword. The Sunday after Easter he ware his Crowne at Winchester. His Brother John humbled himselfe and the King received him to favour. This was done in Normandie, where he pursued the warre against the French. He procured the Duke of Austria to bee excommunicated by the Pope, and his Land to be interdicted: whose Land was further smitten with Famine and Pestilence, and the Inundation of the Danow, which drowned ten thousand men: himselfe also falling off his Horse, his legge was incurably hurt, which beeing cut off, yet the paine continued and killed him, before beeing penitent, absolved, and absolving King Richards Pledges.

King Richards returne.

Duke of Austrias death.

Anno 1195. Pope Cælestine writ to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterburie, and to the Bishops of England to preach the Crosse, Giving Indulgences to those which undertooke it, the Remission of imposed Penance by the Priest, as his Predecessors had done; namely, that they which with a contrite heart shall undertake this expedition, and for the Penance of their sinnes; if they depart in the Faith, shall obtaine full Indulgence of their crimes and life eternall. Also their goods and families, after they have taken the Crosse, shall be under the protection of the Romane Church, and of the Bishops and Prelates. And nothing which they then at their crossing did quietly possesse should be called in question, but till their returne or death should remaine quiet: Others which minister of their goods, shall obtaine Indulgence according to the

Indulgences.

[II. viii. 1224.]

Prelats moderation. Hee exhorted him to be instant in season and out of season, going about the Province, King Richard and the French came to agreement, but the Archbishop of Roan interdicted all Normandie, because of a Castle which King Richard there fortified against his will.

Interdict.

King Richards death.

Anno 1199. King Richard died, and John his Brother succeeded.

France interdicted.

The same yeare the Kingdome of France was interdicted by the Popes Legat, for the taking of the Elect of Cambray prisoner, who was freed before the sentence could. Hee came also to the King of England, threatning like interdict, if the Bishop Beluacensis were not delivered, whom yet because he was taken in Armes, he dismissed not without his ransome.

Revelations.

Anno 1200. an Epistle from Heaven was sent for the keeping of the Sunday or Lords day, from the ninth houre on Saturday, till Munday Sunne rising, which the Pope approved, and sent Preachers thorow divers parts of the world, Eustace Abbot of Flay comming from him into England for that cause. (But of visions the Stories of these times are full.)

Councell of Lateran.

In the yeare 1215. was holden the great Councell of Lateran, in which after other things, the affaires of the holy Land were propounded. We will and command (they are the words of the Pope) that Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and others, which have cure of soules, doe preach studiously the word of the Crosse, beseeching by the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, one onely true and eternall God, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, and Barons, and other Nobles, and the Communalties of Cities, Villages and Townes, that if they goe not personally, they will send a sufficient number of Warriours with expences for three yeares, for the remission of their sinnes, &c. If any refuse, let them protest to them on our behalfe, that they shall answer this at the dreadfull Judgement of the just Judge, &c. And we define that all which shall have taken the Crosse, shall be under Saint Peters protection and ours, and under

the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Prelats of the Church, and all their goods, &c. as before.

§. III.

Prosecution of the Holy Land Warres: English Nobles crossed: Richard Earle of Cornwall his Acts there: William De Longa Spata, and other English-men. King or Saint Lewis of France his doings and sufferings: Prince Edward.

THe truce being expired in the first generall passage * after the Councell of Laterane, the Christian Armie was assembled in Achon, with the three Kings of Jerusalem, Hungarie, and Cyprus, the Dukes of Austria and Moravia, and great Forces of the King of Germanie, with many Arch-bishops, Earles, Gentlemen. The Patriarch of Jerusalem tooke up the Crosse (which had beene hidden* till this time, it being before, as some say, divided, and the one part lost, as you have heard, and now this other part succeeded) and the Christian Armie in the Vigill of Saint Martin, washed themselves in Jordan, and having visited the holy places, returned to Achon. The King of Hungarie soone after departed to the great detriment of the holy Land, being requested to the contrary by the Patriarch. But away he went excommunicate with his followers, carrying with him Pilgrimes, Gallies, Horses, Armes. Others cowardly abode in Achon, a sinfull Citie, and full of all uncleanenesse: the King of Jerusalem and Duke of Austria, Hospitalars, and others, fortified the Castle of Cæsarea. The Templers and Hospitulars of the Dutch house, fortified the Castle of the Pilgrimes. In Bebon of Frisland appeared a white Crosse in the ayre towards the North, another toward the South, a third particoloured, in the midst, with the forme of a Crucified man. Other Crosses after appeared, whereby the Province of Collen was provoked to the holy Land service. These with the Frislanders provided three hundred ships, made with great

**Every Easter was a generall passage.*

**Incredible tales of the Crosse, in that credulous age received. The crosse of Christ was fruitfull and bare many others, or else fancie is mad, which beleeved a Syrian for the same before by revelation, and now another lye.*

Crosses in the Ayre.

care, which in the way came to Lisbon: and their dissention divided them, some staying with William Duke of Holland, in the siege of Alchacia a Moorish Castle, where they wan a great battell against the Moores, and slue one of their Kings, after that taking the Castle also.

Damiata besieged. Anno 1218. The Christian Navie passed from Achon to Damiata, and besieged it, where after great losse of their owne they tooke a Tower. Saphidine Sonne and Successour of Saladine (by the murther of his Bretheren) died, and Coradine his Sonne razed Jerusalem, making the Walls and Turrets rude heapes, and leaving nothing but the Temple and Tower of David in revenge of the siege of Damiata. The next passage brought many Pilgrimes from divers parts of the world, with the Popes Legat, Ranulph Earle of Chester, Saer Earle of Winchester, and William Earle of Arundell, Robert Fitz Walter, John Constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, Barons, and Oliver the King of England Sonne, with many others. Many lost their lives on both sides, and by inundation of the Sea and River, brought new provisions of unwelcome Fishes into their Tents, and did much harme, carrying their workes to the other side, the water betraying them to the fire. A grievous disease, for which the Physicians knew no remedie, infested the Campe, (by the description it seemeth the Scorbute) which killed many. Many conflicts on both sides swept away many. Damiata was in this long siege assaulted with Sword, Famine, Pestilence. Nilus refusing this yeare to visite a great part of Egypt, made the Soldan to feare a Famine, and in these straits hee offered the true Crosse, which Saladine had taken and all the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and to repaire the ruines of the razed Citie, and restauration of Captives, (onely he would hold Crac and Mount Royall, paying twelve thousand Byzantines yeerly tribute, for the Caravans securitie which travell to Mecca) if they would leave Damiata. The Princes liked it, the Clergie refused, and on the seventh of November, the Christian Armie tooke it, without resistance, it having beene a buriall place

Jerusalem razed.

English Noblemen in service of the Crosse.

[II. viii. 1225.]

Damiata taken.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CYPRUS

of her Inhabitants, and now stinking like a Grave, the streets and houses being strewed with carkasses, eightie thousand had dyed therein during the siege, besides three thousand which they found yet remaining. The spoyle thereof was very great, and equall shared where theevery prevented not.

After Damiata taken, the next passage came so many Pilgrimes, that Taphnis Castle was taken, and both fortified. The Soldan tooke the Castle of Cæsarea, and did much hurt to Achon and Tyrus. Anno 1222. Philip de Albeneio a stout Souldier, and the Master of King Henrie went to the Holy Land. Anno 1224. Baldwin Earle of Flanders returned, and was knowne and acknowledged of many. But his Daughter denyed him to be her Father, and procured him to bee hanged betwixt two old Dogges.

Strange story of Baldwine.

This Baldwin, with the Venetians, the Duke of Lovaine, the Marquesse of Mount-Ferrat, Simon de Montfort, and others, intending the Holy Land, by opportunitie of Greeke combustions at Constantinople, tooke Jadera, besieged Constantinople seventie two daies, and tooke it, (being before fired) on the twelfth of Aprill, 1204. By common consent Baldwin was elected Emperour: and the Greekes upon that occasion began another Empire at Trebezond. Baldwin by Venetian helpe conquered Thrace, and after the Greekes betaking themselves to the King of Bulgaria, in a battell against him and the Scythians he was said to be slaine, Anno 1206. the Scythians putting all Thrace to spoyle and sword. Henrie, Baldwines Brother, was chosen to succeed, who ayded by the Marquesse, now King of Thessaly, expelled those Barbarians, and recorded the Countrey, and after eleven yeares troublesome reigne, died. Peter his Sonne-in-Law succeeded, who was treacherously slaine, and Robert his Sonne succeeded; whose Wife a beautifull Ladie in a tumult, was by a Burgundian (to whom she had before beene betrothed) taken in the night, her nose and eares cut off, her Mother throwne into the Sea; and her Husband

Greek broiles. Constantinople taken by the Latines. See for this Knolls Turkish Historie.

Rufull report.

then absent, had his griefe so present, that he lived not long after, leaving a little Sonne Baldwin, the last Latine Emperour of Constantinople, affianced to John of Brenne, whom Pope Innocent had made King of Jerusalem: the Greeks easily recovering in that opportunitie. The first Baldwin thus revived, whether he were a counterfeit or no, is uncertaine. Certaine it is, that our Authour saith, all that were of counsaile to that his hanging, dyed an ill death. The last Baldwin fought by helpe of Frankes and English, (for here he had large gifts) but in vaine to recover that Empire.

Sixty thousand English take the Crosse, besides old men and women.

About this time great multitudes tooke the Crosse thorow the world, insomuch that of the Kingdome of England onely, sixtie thousand and more sufficient men, besides women and old folkes, tooke the Crosse; Master Hubert testifying, that he (being a Preacher of the Crosse) had so many in his Catalogue. On Mid-somer night, the Lord appeared in the Firmament, in crucified forme and bloudy, to shew (saith our Author) how acceptable that devotion was to him. This was seene neere Uxbridge by a Fish-monger. Peter Bishop of Winchester, and William Bishop of Exeter were two of these, which spent five yeares in that Pilgrimage. Friderike the Emperour tooke shipping toward the Holy Land to performe his vow, but returned, pretending sicknesse, so that fortie thousand men which waited his comming that passage, returned frustrate to their homes, and many to their long home. Whereupon Pope Gregorie excommunicated him. He by publike writings purged himselfe, and great broyles ensued. The Romans expelled the Pope out of their Citie to Viterbium, and thence to Perusium, hee having no other weapon of revenge but excommunication. The same time, the Earle of Tholouse had a great victorie against the Crusado Armie, which the Pope had with like Indulgence to that of the Holy Land, excited to warre against him and the Albigenses, (which for denying the Papacy were condemned Heretickes.) Frederike yet made best speed to the Holy Land, where

Frederike the second excommunicated.

Albigenses and Crusados.

A.D. 1224.

the Clergie, because the Pope had excommunicated him, counselled him to reconciliation, and would not communicate with him. But the Templers and Hospitalars received him with reverence. The Soldan sent him rich presents. Pope Gregorie in his absence raised warres by John de Brennes, King of Jerusalem, which out of France and other parts, gathered a great Armie and invaded, helped by the Popes Forces, the Emperours Dominions. The Soldan troubled with civill broiles, restored to Fredericke all the Holy Land, so that he entred Jerusalem with his Armie, and they purified the Holy Citie, but the Clergie would not communicate with the Emperour. Master Walter, a Frier Preacher, an English-man, which had done great service for the Crosse, appointed by the Pope to that Office, said Masse: and the Clergie was restored to their Quondam possessions. The Emperour intending to goe to Jordan after the custome, the Templars and Hospitalars treacherously gave intelligence to the Soldan, that he might intrap him: partly envying his successe, loth any should there have honor but themselves; and partly, because they heard that the Pope had invaded his Territories. The Soldan abhorring such perfidie, sent their Letter to Fredericke, and laid open that hellish mysterie. Hence arose grudges, and the Templars and Hospitalars drew the Patriarke into their conspiracie, which published a Letter dissamatorie against him. Pope Gregorie exacted tenths for the maintenance of those his warres against the Emperour, thorow England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, which were rigorously, under paine of Interdiction and Excommunication exacted, not as the twentieth before to the King, but as might best be for the Popes advantage, and the people forced to pay it before hand, even for the crops on the ground. The Prelates sold their Ornaments and Church plate for expedition, and Stephen the Popes Procurator, having Usurers attending like Ravens, save that they preyed on the living. All this notwithstanding, the Emperour returning, soone recovered that which the Pope

Popes Acts.

Walter, an English-man.

[II. viii. 1226.]

A Turke more faithfull then Popish Templars and Hospitalars.

Popes tenths.

M. Par. saith that this puissant Emperour at once maintayned sixe armies in several places.

and his King John had taken, and some composition was made betwixt them. Pope Gregorie sent Preachers, and writ to excite men to the holy Warre, and sent others for money to release those vowes, Nec sciri poterat in quam abyssum tanta pecunia quæ per Papales Procuratores colligebatur est demersa. Unde negotium Terræ Sanctæ nunquam fœlix, &c. He after excommunicated him againe, and chose another Emperour, absolving his Subjects, perswading them to be faithfull in infidelitie. But the wickednesse of the Roman Church deserved that the Popes authoritie was not received: he addeth of it, Deposito rubore velut meretrix vulgaris & effrons omnibus venalis & exposita, usuram pro parvo, simoniam pro nullo, &c.

Manner of preaching the Crosse.

The Truce betwixt the Emperor and the Soldan expiring, the Pope sent and writ againe, granting Indulgences as before, and freeing from Usuries, employing the Preaching Friars and Minors in this Crosse businesse, who by the Popes Mandate, were attended by the Archdeacons and Deanes, which in every place caused the Parishioners, men and women to assemble, not one under paine of excommunication, being absent. Many Noblemen of England tooke the Crosse, Earle Richard the Kings brother, Earle G. Marshall, Earle John of Chester, the Earle of Salisburie and his brother, and many other honorable personages. Earle Richard made sale of his woods, and of whatsoever he could for that provision. But the Preachers preaching the same Indulgences to them, which gave so much money as would beare the charges, hindred mens devotions. For this proved a common and usuall course, to exchange vowes for money. Above one hundred Knights Templers were soone after slaine in battell with the Turkes, besides other multitudes, Anno 1238.

English Nobles take the crosse.

Sale of vowes is so common, that I forbeare to follow the Authour his often mention.

Many crossed Nobles were assembled at Lions, to goe to the Holy Land, when a Messenger from the Pope forbad them to proceed; notwithstanding, that was the place and time appointed by his Preachers, and that they

A.D. 1242.

had sold and pawned their goods and lands for that Expedition. Many returned home discontent: Many held on their way. Anno 1240. Earle Richard and the other English Nobles, tooke leave to set forth on their Holy voyage. That yeere, the Christians not agreeing in the Holy Land, sustayned great losse, innumerable being slaine and taken. Earle Richard passed on his way into France, and was by the Popes Legat forbidden to proceed, who answered, that he had provided his Ships, Moneys, Armes, and detesting the double dealing of the Roman Church, committed himselfe to the Sea. The Soldan of Damasco gave the Christians all which they challenged beyond Jordan, to helpe him against the Egyptian. Earle Richard came to Achon a little after Michaelmas, where he was received with all solemne significations of joy. The third day after his comming, he caused Proclamation to be made, that no Christian Pilgrime should depart home for want of money, for he would entertayne them in his pay. He writ thence of the great Schisme and mischiefe thereon attending, complayning of the Pope: the King of Navarre and Earle of Britaine, were gone fifteene dayes before his comming: Truce was concluded by him with the Soldan, many Places and Prisoners surrendred unto him, which he there in his Letter particularly nameth. Further, that he and the Christians fortified Ascalon Castle with two Walls and high Towers, to prevent the worst, if the Saracens should violate the Truce. Having received on Saint Georges day all the Prisoners, hee returned homewards and landed at Trapes in Sicilia, and hearing of the captivitie of certayne Bishops, he went to Rome. He caused also the dispersed bones, of those which had beene slaine in the dismall battell of Gaza to be buried. The Emperor received him honorably, having married his sister Izabel, daughter of king John. He was welcommed into England by the King his brother, in Februarie, 1242. The French Nobilitie much honored him as their Patron, for deliverie of their prisoners. The Pilgrimes departing

Battell of Gaza.

Earle Rich. his acts.

Templars Pride.

after Earle Richard, the Templars envying, scoffed and derided his acts, and brake the Truce which he had made, which the Hospitalars observed, whom therefore the Templars besieged in Achon, chasing also the Dutch Knights, turning the great Revenues against Christians, which were given against Saracens. This dissention continued betwixt them with great scandall. It hapned that the Tartarian Deluge, having then over-flowed the Easterne World, and over-whelmed Persia, the Chorosmines by them expelled and forced to shift, were entertayned by the Soldan of Babylon, and promised, if they could drive out the Christians, that they should possesse their Countrey. Whose multitudes so terrified the Christians, that they consulted to remove all the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to Joppe, and began in the night to performe it. The Chorosmines entring, found certayne Banners, which they erecting, some Christians called backe their fellowes, as if some notable triumph had hapned to the Christians, which returned either into the Citie or Suburbs, where the enemie presently assaulting them slue seven thousand. The yong Men and Maydens they made slaves. They entred the Holy Citie, and slue the old and feeble persons (which had not gone forth, but fled to the Sepulchre for Sanctuarie) and Nunnes. The Christian Souldierie sought to revenge it, fighting with them a bloudie battell till night, losing innumerable, yet killing many more. On Saint Lukes day, with the generall power of the Holy Land assembled to the Patriarke, they fought against them, now strengthned with new supplyes from the Soldan, where the best was, that they sold their lives at a deare and bloudie rate, more perishing of the Infidels, but the Christians losing almost all. The Master of the Templars, and the Master of the Hospitalars and Dutch knights fell, and but eighteene Templars and sixteene Hospitalars escaped. The number of the slaine was inestimable on both sides. The whole Land put on irrecoverable confusion.

[II. viii. 1227.]

Chorosmines.

Jerusalem taken.

Bloudie slaughter.

And although Pope Innocent, at the Councell of Lions,

seemed zealous of this quarrell, yet that other quarrell to the Emperour more possessed him; and the Councell withstood him to his face, taking authoritie to appoint Collectors for that Subsidie, whereof the Roman Court had beene so often, so fraudulent a Disburser. The French King lately sicke, had vowed a Holy Land voyage, if he recovered, whom almost all the Nobilitie followed. But the Pope prosecuting the Emperor, and causing a new to be chosen, little succour could be sent them, so that many despayring, became Apostata's. The Soldan himselfe detested, and openly protested against the Templars and the Pope. The Bishop of Worcester, William de Longa Spata, and many Nobles of England, in imitation of the French, tooke the Crosse. This William imitated Earle Richard, who covenanting with the Pope got great treasures, by dispensing with that Holy Land vow, desired the Pope to grant him favour in that kind, which hee did, cutting a large thong of anothers hide. The Earle gathered infinite summes by the Popes grant, taking of one Archdeacon sixe hundred pounds, and William got above one thousand markes. King Henrie with great devotion carried some of the bloud, sent him from the Holy Land in a Crystall vessell, pretended to be that of Christ, from Paules to Westminster.

King Lewys his vow.

W. de Longa Spata, and many English pilgrims.

Relikes, the best Holy Land wares.

Anno 1248. the Earle of Leister tooke the Crosse to expiate his sinne, in marriage of her which had vowed chastitie. His wife and many Nobles and Knights, followed the example. The French King began his journey, first seeking in vaine to reconcile the Pope to the Emperour. Hee tooke ship and left many behind, which returned and were dispensed with by the Pope then at Lions, giving him their provisions, and emptying their purses. William Longspate followed with two hundred Horse-men, whom the French King kindly entertayned, and besought the French to lay aside their wonted envie to the English.

Earle of Leister crossed.

Anno 1250. King Henrie tooke the Crosse of the Archbishop, and the Archbishop himselfe, the Kings brother

Henry the third takes the Crosse.

William de Valentia, and many Courtiers; the Abbot of Burie, and many other followed: some being of opinion, that the King did this but for a colour to get money. Five hundred Knights, and innumerable crossed people met at Bermundsey (having sold or morgaged their Lands and Goods, and involved themselves in usuries for the Holy Land businesse) to consult of their vowed voyage, intending so to serve the King of Heaven, howsoever their earthly Kings stood affected. Which to prevent, he procured the Popes Letter by money to suspend their journey till himselfe went. The French besieged, and were besieged at Damiata by the Soldan, and Scarsitie, where many perished by Famine and Sword, and many ran to the Enemie and became Apostataes. The French also were envious to the English and William Longspat, having taken fortunately a rich Caravan with Camels, Mules, Asses, laden with Silkes, Spices, Gold and Silver, and other riches and provisions, slaying and captiving the men; the French quarrelled hereat, and tooke his purchase from him, the Earle of Artois the Kings brother being herein chiefe, which the French King not daring to remedie, hee left him and went to Achon. The French tooke Damiata, and the Soldan offered all the Holy Land and great treasures for the restitution. But they chose rather to remove towards Cairo, and the Earle of Artois proudly objecting to the Templars their pride, and calling W. Longspat (then returned) tayled cowardly English, saying, that the Armie would doe well if it were cleansed of tayles and tayled (this hee spake upon occasion of wise counsell given him by the former.) William answered, We shall be this day, where I beleeve, you will not come neere my Horses tayle: which also hapned, the Earle being drowned in flight, and William bravely dying in fight, standing to it when he had no legs to stand on (they being cut off) to a miracle of resolution, and commending his valiant soule to the Heavens, having first sent many Saracens to Hell. This was the issue of the others daring temeritie and pride. Of all the Armie present, two

English acts.

Damiata taken.

W. Longspats honourable death.

Templars onely, one Hospitalar, and a base person escaped. The King was behind with the rest of the Armie, who made another as unfortunate a battell, in which himselfe was taken, his Armie almost all slaine or taken. The Soldan laboured that none should carrie this newes to Damiata, which yet was done by Alexander Giffard, an English man, having received five wounds in the attempt. But Damiata was delivered in exchange of the King: the Soldan commanding the Christians to bee beheaded which stayed behind, and their Navie to be burned.

Al. Giffard. [II. viii. 1228.]

Damiata given up.

Soone after, the King of Castile tooke the Crosse, having conquered thirteene dayes journey upon the Saracens, thinking it better to get the Holy Land from them then any other. But the rapines and spoiles which the poorer sustayned from the great men, the Roman Church permitting, yea teaching, as often as they would goe to the Holy Land in pilgrimage, our Authour much lamenteth. And for the extortions of France, the French King saith, hee by permission of the Roman Church, gathered a third yeeres tenth of the Clergie, on condition that the Pope, to maintayne his warres against Fredericke, might gather as much more. The King would not after permit this, though his owne were gathered by Papall Ministers, that the Pope might hereby learne to how much his share would arise. The Popes Exactor met by chance on the way a poore Priest, having a piece of bread given him for sprinkling of holy water, whom he asked what his Living might be worth by the yeere. The Priest (ignorant of Romish sleights) answered, some twentie shillings. Two shillings then, said the other, must thou give the King, holding him, that begged his living from doore to doore by the throat, and forcing him to sell his Bookes to pay him. The King borrowed money of the Templars and Hospitulars, sent two of his brethren into France, one being slaine, another vanquished, himselfe resolving never to returne, and living at Achon inglorious. Those two brethren with the Duke of Burgundie, went to the Pope, laying the blame on him, and if hee would not agree with

Mill-stone compact.

Base exaction.

Pope accused.

Fredericke (which alone could remedie these mischiefes) he should no longer abide at Lions, but all France would arise against him. Fredericke by his death, instantly following, cut off those hopes. The Quarrels dyed not, but continued hereditarie to the Pope and his Sonnes.

Guido, halfe brother to King Henry.

Guido, King Henries brother, came out of the Holy Land beggerly miserable, borrowing horses of the Abbot of Feversham, which he neither repayed according to his promise, nor acknowledged so much as with thankes, but scoffed at his messengers sent to demand them.

The French Kings Mother and Brethren sent much money to him by Sea, which with the ship was drowned, he bearing this as his other disasters with admirable patience, beeing herein esteemed another Job. At the same time a certain Hungarian Apostata, promised his Master the Soldan of Babylon, to present him infinite store of Christian slaves, and make the conquest of Christendome easie. He therefore having the French, Dutch, and Latine Tongues goeth about preaching, saying, that he had in charge from the blessed Virgin to call Shepherds and Herdmen, to whose simplicitie and humilitie it was granted from Heaven to conquer the Holy Land. For the militarie pride of the Frankes was not acceptable. Hee wanne faith by the indissoluble closenesse of his hand, in which he said was Our Ladies Charter. Shepherds and Herdmen without acquainting their Masters and Parents, and without care of provisions followed him, using his Inchantment wherewith he had so farre prevailed fortie yeares before (hee was now threescore yeares old) gathering an infinite number of children together, which followed him singing, whom neither Prayers, Threats, Flatterie, Gifts of Parents or Friends, nor Lockes and Walls could detaine from him. (A certaine Juggling Fryer Preacher, Robert Bugre, is said to have infatuated in like manner innumerable and delivered them to the fire.) But these were now favoured, by the Queene Mother, hoping that they would doe service for her Sonne, insomuch, that above one hundred thousand of this Rabble were assembled, and

Devillish stratagem of a juggling knave occasioned by the superstition of that time.

A former knaverie.

carryed a Lambe for their Colours. After this, Theeves, Exiles, Runna-wayes, Excommunicates, and like raskalitie resorted to them with divers Weapons, and now they did openly things unlawfull in Politie and Religion, preaching where they came, and at Orleance breaking into open hostility, at Burdeaux, Paris, and other places, which occasioned their dispersion and confusion. One of their Preachers came into England, and was here cut in pieces, his carkasse being left for the Fowles, having before caused much disorder. Many of them went over to the Holy Land.

Anno 1251. the Pope caused solemne preaching in Brabant, Flanders, and the Confines of France, that whosoever would warre against Conrade the Sonne of Fredericke the Emperour, hee should have greater Indulgence then for warring in the Holy Land. For if any should be signed (with the Crosse) against Conrade, both he so marked, and his Father and Mother should receive remission of all their sinnes: which, the French King sending for reliefe, caused much murmuring of the French, imputing to the Popes unchristian Warres against Christians to enlarge his owne Dominions, this neglect of the French King and Holy Land. And the Queene Mother caused the Lands of all which had taken the Crosse to be seised, and that if they would warre for the Pope, he should maintaine them.

Greater Indulgence against Christians then Turks, by Papall charitie.

Anno 1252. the King caused the Londoners to be assembled to Westminster, to the preaching of the Crosse, which yet in regard of the Romish extortions few received. Some Courtiers did, whom the King magnified, calling the other base Mercinaries. His reason was; hee had now obtayned of the Pope three yeares tenths of Clergie and Laitie to that purpose, which would amount to above sixe hundred thousand pounds. He was thought to have taken the Crosse only for this mony-purpose, which Vow hee then sware to performe both on his brest like a Priest, & after on the Gospels kissing the Booke like a Lay-man, none being hereby more certaine of his purpose. Truce

Crosses crossed by Popish Extortion.

[II. viii. 1229.] *Clergie and Lay Oath.*

was concluded betwixt the French King and Soldan. But soone after, Anno 1253. came newes of miserable spoiles there made by the Saracens, Achon beeing only left free from their furie. Anno 1254. the French King returned home. Anno 1255. Conrade being dead, the Crosse was preached against Memfred King of Apulia, Sonne of the Emperour Fredericke. In which case the Pope intangled the King of England, giving that Kingdome to his Sonne Edmund, to the great trouble of this Realme.

Pope maintaynes his Kingdome by Crosses when he wants crosses.

Anno 1259. the Templars and Hospitalars at Achon fell to civill Warres, well neere to the ruine of both Orders, and of the poore remaynders in those parts. Anno 1260. King Henrie having sworne to the provisions of Oxford, repented of his Oath, and obtayned of the Pope Absolution. Anno 1264. Pope Urban gave the Kingdome of Sicilia, to Charles the French Kings Brother, on condition to deprive Memfred thereof, whom Anno 1267. he slue in battell.

King Lewis and Prince Edward Pilgrims.

Anno 1269. Saint Lewes sent to speake with Prince Edward of England, and invited him to undertake with him a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he did, King Henrie permitting all which would to goe with him.

Anno 1271. Prince Edward, and his Brother Edmund, foure Earles, as many Barons, and many Gentlemen, went his vowed Pilgrimage. His Wife Elenor accompanied him, who at Achon was delivered of a Daughter, called Joan of Acres. The French King came safe to Tunis, where his Sonne first, and after himselfe dyed. The Armie was much endangered, but by meanes of Charles King of Sicilia, was freed, and Tunis made tributarie to Sicilia. Prince Edward had followed Saint Lewis thither: and when King Charles hasted backe, Prince Edward sware, that if all his company should forsake him, yet he and Fowine (his Horse-keeper) would hold on to Achon: and with the English he set saile thither. But a Tempest overtooke the Sicilian at Sea, and drowned almost all his Armie and Treasure.

Prince Edward and the English at Tunis, where K. Lewis dyeth.

Anno 1272. Prince Edward at Achon, was much

respected by the Amira of Joppe, who writ often to him by a certaine Assisine. Who faining some secret businesse, the Prince caused all to depart the roome, and whiles he looked out of the Window, with a poysoned Knife he received two wounds on the arme: The Prince pulled the Knife from him, and killed him with his owne weapon, but withall in the wresting, wounded his owne hand. This grieved much the Amira, being ignorant of the Assisines designe. With much difficultie the Prince was cured of his venomous wounds.

Prince Edward stabbed with a poisoned knife.

Thus farre we have followed our Author Matthew Paris to the death of King Henrie, which hapned, Anno 1273. and the death in manner of the Christian State in the Holy Land. Hee returned (which we adde out of Thomas Walsingham) 1274. having long in vaine expected the aids of Christians and Tartars at Achon, leaving Souldiers in his pay for defence of the Holy Land. He returned by Sicilia, and received kind entertainment of King Charles, and after of the Pope. His Turneament I omit: wherein the Earle Kabilanensis challenging him, laying hold on the Kings necke, and seeking to plucke him off his Horse, was by the great strength of Edward raysed from his owne Horse, and after a hot skirmish, forced to yeeld, that the name which had in this Voyage wanne honour in Africa, encreased it in Asia, might receive further accomplishment in his Europæan returne.

King Edward the first his returne and Turneament.

Anno 1292. Achon was taken by the Soldan, the Citizens having sent their unserviceable persons and relikes with their treasures before to Cyprus. Great slaughter was committed. In the beginning of Edward the Second, the Templars were condemned, imprisoned, and some burned. The Hospitalars planted themselves at Rhodes, and continued till Soliman the Turke dispossessed them: since which their residence hath beene at Malta. The Dutch Knights conquered Prussia. The Acts of the Tartars in the Holy Land you may learne in others. It is more then enough that I have summed the Acts of almost two hundred yeares, with such expense of

Christian bloud and treasure abroad and such convulsions and confusions of Religion and civill Affaires at home as I know not to have beene effected by any one particular cause since the World stood, the pretence being not the Monarchie of the World, but of a little Region, and that under colour of Religion. I honour the zeale and valorous resolution of our Progenitors, but I pittie the illusions and collusions which hapned to those Worthies by the Popes sleights, and the malice of the old Serpent, which a little to unmaske, would to the studious Reader, perhaps be a recreation after these fields of bloud. Some particulars whereof wee have out of Histories of that Age delivered: but the full cannot bee delivered, as may appeare by this circumstance, that besides often, solemne, publike, Royall Expeditions, and the private occasionall Pilgrimages to the Holy Land continually; there was every yeare against Easter a generall passage both for devout visitation of the holy places and services in these holy Warres: which summes being added to these, amount above conceit; especially, if wee adde the Crusadoes which from this Example awed and tamed Emperors, Kings, Princes, States, Peoples, repugnant to the Popes designes, howsoever otherwise Catholike and Christian. All this bloud was of Christians, besides the Rivers and Seas of Ethnike, (yet humane) bloud hereby shed, of Turkes, Ægyptians, Persians, Chorosmines, Tartars, and so many other Asian and African Nations, not to mention the Christians, Armenians, Syrians, and all the subjects of the Easterne Empire in this Warre so much interessed, by it weakned, after it irrecoverable, and now Turkish. But because to passe from one extreme to another, and suddenly to divert the minde from such Martiall Actions and Passions to so high studious contemplations, would rather be exchange of toyle then recreation (as in the interim betwixt turbulent Acts on the Stage) I have presented a Musical Pilgrime, whose old English Rithmes may perhaps allay those former conceits of cryes, shriekes, wounds, deaths, desolations: and as when the Minstrell played, the hand of the Lord

Generale passage given yearly.

[II. viii. 1230.]

2. *Reg.* 3. 15.

came upon Elisha, and hee prophesied; so in reading this, which tels the holy wares so farre sought, and so deere bought in these holy Warres, thou mayst have the hand of the Lord not only to guide thee from such vanitie, but to lift thee to a higher pitch, and to make thee understand (or some way to apply) concealed Mysteries and darke Prophesies, which that mystie Age, not seeing, fulfilled. The Author is unknowne and his time: which yet is likely to have beene about two hundred yeares since: Sir Robert Cottons rich Librarie hath yeelded the Manuscript, whence it was copied.

Chap. VI.

Here beginneth the way that is marked, and made wit Mount Joiez from the Lond of Engelond unto Sent Jamez in Galis, and from thennez to Rome, and from thennez to Jerusalem: and so againe into Engelond, and the namez of all the Citeez be their waie, and the maner of her governanuce, and namez of her silver that they use be alle these waie.

IN the Name of the Fader that seteez in trone,
And of Jhu his oonly blesset Sone,
And of the Holy Gost, this blesset Trinete,
And also of our Ladie S. Marie:
And of all the Seintez of the Court of Heven,
I make this mynde wit milde Steven:
Wich waye I went I schall you telle,
And how be the waie I dide dwelle.
Ferst to Plummouth to see went I,
And landet in the Trade of Bretany,
There we rested daies too,
And thrugh the Race then did we go
To Burdewez, to that faire Citee:
And there was I daies thre.
And so from thennez to Bayon,
For so the that is a faire toune.

And from thennez to Petypont St. Jenouhe,
The ferst toune of Naveron, sicurly:
Up in a hee hull hit is faire sette,
And ther men schall make her tribett,
For every pice of Gold trust me well,
Thou schalt swere upon the Evangele:
And there Jakkez ferst most thou have,
And the lust thy Gold to save.
Wymmen z araie upon there hened,
Like to Myterez they ben wheed:
A raie Mantell they were upon
And foule wymmen mony oon.
Then to the Dale of Rouncevale hit is the waie,
A derk passage I der well saie:
Witelez there ben full necessary,
For in that passage my mouthe was dry.
Be yond the hull upon hee,
Is a Mynster of our Ladee:
Of Chanounez of the Order of St. Austyn,
And the well of Rouland, and Oliver therein.
From thennez even to Pampylyon,
The chef Citie of the Reme of Naveron:
A faire Cite and a large,
Thereto commeth bothe Bote and Barge.
And from thennez to the toune of Keer,
Is xxx. miles long, and hongery heer.
Then to the Gruon in Spayne,
That is the last toune certaine,
Of the Realme of Naveron:
And then into Spayne feare ye schon,
Jakkez ben ther of little prise:
For there beginneth the Marvedisez.
Alle is brasse, silver is none In,
And the Grote of Spayne is silver fyn.
iiii. score for a Coron schal thou have,
Of the Marvedise of master and knave.
Then from the Grune to Sent Dominico
Thou hast tenn long miles for to go.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF SPAIN

And from thennez to Grunneole,
Much pyn men ther thoole.
Hit ston upon a hull on hyy,
And Jewez ben Lordez of all that contray.
Ther most thou tribute make or thou passe,
For alle thi gud bothe mor and lasse:
Of that tribute they be full fayn;
For thei hyeer hit of the King of Spayn.
From thennez thou most to Pount Roie,
That passage ther hit kepeth a boie:
A gud contraie, and evell wyn,
And witelez ther ben bothe gud, and fyn.
And so forthe to Pount Paradise.
At that passage thou most paie thriez.
And so forthe from thennez to Borkez that citee,
A faire toune and a muche sicurly.
And from thennez to Hospitall de Reyne, [II. viii.
To passe that River thou schalt be fayne. 1231.]
And so forthe to Sent Antony:
And ever ther gothe the Marvedy.
From thennez even to the citie of Lyones:
Betweene hem ben mony praty tounez.
In that cite ther schalt thou paie
Passage or thou goe awaie.
By younde the Brugge on thi right hand,
To Sent Salvator the waie is liggand,
Where ii. pottez may thou se,
In the wiche water turnet to vyn at Architriclyne.
And mony other reliquez ben there,
But the mountez ben wonder he, & fere.
Wymmen in that Land use no vullen,
But alle in lether be thei wounden:
And her hevedez wonderly ben trust,
Standing in her forhemed as a crest,
In rowld clouthez lappet alle be forn
Like to the prikke of a N'unicorn.
And men have doubelettez full schert,
Bare legget and light to stert.

A Knight, a boie wit out hose,
Asqwyer also thei schull not lose.
A Knave bere iii. dartez in his hand,
And so thei schull go walkand:
Here wyn is thecke as any blode,
And that wull make men wode.
Bedding ther is nothing faire,
Mony pilgrimez hit doth apaire:
Tabelez use thei non of to ete,
But on the bare flore they make her sete:
And so they sitte alle infere,
As in Irlande the same manere.
Then from the citee of Lyonz so fre,
On thi lyft hand the waie schalt thou see,
At that Brugge that I of have saide,
Over an heethe to Astergo is layde.
That is a cite and faire is sette,
There the gret mountaines togeder be mette:
And so forthe to Villa Frank schalt thou go,
A faire contraye, and vinez also.
The Raspis groeth ther in thi waie.
Yf thee lust thou maie asaie.
From thennez a deepe dale schalt thou have,
Up unto the Mount of Fave:
He hullez, and of the Spanyse see a cry:
That noyse is full grevose pardy.
[II. viii. 1232.] And so forth even to Sent Jamez,
Alle waie Pylgrimez suche havez,
And then to Mount nostre Dame,
The Prior ther hath muche schame.
And then so forthe to Luaon,
Other Villagez ther be mony oon.
And then to Sent Jamez that holy place;
There maie thou fynde full faire grace.
On this side the toune milez too,
By a Chappell schalt thou go:
Upon a hull hit stondez on hee,
Wher Sent Jamez ferst schalt thou see,

A Mount, Joie mony stonez there ate,
And iiii. pilerez of ston of gret astate:
A C. daiez of pardon there may thou have
At that Chappell, and thou hit crave.
Then at Sent Jamez wit in that place.
To telle the pardon hit askes space.
Hit is a gret Mynstor, large, and long,
Of the hold begging hit is strong:
Glason windowez there are but few,
Wit in the Mynstor in nowther rew:
Viii. Cardinalez chosen there be,
For Confessourez, that is verry,
And have plaine power fully to here,
And penanuce to yef in alle manerd:
And to assoyle the of alle thing,
That is the Popys graunting.
Now of the pardon telle I shall,
In what place thou maie it calle:
At the Northe side of that place,
There is pardon and muche faire grace.
In the Chappell on the rizt hand among the guest,
iii. C. daiez of pardon thou havest.
Forthermore at the hee autere
A iii. daiez alle time in the yere.
Under the hee autere lithe Sent Jame,
The table in the Quere telleth the name:
At alle the auterez so by and by,
xl. daiez to pardon is grantet to the.
At the iii. derrez benethe the Quere,
Is plenor remission onez in the yere:
And at alle tymes xl. daies,
The table written so hit saies.
On the Southe side behinde the Derre,
A grete of ston fyndest thou there:
At nine of the Bele the Derre up is sett,
And a Bele rongen a gret fet.
Ther men maie se of Sent Jamez the lesse,
His heed in Gold araied freche;

To the wiche Pilgrymez her offeryng make,
For the more Sent Jamez sake.
And there by a nauter there is,
Wher Sent Jame, dud Mase yuis,
A iii. daies ther maie thou have,
Of remission, and thou hit crave.
More pardon is nonzt in that place
That in that table mynde hase.
Then from thennez to Patrovum,
Wher Sent Loudet the ferst toun
iiii. xx. myles longs from Sent Jamez,
Coron ne vin non men there havez.
And then to Pont Wederez went I,
L. long miles; that waie is dry:
Jewes and Sarasynez ben there mony on,
A plentifull contraye as man maie gon.
From thennes a vale faire, and clere,
Where wynez groethe of all manere,
Unto the toun or Corpe Sante,
Alle manere fruyte at man maie haunt.
The See cometh thether at alle tide,
And fisth, and coron on alle side.
Wymmen be araied like to men,
Men maie nouzt well nouther ken:
There thei life un gudely,
Namely men of holy Chirche pardy.
And Bugell flesch is there full rive,
In alle that contraie hit is ther lif:
And Corpe Sant is the last toun,
In Galise, and stondeth the See upon.
Then into Portyngale, and I faire
Over the River wit gret care:
For ther the Spaynyolez wull ye scherche,
Whether any Gold be in thi perche.
Then thi Marvedise have no takke,
The Riolez of Portyngale maken the lakke.
When thou comest to Valence toun,
The money of that Lond thou schalt see son.

And then so forth to Privtia,
And fro thennez to Ponylyme schalt thou ga.
And then forthe to Porta haven,
A faire Cite, and that is the namen:
Olive treez ther schalt thou fynde,
Alle the Lond full, that is the kind:
And figez felle wit out faile,
And alle maner plente of vitaile.
The araie of wymmen is wonder to see,
How thei be revelet about the knee.
Of fresch fisth thei have gret store,
At every place more, and more.
Then schalt thou passe to Colymbria,
And to Towrez a faire Cite also.
And so forthe to Sent Helena on hee,
That is a well faire Citee.
And from thennez to Frankevile,
And so to Luschebon is xiiii. mile,
A faire Cite, and a large,
Thether cometh schippez, hulkes, and barge:
That is a faire Universite,
And of vitellez gret plente.
And in Luschebon verement
Lithe the holy Martur Sent Vincent.
Vii. mile over the water most thou gon,
To a toun that hight Kone,
And from Kone to Palmele,
A whilde waie hit is some dele.
And to Sent Owell, that is the waie,
To Landavere, and Kaverell in the claie.
And to Mount Major a Castell fre.
The chiefe of Portyngale it maie be.
Awhile contraie full of Lyngge,
Wit the I rede thou brede brynge.
From thennez to Riolez most thou faire,
To Estermore, that Land is bare.
And so to Borbe a litell Vilage,
And then to Elvez that gud stage:

The last toun of Portyngale to the See,
That departet Portyngale, and Castell free,
[II. viii. 1233.] The Jewez ben Lords of that toun,
And few christen men there come.
Now in to Castell schall we faire,
Over the River, the land is bare,
Full of heeth and honger also,
And Sarasynez Governourez thereto.
At Baddeshose we schall begin,
To enter Castelanez wit in.
And from thennez to Talevere,
At Luggebon that Citie is a faire river.
To Paralez then most thou draw,
And so to Mereda, that is the law.
Tourez Juliavez forezete we nonzt,
At Sent Petro her vittellez ar bonzt.
Martyn Santio a whilde waie is there,
Forestez, and whilde bestez in fere:
Beres, and Wulfez, other bestez mony on,
A perelez waie hit is to gon.
Then to Reyne so most thou ga,
Unto the Cite of Mater Califea.
And then to Kanamare that faire place,
Of catel ther is plente, and that is grace,
The herdez lyn in the fielde in Tentez of clothe;
To come to toun that is thann lothe.
From that Cite milez xxx. and to,
To Sent Marie Kadalupe most thou go:
A Pilgrimate bothe faire, and fre,
That Mynstor is of our Ladie:
Of the Order of Sent Jerome the Doctor,
A marvelez sight is in that Tour.
In wildernesse that place is sette,
There groeth no coron, vin, ne brede:
By xxx. mile on every side,
For whilde bestez no man dar abide.
Then from that place to Waldepalatia,
And after that even to Afidera:

And then to Elecampanario,
From thennez to Quyntana also.
And then to the Cite of Salamea,
To Lestaseelez, and to Maggaela.
Alle the spicery that I man can mene,
In that land hit maie be sene:
For Sarasynez and Morez be ther duellant,
And ever in her spicery thei be workant.
The Morez ben blake as any pikke,
And go alle mest naket, no men like.
Bellrange that Cite, full hote is hee,
That know no coude in that Contre.
Walekanale is a toun full faire,
In Caissaile the Cite is gud aire.
And from thennez to Petrose,
To the Cite of Kantelane before the nose:
Over a narme of the Se most thou tee,
To Civyle graund, that is so fre.
A Paradise hit is to be hold
The frutez, vynez, and spicery, the I have tolde.
Upon the Haven alle maner Marchandise,
And Karekez, and Schippez at alle devise.
Don be the streme so maie thou goo,
The Toun of Sent Lacar de Baramedez to.
Upon a hull hit stondeth full hee,
Frost ne Snow there maie non be:
Europa that land men calle hit:
The blesset contraie that ever was set.
About hit Ylez mony oon,
I schall tham reken everichon:
For I have be ther, and sayn them alle,
I schall you telle, how thei hem calle.
Porta hit is the ferst place,
And Rota a nother Haven, to the See it gase:
And Serethiez a Cite full faire,
But the Sarasanez hit don apaire.
That is the unterest Citie of that Lond
Toward the Sarasanez, I understand.

And Cordua on that other side,
Wit Sarasanez muche soro thei abide.
Wit in the Se a Cite of sight,
The which in that land Calys hight,
From the lond milez fife,
There the Karekkez in Haven do drive.
XX. daiez we rested the Yles upon,
Wit Karekkez to Jenne to have gon:
And for enemyez be the Se were so strong,
Therfore we tornet againe be lond,
Unto the Reyme of Arogony:
And mony marvelez be the waie saie we.
Ferst to Sent Marie de Serrat,
Mony a Pilgryme is wery ther ate,
A desert place, and full of waaste,
And mony man his staf ther hath cast.
From thennez thou schalt to Monshow,
A faire Cite, and riche I trow.
Hullez and vailaiez mony schalt thou fynde,
The sight ther of thenn maketh men blynde.
Litell coron, but craggez and stonez,
And that maketh Pylgrymez wery bonez.
Faire wymmen and of febull araie,
The Castelanez ar better I dar well saie:
For in Castell thei be araied comely,
Wit faire gownez full honestly:
And in Aragony thei araied be,
In raie cotez full uncomely.
A weddyng I saie in Monshow toun,
Alle the men and the wymmen then daunsyng in on:
iiii C. on a daunce I dar well saie,
From morn to even all the daie.
Ther is but litell mete and drinke,
Be cause men lust not for to swynke.
Then to Leide the Universite,,
There is a pleuntuose Contre.
Twyez harvest ther thei have.
And figez full gret, so God me save.

A.D. c. 1425.

Thei be like to a gret Wardon,
Blew, and faat, as any Bacon.
Ther groeth the Vyn men calle Tribian,
Garnadez ar and Oryngez mony an:
Unto the come to Sent Pere de Mont,
Alle that waie the maie thann haunt.
And then to Sent Mari de Mount Serrat,
Pylgrymez that Mount thei hate.
Hit is full hee to clymbe unto,
And the waie is straite to and fro.
V. Crosses of ston schalt thou have,
The v. Joiez of our Lady ther in be grave.
A faire Mynstor upon hee,
That Chirche is of our Ladye.
Mony miraclez ther hav ben wroght,
And mony Reliquez theder ben brought.
xv. milez up schalt thou ascende, [II. viii. 1234.]
And as much donward er thou descende.
Taward the Cite of Barsilon,
For sothe that is a faire toun:
The chef Cite of alle that lond,
And the gret See is ther even at hond.
From thennez thou schalt to Perpynian,
And after to Salso most thou gan.
And so forthe then to Narbon,
A faire Cite and well begon.
And from thennez to Tour Sent Denise,
The last place of Aragony ywys.
Mount Pylerez that is a Universitie,
A faire place hit is securly.
And so thennez fro to Castell Ryse,
A schrewed toun at my devise.
The Dolphyn is Lord of alle that lond,
And hath tham sugget to his hond.
And from thennez to Avinion,
Is xii. laigez from toun to toun.
And begynneth Province full fre,
At the brugge of Avinion I telle the.

Then of Province that faire Contray,
Some what thereof I wull the saie.
In Dominion in that stonding,
The Pope hath a faire dwellyng:
A riole Palys, and well ydight,
Wit Towrez, and wyndowez full of light.
A mery Contray and a faire,
And also ther is full good aire.
From that Universite to Sushee went I,
Toward Marie Magdaleyn sicurly:
Ther liather Sent Marie Magdeleyn,
In the frere Prechourez this is certayn.
A faire Contraie hit is, and a clere,
And pepull of diverse manere.
At weddyng in that Contre,
Alle the folke of the toun there schull be:
And daunce alle the long daie,
Yong and olde, and make tham gaie.
In that Contraie when on is dede,
Thei heire weperez for wyn and brede:
To cryent, and make gret faire,
And rynde her henedez, and make hem bare:
And scratt ther facez, and make them blede,
And so thei walke thrugh alle the strete.
And at the Messe at the sacrynge,
Then make thei a foule howtynge.
And gon to the grave, and cryon hyy,
Out harrow why woldest thou dye:
Men wolde wene at thei were wode,
For thei make so foule a lode.
Then from that Contraie to Sent Antonee,
Ben xxx. longe laigez full sicurlye.
A Mynstor there is, a faire Abbay,
And there is his harom I dar well saie;
In Gold and Silver araied full well,
And there is of his owne mantell.
To faire well in that Contraie hit is nede,
But the Silver of that Contraie is alle the speede.

The grote of Province is ther alle maister,
The Kingez armez of Province hit doth ber.
Silver hit is, boothe gud, and fyne,
Like to the armez of Godefrey Boleyne.
xvii. for a coron schalt thou have,
That knoweth well bothe maister, and knave.
From thennez thou schalt to Port Dawnton,
And after that, then to Sent Lyon.
Then schalt thou passe a feble waie,
Into the Mountanez be my faie.
Unto the Cite of Mount Riall,
Hit is coveret with snew at alle.
A longe waie schalt thou fynd,
To the Mount of Cyneez er thou wynde.
Ferst to the toun of Sent Johan,
A whilde waie ther most thou gan.
Alle is snew alle tymez of the yere,
Wit ze thi witelez I rede the bere.
When thou comest te that Mountayn
Advise the well forth er thou gan.
For and the wynd blow, trust me well,
Thou schalt have payne on that hull:
Or thou come to that other side,
For the Mount is hee, large, and vide.
iiii. Mountez ther be, that I know well,
And wich thei be I schall the tell:
That be in the waie to Rome,
And mony Pilgrymez that waiez come.
The nest Mount is Mount Bernard,
That waie is bothe long and hard.
By Sawoie the he waie is right,
That is a mery Countrie, and a light:
And the Dukez moneh is brasse,
Roundez and mitez they have lasse.
A nother Mount there is, the name Godarde,
And that is better then Mount Bernard:
For there men passe the Lake Luterne,
Toward Mount Godard, the waie to lerne:

And so to Belson, and to Millayne,
And there ben Tuskennez, that money is tayn.
A nother Mount meste comyn waie,
Is thrugh Almayn, as I you saie:
The Marchandez waie, men calle hit so,
Out of Engelond to Rome who that wull go.
Now then to Cyneez I wull torne agayn,
And tell forthe my journey that I have tayn.
To Hespitale Sent Antony,
And so to Pynnerole that Cite fre.
Then comen the Qwaterynez on ploce,
For the Duke of Millayn gouvernance there hafe.
And so forthe to Mount Rigall,
Then groeth wyn tribian in that vale.
And from thennez to Savoune,
And so to Jenne that riall toun.
By the River of Jenne schalt thou passe,
To Mount Ros, and Mount Vernage a pase.
There groeth the Vernage upon hee,
And the Blaffard is ther gud money.
Then schalt thou go to Geoa,
And to Sarazan that Cite alsa.
From thennez to Pount Sent Petre,
And so to the toun of Luke, wit gud chere.
And then to Pise that faire Cite,
And so to Florence a noubull Universite.
Ther gothe Quatereyn, and ike the grote,
And faire wymmen of mery note.
From thennez to Sene, that Silver is gud,
And there to chaunge hit the be hoved.
[II. viii. 1235.] And so then forthe to Sent Clerico,
And after to Rede Coser schalt thou go.
After that nexst to Aquapendant,
And right to Bolsen lest thou be schent.
From thennez even to Mount Flastkon,
And so to Viteherbe that faire toun.
And thenne to Castell Sent Laurence:
And so to Sowterez in Lence.

From thennez to Castell Susanne,
And so to Rome that blesset toun.
The Duke of Troye that Eneas hight
To Rome he come wit gret myght.
Of him come Remus, and Romulus,
After hom callet is Ruse.
Hethen hit was, and christen nought,
Tille Peter and Paule had hit brought.
In Rome was some tyme I wene,
CCC. Paristhe Chirchez and sevene:
Chapelez ther ben mony also,
ii C. and fife ther too.
About the wallez milez ii and xl.
And Towers a M. and sixty.
iiii and xx. grete yatez ther be,
Principale over alle other in that Cite:
And in Transeibo ther ben thre,
And thre in Leone full sicurly.
Thuse partet I from Rome to Venys toun
After the fest of our Lady Anunciation.
And bode there for my passage
To the holy Land I toke my viage.
De civitate Romana recessi in comitiva
Domini Magistri Walteri Meddeford, usq;
Venice, et sic ad Terram Sanctam cum
Domino Priore Sancti Johannis London, &c.
Then from Venis I schall you telle,
Wiche is the waie be water, and hull.
From Rome to Tode is lx. mile,
Upon the River of Tibere hit last a while.
And from thennez to the Universite of Peruse
Is even xl. long mile waiez.
And thenne to Assise, Sent Fraunceis is there,
Is x. mile in a valaie faire, and clere.
And to Remule the Universitie or honor
A man maie see mony a faire tour.
Thenn to the See passe he schall,
Unto Venis men do calle.

Ferst to Frannkeleyn be the River fre
The most to Venis the Cite.
[II. viii. 1236.] Ostryes the fynde be the River mony oon,
Cordula is the ferst of hem ichen.
xxv. mile hit is betwene,
By that streme that runneth slhene.
And so to Cholye thou most go,
That is xxv. long milez also.
From Cholye to Palestyne hit is,
v. long milez no thing lesse.
And thenn to Malemoke went I,
The wich xiiii. long milez by.
And thenn to Venis x. long mile hit is,
Alle thic waie I went I wis.
And Venis stondes alle in the See,
And Ylez about hit gret plente:
And Lordez thei ben of diversez placez,
To telle her Lordschip I have no space:
But I dar hit so discry,
Hit is a riche Toun of spicery:
And of alle other marchandise also,
And right well vitelet ther to.
And namely of freche water fische,
Pike, Eile, Tenche, Carpe, I wis:
And of other vitelez mony oon,
And namely of freche Storgon.
Gud chepe, and gret plente,
And semely Burgez on to See.
I schipped me ther in a Galias,
That laie fast by Sent Nicolas.
An Abbay in that Haven mouthe,
From Venis Easte, and somewhat Southe:
By estimation as I conthe see,
Too milez from that Cite.
How that we went, and on what visez,
We were forward mor then thriez.
At the last, as Goddez wille vase,
Thei avalet the saile, and toke the rase.

The ferst Land at we come too,
Was a N'yle land, thei said soo.
Wiche at men calle Istera,
And ther in our schippe gon gan:
Hem to refresche thei were full fayn,
Be cause the wether was us agayn.
What Tounez, and Castellez we sailet by,
Of alle that Land telle schall I.
Pyrane a Castell, Umago a Cite,
Cite Nove a nother is hee.
Parenter also a nother Cite hit is,
Usthall a Chapell, and a n' Abbay I wis.
Ryne a Cite somwhat full strong,
And Pole a nother, large, and long.
Mony mo wit in that Land there be,
And Venycyanez Lordez of alle sicur le,
Ther ben other mony be name,
But these we saw, and by them came.
Then sailet we forthe full sicurly,
Be the partiez of Sclavony.
Ther found we a N'yle that hight Nedo
And a nother that hight Kerso.
And a N'yle that Sarfyg hight,
There is a n' Abbay of Monkes right.
A C. mile from thennez sailet we there,
And seie the Yle of Geagere:
Wiche is a N'yle large, and longe,
And a Castell faire, and stronge.
The Castell of Sent Michell hit is called,
A strong place, and well walled.
After that, as we duden go,
We saie a Toun hight Beneto.
And on our lift hand as we dude saile,
Was the Cite Tregora, in a N'yle.
And the Cite of Spolita, ther ben thre,
Alle hard land, and faire to see.
And lxx. milez ever ther fro,
On our right hand as we dud go,

Ayan that forsaide faire Cite,
We saie a thing like tille a Tre.
Iche man hadde wonder what hit was,
Some said a Mast, some saide hit Nase.
We askede the Schippemen everichon,
And thei said, hit was a ston.
That zought us wonder for to be,
Suche a ston stande in the See.
But we saw hit so well wit eyez,
That we west well hit was no lyee.
Then we asked what hit hight,
Micella they said full right.
Then sailet we forthe in our waie,
By the cost of Sclavony, I yow saie.
A N'yle there for sothe we founde,
That hight Lisla, on our lift hande.
Too Abbaiez in that Yle was,
Of Sent George, and Sent Nicolas.
Then sailet we forthe on our Jornaie,
And on our left hand a N'yle we saie:
And of a Chirche the olde walles,
The Mount of Sent Andrew men hit calles.
A litell ther fro as we duden ga,
We saie a N'yle hight Bojea.
Then sailet we forthe a gud while,
On our lift hand we saie a N'yle,
That men callen there Letena,
Full of pepull, and of vitelez alsa.
And ii. Castelles forsooth there bee,
Of frute and of wyne grete plente.
A nother Yle yette we came by,
And alle in the partiez of Sclaveny:
Curfula men calle hit in that Land,
Wit pepull fele, too Castelez strang.
A baren Yle then after we founde,
And non frute on alle that Lond:
Cassa men calle hit, thei saie thise,
And x. mile about hit is.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ITALY

On our lift hand as we sailet these,
We saie a N'yle hight Pelagus:
There we se in our Romence,
Where Sent George dude his penaunce.
On our lift hand after that,
We founde a N'yle bothe faire, and faat:
That we callen there Augusta,
And after a nother, that hight Milida.
And after that a Toune well walled,
That Citie Drogonse men called.
Faire we saie hit, and sailet ther by,
The chef Cite of alle Sclaveny.
And from thennez lx. milez full long,
Is a Cite faire, and strong:
The wiche Cattera called hit is,
And there begynnez Abonnez,
A Land that is nexst Sklaveny. [II. viii. 1237.]
Then saie we a Toun hight Tyverye,
After that a Cite we saie,
That men callen Dulceny.
And from thennez a litell space,
Is a Castell that hight Durace:
The wiche the Venyceanez hald in hande,
And no mo in alle that Lande.
By Abony coost, as we dud ga,
We saie a Cite hight Valona.
Yett founde we mony Ylez moo,
The nexst after hight Saisino:
That is from the Cite of Venece,
Fully vii C. mile waiez.
The heved of the Golfe men calle hit,
Wher schippez have mony a foule fitt.
From that Yle on our right hand,
To the Reme of Pyele I understand,
Is but sixty milez and ten.
A stif streme there rennez: thenne,
From Venece what so thou come,
Is ever more Mare Adriaticum.

That is to saie in our Englise,
The grete See of Adrian I wis.
In that Yle a Castell dothe stounde,
That the Grekes hald in her hande:
And a Minster of our Lady,
Full well served, and full honestly.
The Grikkez See begynnez there,
And at the nexst Lond after, as we can faire.
From that Yle of Saisyneo,
On our lift hand as we dud go,
A C. milez thennez full trew,
We founde the Yle of Curfew:
A faire Cite as I you telle,
And a Castell that hight Aungelle.
And from the Cite of Curfew,
Unto the Ile of Paxsew,
xxx. long milez hit is hold,
And the Venyceanez have hit in holde.
Bothe these Ylez, and other moo,
Forthe on our waie we wull goo.
We sailet forthe bothe erly and late,
Tille the Ile of Dowgate:
A C. mile hit is long and large,
To saile from Paxsew wit Bot or Barge.
The Castell ner standeth in that stage,
The Blake Castell in our langage.
Then sailet we forthe a gret tide,
And founde a N'yle on our lift side,
That men calle Cefolonia:
And a Castell of folke full alsa.
And a N'yle that Gavut hight,
That is a Castell of Grekez right.
Then sailet we forthe a while,
And founde a nother plentuose Ile,
That hight Stryvalle in that Land.
There ben holy Monkez duellande,
In a Mynster of our Lady,
And there thei lif full honestly:

And nother woman, foule, ne best,
And thei wull agazn there lest,
Nis non femenyn gender,
Thei maie not there endure.
A wounde miracle there was wroght,
When S. Marke from Alexander was broght:
And was translatet in to Venece,
The Galiez comen be that waiez.
And when the Galiez come zeder thoo,
The Ile cleved even in too:
And the Galiez token even the same waie,
So thennez the see in to this daie.
After that a N'yle we found,
That hight Prodo a waast Londe.
Then by a nother sailet we,
That Morrea hight full sicurly:
On our lift hand that Lande stode,
Fast ther by our Galiez yode.
The Castell of Junke the saie soo,
That longeth the King of Naverre too.
Ten mile be yond the Castell,
Upon a wonder hee hull,
Standeth a Chirche hee on hight,
Of Sent Teodete that noble Knight.
After that we came full sone,
Unto the Cite of Modome.
Taward that Cite as we dud go,
On our lift hand a mile ther fro,
There is a N'yle Sapientia men callez,
A strong Ile, and no wallez.
Upon that Ile the see I wise,
Hit beteth ther on sanz myse.
Of that Ile, and of that Cite,
The Venyceanez Lordez thei bee.
On our lift hand as we dud saile,
A waast Yle we saie sanz foile,
That men calle ther Severigo:
A Heremite there dwelleth, and no moo.

And so to Candy we go sailand,
And the Land of Morez on our lift hand.
From the Lond of Modyn xviii. milez waiez,
Is a Cite worthy for to praise:
Corona that place is called,
A strong Toun, and well walled.
Hit stondeth in the Lond of Morez,
And the Venyceanez Lordez thei be.
And after that same Lande,
We saie a Cite hight Diamande:
As a Diamande hit is maked,
Covoret wit snow, and never naked.
After in the same Land of Morrea,
We saie a Castell hight Moirema.
After in the same Land a N'yle we see,
That hight Cherigo in that Contre.
In that Ile be Castelez too,
And the Venyceanez be Lordez of thoo.
Another Ile we founde in hast.
Hight Cetherigo, but hit is waast.
And bestez there be great plente,
On the same side as sailet we.
There is a N'yle ii. mile there fro,
That men callen there Gnego:
As a negge hit is maked,
And nonzt in-abicte, but alle naked,
Bothe of men, and of bestez,
Save onely Hawkez make there her nestez.
From thennez we sailet a certeyn waie,
On our lift hand a N'yle we saie:
[II. viii. 1238.] That men callen Ancello,
And ther in be Castellez too.
Thei be of the Lordschip of Candy,
And the Venyceanez Lordez sicurly.
Even Azan that for saide Ile,
Be the space of lx. mile:
The Ile of Candy there began,
Betweene them we sailet than.

Then sailet we forthe on our right hand,
And come to the Ile of Candy Land.
A cite ther was not ferr us fra,
That men callen Cananea:
And fifty mile that cite fro,
Is another that hight Retimo.
And from thennez milez fifty,
Is the chef cite of alle Candy.
And Candy the cite men calles,
A faire toun, and stron of valles.
There groeth alle the Malvesy,
That men have in all Christyanty:
Or in any place in hethenese,
And at Modyn alle the Romeney I wis.
Another cite is in that Ile,
From that cef citte a C. mile.
On our lift hand as we did go,
Setea men calle it so.
That Ile bocthe large and longe,
viii. C. mile alle Umbegange.
iiii. good citeez hit hath full ryve,
And castellez xx. and fife:
Except Thorpez, and Hamelettez,
And housez that in the wynez ben settez
iiii. M. men there may be raiset,
Well horset, and well harnesset
Of houelerez, and of albesterez
ii. C. M. ate alle yerez.
From thise Ile now wynde we,
And telle we forth on our Jorny.
Fifty mile we sailet, and anon,
From the cite of Candy to Capa S. Jon,
That is to saie in Englese,
S. Johanez heved I wis.
Ther is a Chappell, and no moo,
The Lordschip of Candy hit longeth too.
Spina longa men calle hit,
On our lift hand that Ile was sette.

Then sailet we forthe so anon,
And seie the Ile of Refrenan:
A wast Ile standing in the See.
And after that, anon saie we,
An yle that men calle Styppea:
And there in be Castellez twa.
On our lift hand as we sailet thoo,
We saw the Ile of Awgeo:
And too Castelez ther in bee,
And after an yle hight Nazaree.
Ther is a Castell of lyme and ston,
And Knightez of Rodez Lordes bon.
The nexst land after that hight Nysserey,
And nexst that the lond of Turky.
And even over ther agayne,
The Ile of Rodez is certayne:
xv. mile the See brode is,
From Turky to the Ile of Rodez.
At the begynning of this Ile,
Wit in but a litell while
Is a thorp that hight Newtoun:
And on a hull there alle alonen,
Is a Castell stiff, and strong,
That some tyme was a cite strong.
The Castell hight men saie soo,
Sancta Maria de Fulmaro.
The ferst place hit was then,
That ever thei of Rodez wan.
Thei myght not well hold hit,
But be vysement, and gud witt.
Then at Rodez thei made them zere,
Here dwellyng for ever more.
A strong toun Rodez hit is,
The Castell is strong and faire I wis.
From Rodez then a C. mile,
On our lift hand we found an yle,
Castell Ruge men calle hit,
The rede Castell be my witt.

The Knighetez of Rodez be Lordez, and theder go
And seie we Ilez no mo:
But too on our lift hand,
On of the Kyngez of Ciprese land.
The Ile of Ciprese for so the hit hight,
There of fer ferr we had a sight:
I can not saie of toun ne of citee,
Hit was so ferre I myght not see:
That other was the Ile of Baaf.
On our lift hand toward Jaaf,
Of a land we had a sight,
Carmeyn de Surry for sothe hit hight.
The white Frerez were founder ferst there
Of our Lady there is a Mynster.
Then to Port Jaaf when we came,
There was mony a blythe mane:
And thanked God of his faire sonde,
That brought us save into that land.
And from Jaaf we went to Jerusalem,
And that waie tornet home agayne.
At Jerusalem while I was,
I went pilgrimagez in mony place:
And had the pardon that longeth thertoo
As I schall zow or I go.
Now at Port Jaff I wull begynn,
To telle the pardon at is ther inn:
The wiche is called Joppen,
And Port Jaf wit other men.
This pardon ferst when hit begane,
Was of Pope Silvester that holy mane:
At the praior of Constantyn,
That was an Emperour gud, and fyn.
And of Sent Elene his moder dere,
That found the Crose as thei say there:
And after the place be of degre,
So that pardon confermet hee.
To some plenor remission of syn,
And some vii. zerez, and vii. lenton.

At Port Jaff begynn wee,
And so frothe from gre to gre,
At Port Jaff ther is a place,
Wher Petur reised thrugh Goddes grace,
From dede to lif to Tabitane,
He was a woman that was her name:
[II. viii. 1239.] And was wit the Apostlez like a knave,
vii. yere there schalt thou have.
And as many lentonez sicurly,
And a nother place is ther by.
Wher Sent Petur stode and fische,
As much pardon is there I wis.
And after that there is a Cite,
That men callen Leidye:
There is a Chirche in that stede,
Where Sent George was don to dede.
And also there is a nother place,
Wher heled was Eneas
Of his Pallessy, and mad clere,
Thrugh Sent Peter Praier.
As muche pardon thou schalt have there,
As I have tolde of now before.
After that the Cite of Roma,
And the Castell of Emus alsa:
In the wiche a Chirche dothe stonde,
Where the ii. Discipelez were walkand:
And metton wit Jhesu after his rysyng,
And knew him by the brede breaking.
Also in that same place,
Is the grave of Cleofas:
Wiche was oon of the too,
And Sent Luke that other also.
Then the Cite that a Riamathia hight,
Where Joseph was boron that noble Knight:
That toke Jhesu don of the rode tree,
And Samuel the Prophete there lithe hee:
In alle these placez that be ne met here,
Of Pope Silvester be graunted there;

vii. yere, and vii. lentonez ther to:
To alle hem that zeder wull go.
Now to the Citee of Jerusalem we wull wynd,
Where of the Sepulcer is a Chirche hynde.
There in is the Mount of Calvery,
Wher for our sake Jehu wolde dy.
There is plenor remission,
To alle hem that zeder wull come.
Also there fast by is a place,
Where Jhesu Crist anoyntet was,
Or he was laid in his grave:
Plenor remission ther maie thou have,
And at the Sepulcer wit in,
Plenor remission maie thou wynn.
There a place by right nere,
Where Crist was like a gardenere:
And aperet to Marie Magdaleyne,
After his uprist, as Clerkez sayn.
Next that place a Chapell there is,
In the worschip of our Ladie, I wis:
Where Crist to his moder ferst
Aperet, after his uprist:
There is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere,
And in a wyndow fast by there,
Is a piler of her state,
To wiche in the house of Pilate
Crist was bounden to, and kete:
An in the same Chirche is sete,
The preson that Crist was in sent,
And the place where thei partyet his vestment.
At ichon of these placez hir before,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere more.
A Chapell there is of Sent Elene,
Where sche the crose faire, and fyne,
The crowne, the naylez were founden there,
And the hened of Longeez spere.
In that place where thei founde were,
Is plenor remission alle daiez in the yere.

In that Chirche a piler is founde,
To wiche Crist was bounden, and cronnet.
And in the Chirche where Adam heved was fun,
Is the middez of the world by resone.
Alle these ben in that Chirche aboute,
And iiii. Chapelez ther be wit oute.
The ferst of our Lady, and Sent Jon Evangelist,
The ii. of Aungelez, the iii. of Jon Baptist:
The iiii. is of Marie Maydeleyn:
Devote placez alle for certayn.
At alle these placez, to pardon by and by,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez sicurly.
Wit out the dere of that Mynster,
Is a place lene, and dere:
Where Crist him rested for wery,
Beryng his crose for to die.
There is the riche mannez place,
That lett the Lazarer, as Clerkez saiez,
Dye for defaute of mete,
There in Helle is made his fete.
And a waie ther after thou fyndest sene,
Where a man that hight Symeon,
Wit the Jewez constraynet was,
For to bere Cristez crose.
Then Crist tornet him agayn,
And to the wymmen thuse gan sayne:
Wepe on youre selfe, and not on me,
And on your childer wher that thei be.
A nother place there is at hounde,
Where our Lady fell don sownande:
Seeyng her son his crose bere,
Taward his deeth, that dud her dere.
Also there is ii stonez white,
To the wiche Crist restet alite:
Wit his crose hym selfe to cole,
And a non after ther is our Lady stole.
At alle these placez forsade here,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere.

And fast by is the house of Pilate,
Wher Crist was brought to full late:
Bounden, buffetet, and crounet wit thoron,
Demed to deeth on the moron.
Azannez the despite that he had there,
Is fully remission, and plenere.
And there is the place, thou maie go in,
Wher Crist for yaf Madeleyn her synn.
And also there is Herodez place,
Hoder Crist was sende as clerkez saiez:
From Pilate to Herode in scornyng,
And cladde wit white clothyng.
Also by a water thou most ga,
That men calle Probatica Piscina:
There is the Temple verement,
Where in our Lady was present:
And weddet to Joseph afterward,
Azan her wille hit was full hard.
And after that Crist he was,
Presentet in the same place,
To that holy man Sent Symeon: [II. viii. 1240.]
At iche of these places have ye movne
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
And Crist was founden in the temple also,
Disputyng whisly in his sawez,
Wit the Doctorez of her Lawez.
A Chirche there is of Sent Anne,
Where our Lady was boron of that woman:
Plenor remission is in that place,
Blessed be Jehsu of his grace.
After that sone thou fyndest a gate,
Wher Sent Steven was ladd out ate,
To be stoned to his deeth:
And a non after, a nother stede,
The gulden zate called hit is,
Where Crist entred Jerusalem I wis.
To alle these place who so wuld gon,
Is vii. lentonez to pardon.

Now to the vale of Josophat so fre,
A faire place there schalt thou see:
Where Sent Steven stonet was,
And the tour of Cedron is in that place.
Also a gret pece of the crose of Jehsu,
In that same place is, I trow,
And served there for a trugge mony a daie,
That is the voice in that Contraie.
A Chirche of our Lady is there also,
And the grave the sehe was in do:
The pardon of these too placez in fere,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere.
And there our Lady beriet was,
Plenor remission is in that place.
In Josaphat the vale befor saide,
Is the place where Crist praied,
To his fader befor his lideeth:
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez ben in that stede.
Then at the Mount of Olivete,
There is a Chirche faire, and swete.
At the gardeyn we wull begyn,
Where Crist was taken, and bounden in.
And fast by a place is there,
Where Petur smot of Malkes ere.
Also a place there schalt thou see,
Where Crist said to his Apostlez three:
Abide hire to hem these he saide,
Tille I have ben at my fader, and praide.
And a place there schalt thou fynde,
Where the Apostell Thomas of Iynde,
Had a gurdell of our Lady,
When sche was boron to heven on hee.
A nother place fast by is sette,
Where Crist upon the Citee wept.
Also the place is nee by there,
Where the Aungele did apere
To our Lady wit the palme, and saide to fore:
That dai to heaven sche schuld be bore.

A nother place is not ferr ther fra,
That men callen there Galelia.
The xi. Apostelez were gederet there,
And Crist to hem dude apere:
At alle these placez here aboven,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez to pardon.
A nother Chirche is ther by to nemen,
Where Jhesu steed up in to heven.
What man or woman that cometh there,
He hath remission plenere.
After that a Chirche of lym, and ston,
Of Sent Marie Egiptian:
And the Sepulcre of Sent Pelage,
In a nother Chirche maie you see.
And in the Mount of Olivete on hight,
A place there is that Bethfage hight.
And of Sent Jon a Chirche there is,
Where the Apostlez made the Crede I wis.
There is a nother Chirche right hynde,
Where Crist the Apostolez kenned
The Pater noster for to praie:
Also there is in the same waie,
Where our Ladie rest a stage:
For wery goyng on Pilgrymage.
There is the Chirche of S. Jame the lesse,
To whom Crist apperet the daie of Pasch.
And after in the same place,
The same beriet he was.
To alle these places to for said,
Is vii. yere of pardon araied:
And vii. lentonez I dar well saie,
Passe we forthe thuse on our waie;
To the vale of Siloee,
A faire Well there scholt thou see:
Wher our Lady Cristez clothez dude,
When he into the Temple present was.
There is the well of Siloee,
Where Crist made a blynd man to see.

And a place ther schalt thou see,
Where Isaias the Prophete so free,
Of the Jewez sawez he was,
And beried in the same place.
Also a Chapell thou schalt see there,
Where the Apostlez hud hem for fere.
Also the felde hit is fast by,
That was bought for penyes xxx:
For the wiche Crist was solde,
At ichon of these placez that I have tolde,
Is to pardon vii. yere,
And vii. lentonez also in fere.
Of the Mount of Sion I wull you telle,
Where the Jewez both false and felle,
Wold have raft of the Apostlez wit force,
Of our Lady the vere, and the tref coorce:
When thei here bare to her grave.
Also fast by ther schalt thou have,
Where Petur wept, and sore can rowe,
That he forsoke his Lord Jesu.
A Chirche of Sent Angel is there beside,
That was a Palice faire, and wide:
And Anna the Bischope that place hade,
To the wiche Crist was ferst lade:
Examinent, and wit buffetez bete.
A nother Chirche ther by was sette,
That is of our Lady, and Sent Salvator,
And Caiphas place hit was before:
Where Jewez him bobbed, and dud despise,
And Petur there forsoke him thyrez.
In the same Chirche is there also.
A preson that Crist was in do:
And in that same place thou schalt have,
The ston that laie on Christez grave.
[II. viii. 1241.] Where that our Lady abode so,
xiiii. yere in gret whoo:
And there fast by sche made a nynde,
Out of this word when sche schuld wynde.

There is plenor remission,
And there fast by is a place anon,
Wherein Jon the Evangelist,
Was chosen dere to Jesu Crist:
And sange a Messe to our Lady.
And fast by is where Sent Mathy,
Was chosen to the Apostolez:
And ther is our Lady Oratory I wis.
Also there is another place,
Where Sent Steven beried was
The secounde tyme, as clerkez saie ichon,
Wit Gamaleel and Abibon.
Devote places there schalt thou fynde,
And ther Crist his Apostolez taught full hynde:
And wher our Lady herd full prechyng,
Of her Sone Jesu, heven Kyng.
And yet thou may fynde more,
David, and Salamon beried there:
And other Kingez by hem ben cast,
And the Pasche Lambe ther was rast,
In ichon of these placez is vii. yere to pardon,
And vii. lentonez there have ye mowne.
Also there is another place,
Where the Pasche Lambe eten was,
Wit Jhesu, and his Disciplez infere,
And the Sacrament was made there:
Plenor remission for sothe ther is,
And yet another place I wis,
Where Crist to his Apostolez was lowly,
Wesche here fete, and made theim dry:
And where he on the Ascention day,
Reprovet hem of her febull faie.
Then schalt thou fynd there full sone,
The place where the Apostolez ichon,
Receyvet there the holy Gost,
In the feste of Pentecost:
Plenor remission ther maie thou wynn;
Another place is yet wit in,

Where Crist to Sent Thomas aperet,
And to the Apostolez, when the zates were speret:
Where more Sent Jame heded was.
And yette is there a nother place,
Where Crist aperet to Mariez three,
And said to hem, Avete.
vii. yere to pardon be at that place,
And vii. lentonez full of grace.
Then wull we these to Beethleem,
That is v. mile from Jerusalem.
In that waie ther is a place,
Where the thre Kyngez her baret was;
And where the sterre aperet to hem.
And also a Chirche as thei sayn,
That stondeth in the same stede,
Where was boron Elias the Prophete.
And the grave of Rachaell;
At ichon of these placez, trust me well,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez thertoo,
To all tham that theder wull goo.
Thenn at Bethleem I will begyn,
And telle the pardon that is therin.
There is a Chirche of our Lady,
Where Crist was boron full sicurly:
And the crache that he laie in,
Plenor remission there maie thou wyn.
Also there is a devoute place,
Where Christ circumciset was:
And where the sterr waynaschet awaie
From the Kyngez, when thei hit saie.
And the Chapell of Sent Jerome,
And the grave that he was in don.
Also ther by schalt thou have,
Where the Innocentez were grave.
There is a Chirche of Sent Nicolas,
Where Paule, and Eustoce beriet was:
Thei were Maydonez full sicurly.
Also ther is a Chirche of our Lady,

Where the Angele cauzt here, and Joseph also,
Into Egipt for to go.
Of the Angele a Chirche is there,
Where the Angele dud apere,
To the Schepardez, and to hem saide,
That Crist was boron of a Maide,
And the Chirche, or else the grave,
Of the xii. Prophets there schalt thou have.
And the Mynster of Sabaa
That was an Abbas, as thei saa.
At iche of these place whoso will go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez thertoo.
Now here we the pardon of Betany,
Where Lazare dyethet, that is werry:
The wiche laie their iiii. daiez deed;
And Crist raiset hym up in the same stede
Where he clepet hym out of the grave,
Plenor remission there maie thou have.
There is the house of Symeon that good man
In the wiche Marie Mawdelyn came:
On ther Thursdaie wit oynement swete,
To anoynt Cristez fete.
And there Martha said these word,
For sothe and thou haddest be hir, Lord,
Lazar my brother schuld not dede be:
Thi brother schall rise, then said he.
Also there is the house of Maudelyn
Where sche was when Martha can sayn:
Our Lord, our Maister, hir cometh hee,
And Maudelyn suster he calleth thee:
To iche of these places forsaide,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez laide.
Ther ben pilgrimagez mony mo,
But I saw non of alle thoo:
And therfor I make non mention,
But of the places that I have gon.
Then at Flem Jordan I wull take
Ther of a mention for to make.

There is a Mynster of Sent Joachim,
Fader of our Lady that holy Virgyn.
Also the hull hit is thare,
Wher Crist fasted the ground is bare;
xl. daiez witouten wyn,
Therfor it height Mount Karantyn:
Plenor remission there maie thou have,
On the top of the hul thou must hit crave.
A place is there the devele temptet Jhesu,
And said if Goddez sone be thou,
[II. viii. 1242.] These stonez into brede brynge,
At thou maie ete after thi fastyng.
In other thyngez he temptet him also:
But we wull tale of Jerico:
Where Crist herbaret was,
In the house of Zacceus.
Also a place ther by maie be,
Where Crist made a blynd man to see.
Of Sent Jon Baptist a Mynster ther is:
At ichon of these placez I wis,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto,
To alle tham that theder wull go.
Wher Jhesu Crist baptizet was,
Is plenor remission in that place.
Also ther is a wildernesse henesome,
Where is a Mynster of Sent Jerome:
And the dede See that is there,
Wher the v. Citeez drenchet were,
For sinn that thei dud thanne,
And be yond stem Jordan,
Is a full desert place, and wan,
Of Sent Marie Egiptian.
To alle these placez who that wull go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
Of the Hullez of Urie to telle,
A while ther for to duelle:
Ther is a Mynster faire, and free,
In the wiche place groeeth a Tree,

That went unto Cristez crose:
Thuse in that Lond hit hath the voise.
Ther is the house of Symeon,
That in the Temple was redy bon,
On Candelmes daie Crist to hent
Unto his armes, he was present.
There is a Chirche of Sent Jon Baptist,
Where our Lady when sche was wit Crist,
Salute Elizabet here Cosyn dere,
And said the wordez that folo here:
Magnificat anima mea Dominum.
And Zacarias place is ther also,
Where he wrote bothe faire, and welle,
Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.
To alle these placez who that wull go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
Now telle we of the Vale of Mambre,
And of the placez that about hit be.
Ther wull I telle a litell thing,
Where was Abrahamez dwellyng:
Wher that he saie Childeren thre,
And on for alle worschippet he.
Passe not thi Servant in this hete,
I schall faich water, and waisch thi fete.
And Clerkez sayn, and don us lere
The ferst tokynning of the Trinitie was there,
Also there is the Cite of Ebron,
Where Adem, and Abraham in grave was don.
Isaac and thei ben beried there,
And alle her wifez wit hem in fere.
Also fast by there is a place,
Where that Adam formet was:
And there is the Desert wher Jon Baptist,
Dud penaunce for Jhesu Crist,
Also the Cisterne see you moune,
Where that Joseph Jacob sone,
Wit his brether schuld have be cast in,
For dremez that he redde to hem.

At ichon of these placez what at thou be,
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez is graunted the.
Thus to Nazaret let us wynde,
And telle of that place so hynde.
Some what to saie that is best,
Of that pardon that ever schall last.
In the begynning thou schalt have a place,
Where Sent Steven ferst beried was:
After a Castell there schalt thou see,
That hight Abiera in that Citee:
Wher our Lady knew he had left her sonn;
Another Chirche yette fyndest thou son,
Fast ther by thenn schalt thou havne,
The Welle of the Samaritane.
And the Cite Nebulosa, or Sichar men hit calle,
In the wiche the grave fynde thou schall
Of Joseph, that is to fortolde,
That to the Ismalitez was solde.
After that, thou fyndest thenne,
The Cite that hight Sebastiane.
There Jon Baptist in preson was don,
And after that hevedet full sone.
There is the Castell of Jehenne,
Where the x. Lazarez were Inne,
And Crist hem heled of her sekenes,
And the Cite of Naym ther by hit is.
Crist dud miraclez in that stede,
Raised a widow sone from deede.
Also in the Cane of Galelie,
Wit in Nazaret that faire Citee,
There is a Chirche full faire sette,
Where Gabriel our Lady grett.
Also in a while thou schalt fynde there,
Where Crist to his Moder water dud bere.
Also a faire place is fast by,
Where the Jewez full spituously
Jhesu hedlyng wold have don caste:
And a myddez hem a waie he past.

At ichon of these placez befor nemet,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez assignet.
There is a Hull that hight Tabor,
Crist was transfiguret there,
From his Manhod, to his Godhede:
Plenor remission is in that stede.
There is the Cite that hight Casarnaum,
Where Crist mony miraclez hath don.
The See of Galelie forzete we nought,
Where Crist many miraclez hath wroght.
Also the Cite of Tiberiadis,
Where Crist many miraclez hath wroght.
Also there is a nother place,
Where Archisinagog Doughter was
Wit Crist raised from the dede,
And Crist etye wit Mathew brede.
Yet the Hull maie thou kenne,
Where Crist feede v. m. mene,
Wit the brede of lovez five.
A nother Hull yete fyndest thou rive,
Where that iiii. m. men were,
Wit seven lovez fede there.
Also the Cite of Sidonne,
Where the woman, dud forthe gon:
And to Crist sche saide full yare, [II. viii.
Blessed be the wombe that the bare. 1243.]
At iche of these placez leve thou me,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez grantet the.
Then telle we of a nother place,
The wiche is called Damace.
Beside Damace ther is a waie,
Wher Jesu to Paule can saie:
Saule, Saule, why folouest thou me?
Also a wyndow ther maie thou see,
Where Paule went out when he hym heed:
Also in the same house is keede,
Where that Paule cristenet was,
Of that holy man Ananias.

Also a place ther schat thou fynde,
Where Sent George the Knight hynde,
Faught wit the Dragon for the Maide sake,
And deliveret her from wrake.
At alle these placez that I have tolde,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Now telle we of the Mount of Synai,
A full denote place sicurly,
The Cite of Gaza is in that place,
Where Sampson slayn and beriet was.
In that Mount upon hy,
Is a Mynstor of our Lady:
The Mynstor of the Busche men calle hit,
Wher in the body of Sent Katheryne was put.
Also behynde the hee Autere,
Is wher Jesu dud apere,
In that Chirche to Moisie,
When he kept Getro Madan schepe trulee.
In middez of that Hull is a place,
Where dud his penaunce the Prophet Helias;
In the hye of that Hull, by Clerkez sawez,
God yaf to Moises boothe the Lawez:
Written in Tabelez, wit outen misse,
Plenor remission ther hit is.
A Garden ther is witout distaunce,
Where Onorius dude his penaunce.
A nother Hull also is there,
To the wiche Aungelez dud bere
The blessed body of Sent Kateryne,
Sche was a holy Virgyn.
Under that Hull trust thou me,
There rennethe the Rede See.
At ichon of these placez, that I have tolde,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Thuse from Synai wull I skippe,
And telle of the Pilgrimagez of Egipt.
These saie I nought, but by herd telle,
Written in a Tabull in the Hull:

Therfor I telle as I hit saie,
Who that cometh thether he maie asaie.
In Egipt is a Cite faire,
That hight Massar, or ellez Kare:
In the wiche mony Chirchez be,
And oon is of our Lady:
De Columpna calleth hit is,
An Sent Barbara beriet ther is.
There is a water of gret prise,
That cometh out of Paradise:
The wiche is callet Nilus,
Men of that Land thei saie thuse.
Also ther is a great Gardeyn,
Where that the Bawm groeth in.
Also a Mynster there is sette,
Of Sent Anton, and Poule the ferst Heremet:
And of Macary, and other mo,
These from that Cite let us go.
By the space of iii. daiez Jornay,
There is a Contraie in that waie,
That men calle Menfelcula:
There is a Chirche hight Elmorana,
Where is a Chapell of our Lady.
There sche dwellet vii. yere truly,
Wit Jesu her sone so dere,
And wit Joseph her Spouse infere.
In that Chapell on Palme Sondaie,
Of alle Cristen I you saie,
That duellen in Egipt Lande,
Do there her service I understande.
The Cite of Alexander in Egipt is,
Where Sent Kateryne was slayn I wis:
And Sent Johan Elemosmere,
That holy Patriarke is beriet there.
And Sent Mark the Apostell of Crist,
Also he was Evangelist:
There was martired, and to ded don,
And after was beriet ther sone:

And so from thennez to Venece translate.
At ichon of thez placez and thou go ate,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez to pardon,
To alle hem that thether wull come.
Pilgrimagez ther be no mo.
That ever any man dud goe.
But now at my yann turning,
Hereth of our home comyng.
From Jerusalem sothe to sayn,
Even to Jaff we turnet ayan.
Here we schippet alle to geder,
In the Galias that brought us theder.
iiii. hunderet mile then sailet we,
Unto the Golf of Satelle:
Wiche the Schippe sour pardy,
Thei were the worst of Cristianty.
The Pilgrymez bere me gur record,
For, thei tornet us from bord to bord,
And iiii. wikkez I dar well saie,
We myght not skape the Golf awaie:
But up, and don traverset the See,
By alle the Cost of Turky.
And on our lift hand the Golf was,
As we from Jaff toke the rase.
On Turky side we saie there,
The hee Hull that hight Mount Clere.
And under that Hull hit maie be,
The chef heued of Synode:
That is a token to schippmen,
Whereby thei the Costez kenne.
And after fully fifty mile waie,
Is a Castell, as I you saie,
The wiche Mirra callet is,
And Sent Nicolas was boron ther I wis:
And Bischop ther was he made,
And his last ende there he hade:
In his grave he was laid thoo,
And after translate to Basso,

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GERMANY

A.D. c. 1425.

That is in the Pole Lande,
And there he lithe I understande.
And xx. mile that Castell fro,
Is a Haven hight Cacabo:
Hit is right depe, and faire of flode, [II. viii.
In alle wederez hit is gude: 1244.]
For schippez therein to take her rest,
In alle Turky side hit is the best.
That Haven tofore, as men said me,
Was some tyme a faire Cite:
And was cristenet as men telle,
Tille gret vengaunce upon hem felle,
For sinn that thei dud in the Toun,
Hem to amende thei were never bon.
That Cite was drant for the same case,
Right as Sodome, and Gomore was.
Some wyndowez, and wallez yet ther be,
For I saie hem wit myn ee.
From that Haven of Cacabo,
On our right hand as we dud go,
xxx. mile by Lond I wis,
To the Castell Ruge hit is:
We sailet therby taward Jerusalem,
And come therby hamard agayn.
And xxx. mile from that Castell,
Is a strong Ile trust me well:
The wiche in the langage of that Lande,
Is callet the vii. heuedez, I understande.
What is the cause thei calle hit soo,
For vii. poyntez go out ther fro:
Alle gret Rochez, and long ther thei be,
And ferre in sonder men maie hem see.
For a token men hold hem there,
By cause thei schuld by theim faire.
And sixty long mile, and ten,
We sailet to the Ile of Rodez then:
And rested ther a litell space,
To comfort us in that place.

And even from Rodez to Venece,
As I went I come home, I wis.
And come to Padua the Cite faire:
There I rested, and toke the aire.
And from thennez to Castell Limimia,
And so to Bassayn, ther are Castellez taa.
From thennez to Bononia full even,
And there we were daiez seven.
And so forthe to Castell Sent Johan,
And then to Mirandula that foule Toun.
And even forthe so unto Hostia
Muche Marise ther schat thou in ga.
Then so forthe to the Toun of Veron,
The Venyceanez be Lordez of ichon.
Then so forthe to Castell Selucian,
And the Blaffard is thi money than.
From that place thou schalt to Trent,
That stony waie most thou heent.
And so forthe to the Cite of Merane,
Where wyn is plenty to mony ayne.
And then to Mount Sent Nicolas,
Who is him that waie gas:
For Montez, and Snow, and ile chere,
Failet not there of alle the yere.
So draw the don to Nazaret,
And whaite thi Pike be well sett.
[II. viii. 1245.] And from thennez to Kempton,
For sothe that is a gud toun.
And then so forthe to Memmyng,
There is the Emperour money walking:
Like a barre of silver hit is,
And lasteth ferre, that maie not myse.
Then to the cite of Ulme is thi waie,
And at the Brugge ther most thou paie.
And so from Ulme to Osselyng
And after that to Kipping.
And so thenn den to Brushull,
That muketh men her leggez to pull.

And from thennez to Duron,
And thenn to Spire that rioll toun.
From Spire to Vormez are milez xiiii,
And so to Mence thou schalt I wene.
And to Bynge a toun upon the Ryene,
And to Wesell, and Covelence, there is gud wyn.
And so to Andernak that is thi waie,
And then to Bun, I dar well saie.
From thennez to Coleyn that faire cite,
Ther most thou chaunge thi money.
And so from thennez to Acon,
There be hote bates in that toun.
And thenn to Mastrik I the rede,
And there new money most thou gette.
And so forth even to Diste,
That waie is wilde, and hit be myste.
And so thou schalt to Macheleyn,
That is a toun booth gud and fyn:
There gothe the money of Braban,
And that deceivet mony man.
And so from Mechelyn to Gaunt,
Into Flaunderez most thou haunt.
And so to Burgez that faire toun,
And thenn to Newport most thou gon.
And after that to Denkerke,
And so to Gravenyng most thou lirke.
And to Calys a toun full free,
Thuse at the See-side we bee.
And for hit is the comyn waie,
From England to Rome, I will not saie:
Ne tales make of her governaunce,
For to all pilgrymez hit is no staunce.
Then praie ne to the Lord of myghtes most,
That brought this Pilgryme to Engelond cost,
His lif to mayntene to his wille,
In his service bothe lounde and stille.
And when we out of this word schull wende,
The joye of heven he us sende:

That is my praior, and schal be aie,
We may be saved at Domesdaie:
And so to his blis he us bringe,
Jesu that is heven King:
And secur therof, at we maie be,
Saie alle Amen for charite.

END OF VOLUME VII.

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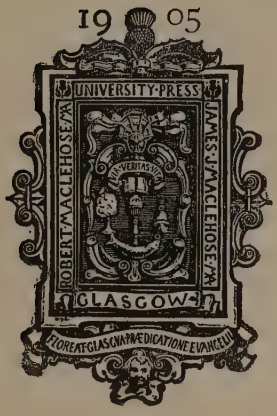
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